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AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND

PRECEDING THE REIGN OF
MALCOM III. OR THE YEAR 1056.

INCLUDING

THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY
OF THAT PERIOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOHN PINKERTON.

ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΕΠΙΛΟΙΠΟΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΙ.
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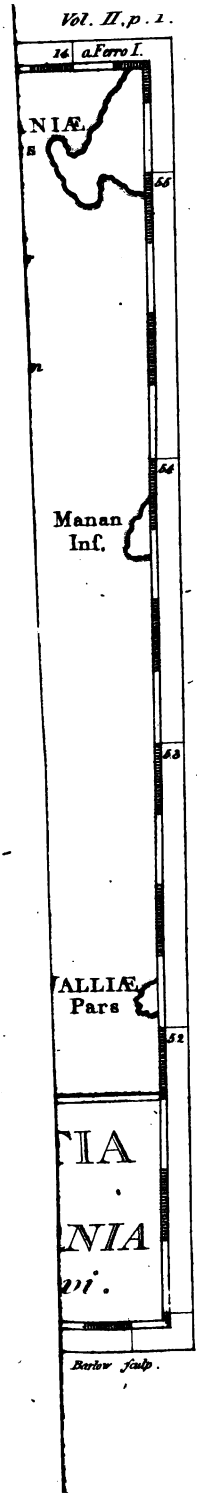
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AN

ENQUIRY

INTO

SCOTISH HISTORY

Preceding the Year 1056.

PART IV.

The Dalriads.

CHAPTER I.

Iriſh origins; and progreſs of the Dalriads from Ireland to North Britain.

THE remote origin of the Iriſh ſettlers in North Britain, little concerns the hiſtory of Scotland. But as much has been written on this ſubject; and this work might be regarded as imperfect, without ſome illuſtrations upon it, a few ſhall be propounded, with as much brevity as poſſible.

SECTION I. *Iriſh Origins.*

At this moment, when entering on a ſubject eſſential to ancient Iriſh hiſtory, i feel myſelf as much a native of Ireland, as of Britain. Far from violating the reverence due to the antiqui-

ties of that noble iland, i ſhould be happy to ſupport and illuſtrate them, as far as lay in my power. But having treated the antiquities of my own country, with all the freedom of an ardent enquirer after truth, i muſt beg leave to aſſert the ſame philoſophic privilege in reſpect to other realms.

It may be imagined that i, who confeſs no further knowledge of the Celtic language, than is picked up from a few grammars and dictionaries, am but ill qualified to diſcuſs a ſubject, whoſe evidences are wrapt up in that language. But from complete and repeated peruſal of moſt Iriſh and other writers, who have treated this matter in Latin or Engliſh, certainly all the information neceſſary on this point may now be had. The works of Mageogaghan, Stanihurſt, Colgan, Uſher, Ware, Keating, Maccurtin, Kennedy, O'Flaherty, O'Conor, &c. &c derived from all the monuments in the Iriſh language, ſurely afford full and ſufficient materials, and as complete knowlege of the original evidence, as can be procured from that evidence itſelf. I hope therefore to eſcape any charge of raſhneſs, while i examine this important part of Iriſh hiſtory, upon the teſtimony of Iriſh writers. Were i writing on the hiſtory of Ireland, or Wales, in a total ignorance of the Iriſh and Welch languages, there would be room for as much laughter, and utter deriſion, as if one ſhould attempt to paint without colours, or to build without materials. But as i am only occupied with the hiſtory of Scotland, of which there is not one monument in the Celtic tongues [a], it is hoped laborious peruſal of the Iriſh writers in Latin or Engliſh will, in this inſtance, atone for my ignorance of the Celtic.

[a] The Duan in the Appendix to this volume only concerns the Dalriads, whoſe hiſtory is not that of Scotland any more than the hiſtory of Wales, is that of England.

It is well known that the hiſtory of Ireland has, like that of Scotland, had a ſingular fate. While the hiſtory and antiquities of Scotland have been, for five centuries, a field of the blackeſt forgery, falſification, and perverſion of all authorities, thoſe of Ireland have afforded a ſcene as deplorable, tho not ſo deteſtable, of folly and credulity. The conteſt between the Iriſh antiquaries, who were right, and the Scotiſh, who were wrong, became unequal, by the natural preponderance of cunning over weakneſs. The fables, groſs beyond thoſe of childhood or anility, and diſgraceful to the very name of human reaſon, which ſtained the page of Iriſh hiſtory, now begin ſlowly to vaniſh. According to the preſent ſtate of Antiquities in Ireland, there remain only three additional fables to be thrown aſide. 1. That concerning the Fir-bolg. 2. The Tuath de Danan. 3. The Mileſians. Thoſe abandoned to utter oblivion precede theſe three in antiquity; and are,

1. The three daughters of Cain.
2. Cæſara, Noah's niece.
3. Partholanus.
4. The race of Nemedius.

Let us examine the three remaining fables; yes, at the end of the eighteenth century, let us examine fables that would diſgrace the twelfth; not the dreams of ſenſible ignorance, but of the madneſs of noonday.

1. *The Fir bolg.* It is unneceſſary to ſicken the reader by any detail of theſe fables. The Fir-bolg, according to Iriſh antiquaries, came to Ireland about 1500 years before Chriſt. The Tuath de Danan about 250 after. The Mileſians about 1000 years before our æra. Simply to enquire how the memory of theſe events was preſerved, in an illiterate country, is a ſufficient confutation of thoſe childiſh fables. He who believes them is incapable of reaſon, or conviction. It would therefore be labour loſt to confute abſurdity; for

the fooliſh cannot be convinced; and thoſe indued with the ſmalleſt portion of common ſenſe would only have recourſe to laughter.

In this fable the name alone is juſt; for it is now allowed that the Fir-Bolg were the Belgæ, placed by Ptolemy, the geographer, in the South of Ireland. But theſe Belgæ, as appears by the Diſſertation annexed, could not be there till about 300 years before Chriſt, ſo that the reality of the name, as preſerved in Iriſh tradition, palliates not the fable; which ought to be wholly ſet aſide, eſpecially as it precedes the Mileſians, a race entirely and utterly fabulous. It is indeed clear that thoſe dreaming compilers, who mention the Fir-bolg and Tuath de Danan, have erred groſſly in placing the Mileſians after them. None of thoſe Iriſh fablers are older than the *Thirteenth* century, and have altered the real ſeries of the fables in order to make their favourite Mileſians the laſt, and conquerors of all the former. Nennius, who wrote in 858, and uſed the Iriſh accounts then exiſting, ſays nothing of the Fir-bolg, nor Tuath de Danan; but only tells of the Spaniſh (or Mileſian) colonies as the firſt inhabitants of Ireland [b]. So alſo Giraldus Cambrenſis, who wrote about 1170. The Pſalter of Caſhel, which ſeems the very fountain of theſe viſions, is by ſome Iriſh antiquaries ſaid to have been written by Cormac, king of Ireland, about the year 260. Others aſcribe it to a Cormac king and biſhop of Caſhel, about the year 900. Mageogaghan, who details a long account of the matter, gives it to king Brian Borowe's time, about the year 1008. I have redd many quotations and extracts from it, and it ſeems a collection of poetical romances on Iriſh hiſtory, compiled

[b] Nennius knew nothing of Mileſius, but only mentions *Miles quidam Hiſpanus*, a certain Spaniſh *ſoldier*. Of this *Miles* the Iriſh made Mileſius; as of Julius Cæſar they made Cæſara Noah's niece!

in

in the Thirteenth century, at the earlieſt, and kept and found at Caſhel, whence the name.

2. *The Tuath de Danan.* That a great part of the Damnii fled from North Britain into Ireland, before the Pikiſh preſſure, has already been ſhewn to be highly probable. But this event could not happen above 200 years before our æra; whereas theſe Tuath de Danan are placed about 1250 years before Chriſt. The name, as with the Fir-bolg, ſeems genuine, and traditional: but the Iriſh account of this colony of magicians, for ſuch they are repreſented, is ridiculouſly falſe. All the Iriſh accounts agree that the Tuath de Danan went from North Britain to Ireland; but repreſent them as before that, reſiding in Denmark, and practiſing magic.

An ingenious Iriſh author, who is writing an hiſtory of Ireland, and whoſe judgment deſpiſes what even fancy cannot believe, is inclined to think that the Tuath de Danan were the Danes. Certain it is that Danan was, and is, the Iriſh for a Dane. But it is alſo certain that the name of Dane was unknown till the Sixth century, when Jornandes and Procopius firſt mention it[c]. The Daniſh writers allow it not to have been the ancient name, but to have proceeded from a king called Dan, or from *Daun*, our *down*, 'Low country,' as Denmark is to Scandinavia. And from a complete ſeries of writers, and geographers in particular, it is perfectly known that the name was not exiſtent till the Sixth century. Like the name of Saxons, Franks, Alamans, Slavons, it ſeems to have ariſen at a late period, from ſome adventitious circumſtance. That no Scandinavians nor Danes proceeded to Ireland till the end of the eighth century, ſhall be preſently argued. Had the Tuath de

[c] Jornandes wrote about 530, Procopius about 560. Gregory of Tours, who wrote about 591, mentions the Danes under the year 515, 'Dani cum rege ſuo Chlochilaicho,' as ravaging Gaul.

Danan been Danes, how came they to be totally unmentioned in the Annals of Ulſter, or more ancient writers, till the Eighth century? To them who know the nature of tradition, and of Celtic tradition in particular, it will not indeed be ſurprizing that ignorant bards of the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries ſhould confound all chronology, ſo far as to make the Danes, who arrived in Ireland in the Eighth century, ſettle there more than a thouſand years before Chriſt. In this view, but in no other, the Tuath de Danan may be the Danes. But as the Mileſian frenzies follow theſe Tuath de Danan, there is no reaſon to diſcriminate them, or the Fir-bolg, from the maſs of fable, merely becauſe the names may be real and traditional, while that of Mileſians confeſſedly is not. If the Iriſh antiquaries, as they have from the beginning daily changed their ground, will change it once more, and put the Mileſians firſt, and the Fir-bolg and Tuath de Danan after, ſome plauſible diſcuſſion might follow. But as the caſe ſtands, the Firbolg, Tuath de Danan, and Mileſians, form one lump of fiction.

3. *The Mileſians.* This fabulous progeny, according to Iriſh accounts, after many adventures in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, arrived in Spain, and from thence came to Ireland, about 1000 years before Chriſt. There ſubduing the Tuath de Danan, they founded a great and powerful kingdom, flouriſhing in literature, arts, and arms, but, by a ſingular fate, unknown and inviſible to other nations. The kings and leading people of Ireland were all, in the diſeaſed imagination of later bards and antiquiſts, deſcended from the Mileſian ſtock; and hence of courſe the chief fables of Iriſh antiquity reſt upon it. The Fir-bolg, and Tuath de Danan, are regarded as foreigners; and the Mileſians as the anceſtors of the Iriſh nation.

As this Mileſian Tale is the grand object of religious faith, and reverent reſearch, among the Iriſh antiquaries;

tiquaries; and of eternal laughter, and utter ſcorn, among thoſe of all other countries; it is hoped that a ſhort account of it will not be unacceptable. There are two *ſyſtems* of this deplorable piece of abſurdity: that of the *Iriſh* authors, and that of the *Scotiſh*. The later, as Father Innes ſhews at great length, is by far the more rational of the two; and is alſo the moſt pure and ancient, being in conſonance with Nennius, and other early writers, while the Iriſh is perverted and corrupt, and more fooliſh than folly.

The *Iriſh* ſtory is briefly this. Fenius Farſa was great grandſon to Japhet, one of Noah's ſons. Farſa's ſon Niul, came from Scythia to Greece. Niul's ſon GATHELUS went to Egypt; and thence to Spain, where he founded a kingdom, which there laſted for thirteen generations before MILESIUS. This Mileſius went to Scythia, where he ſerved under king Refloir: thence to Egypt, where he married SCOTA the daughter of Pharaoh, and carried her to Spain. HEREMON, eldeſt ſon of Mileſius, led the Mileſians to Ireland, and founded his kingdom there about 1000 years before Chriſt. From him the catalogue of Iriſh kings is drawn in conſtant ſucceſſion. HIBER the brother of Heremon alſo attended him, and had the North of Ireland.

The *Scotiſh* account, as given by Fordun, Winton, Boyce, &c. runs thus. Niul, the twentieth from Japhet, went from Scythia to Greece. GATHELUS, Niul's ſon, went to Egypt, where he married SCOTA, the daughter of Pharaoh; and, after the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, he proceeded to Spain, and founded a kingdom. EBER, the ſon of Gathelus, diſcovered Ireland, and called it Scotia, in honour of his mother; and it was alſo called Hibernia from the diſcoverer. But he founded no kingdom there, returning immediately to Spain. MILESIUS, whom the blundering tranſcribers of Fordun call *Micelius*, Winton,

Winton, *Milet*, was the thirteenth from Gathelus, and reigned in Spain. Heremon, Partholm, and Hybert, ſons of Mileſius, led a colony to Spain; and the two laſt remained there, but aſſumed no kingly title. Heremon returned to Spain, where he ſucceeded his father. Winton makes no mention of any colony being led by the ſons of Mileſius; but puts him barely in the liſt of the ſucceſſors of Gathelus. The ſeventeenth in a right line from Mileſius was the famous SIMON BREC; who, by the Scotiſh tale, brought the noted ſtone from Spain to Ireland; and founded the monarchy there. Winton ſays that Fergus, ſon of Erc, who brought the ſtone to Scotland, and founded the Scotiſh monarchy, was in the Fiftieth and Fifth degree of deſcendance from Simon Brec. With this illuſtrious founder of the Iriſh monarchy, according to the Scotiſh account, *Old Sir Simon the King*, the later Iriſh antiquaries are ſo angry, that, to prevent the Scotiſh tale from prejudicing Heremon, they have ſome of them hanged Simon Brec, and others have torn him in pieces, for ſome pretended crime, of which they cannot at this day produce any evidence. As a Scotiſhman, i muſt loudly, in the name of my country, proteſt againſt this groſs injuſtice, of hanging a man without hearing his defence: and wonder that Mr. Goodal, or ſome ſuch zealous Scotiſh author, has not written "A Defence of Simon Brec, alias Old Sir Simon the King, againſt the bloody, atrocious, and crying ſlaughter, committed on him after he was dead, by certain Iriſh antiquaries: with ſome reflections from the book called God's revenge againſt murder."

But to be ſerious if poſſible. The Scotiſh account is more coherent and plauſible than the Iriſh, as Father Innes ſhews at great length. To add to the abſurdity of the later Donald O'Neal, king of Ulſter, in his letter to Pope John XXII. in the year 1317, informs the Pontif, that it was then

then about 3500 years ſince the three ſons of Mileſius ſettled in Spain; that is, they were there about 2200 years before Chriſt's birth. But the grand and radical difference, between the Iriſh and Scotiſh account, is that the former commences the Mileſian monarchy with HEREMON the eldeſt ſon of Mileſius, and, as ſtated by O'Flaherty, about 1020 years before Chriſt; whereas the Scotiſh relation begins that monarchy in the perſon of SIMON BREC, the ſixteenth in degree from Heremon, and yet about 1200 years before Chriſt. By the old genealogy there are fifty-eight generations, from Simon Brec, down to Fergus, ſon of Erc; tho Winton makes but fifty-five. Of theſe generations there are twenty-four from Simon to Forgo, the mock Fergus I. of Scotiſh dreamers: and thirty-four from Forgo to Fergus, ſon of Erc. Allowing 30 years, as uſual, to each generation, fifty-eight generations extend to 1740 years. Twenty-four generations make 720 years fron Simon to Forgo; and thirty-four make 1020 from Forgo to Fergus, ſon of Erc. Fergus, ſon of Erc, aſcended the Scotiſh throne about 503 years after Chriſt; and of courſe, by the Scotiſh account, Simon Brec lived about 1200 years before Chriſt; and Forgo about 500, inſtead of 330, as Fordun, Boyce, Buchanan date him, merely to make him cotemporary with Alexander the Great.

Such are the two Mileſian ſyſtems, that of the Scotiſh, and that of the Iriſh writers. Since the Sixteenth century the Scotiſh authors have totally dropt it on their part; or mentioned it merely as a weak fable. But the Iriſh writers perſiſt in it to this hour; and regard thoſe who deſpiſe it as enemies of their nation, and invidious of it's honour! Deluded men! they are themſelves the worſt enemies of their country; and the real and unmerciful deſtroyers of it's honour, of it's character among all nations. For from the writers of any country, a judgment is often raſhly formed con-

cerning the knowledge and wiſdom of the country at large. In the preſent caſe no error can be greater: as, out of two millions in Ireland, not a thouſand have even heard of thoſe lamentable deluſions; and of that thouſand, nine hundred utterly deſpiſe them. True it is, that the fabling and mercenary bards and ſennachies thought to get money, and favour, by giving genealogies of their patrons, carried up to Heremon and Mileſius, nay to Adam, and far beyond. And the Iriſh antiquiſts, as O'Connor the tranſlator of Keating, and others the true heirs of the deluſion of the ſennachies, and in fact mere modern ſennachies, attempt to continue the impoſture, by tracing all the chief families of Ireland up to Mileſius, in order by this pitiful trick to engage them all under the banners of folly. But theſe families, having ſolid claims of reſpect, do generally contemn theſe poor deluſions; and are content, as other noble families of Europe, to cloſe the genealogy at the firſt ſhade of uncertainty; for falſehood, far from adding honour, is infamous in itſelf, and can only bring infamy and deriſion. Men of reading are, in their cloſets, apt to dream of opinions being national, which are in fact confined to a few viſionaries. Antiquarian matters are, as i humbly conceive, nevernational; as there are ſeldom above a dozen antiquaries in a nation; and in the Britiſh empire, where alone antiquary and viſionary are ſynonymous, the nation only laughs at it's antiquaries. On the continent indeed, where an antiquary is a ſacred and moſt important character, that of a man of profound and ſolid learning, who confers honour on his country by a moſt laborious reſearch into it's genuine antiquities, and introducing them to the moſt rigorous diſcuſſion of the whole republic of letters, the higheſt reſpect is paid to antiquaries; and their province is juſtly regarded, as one of the moſt difficult, and, of courſe, the moſt honourable in the whole circle of ſcience. But even there, antiquarian matters are not national;

tional: but only known to the thinking and learned few. It is therefore merely the vanity of authors that dreams of nations being intereſted in ſupport of their opinions; while not above one in ten thouſand of the nation has ever heard any thing of the matter. With theſe views, tho i have the moſt ſincere reſpect for the Iriſh nation, yet i ſcruple not to hold to due contempt the Iriſh ſennachies and modern antiquiſts, which laſt would be called children, and not antiquaries, on the continent: and believe that every ſenſible native of Ireland will ſee, that to expoſe the abſurd enemies of the true honour of that country, is to do a ſervice to its cauſe. For, if i am rightly informed, in Ireland, as here, and in the reſt of Europe, the very name of Mileſians is a jeſt; and the acceptance of any part of the fable is eſteemed an infallible criterion of an inſane writer. Indeed as there is no credit due to any account of Iriſh kings, or their actions, preceding the Chriſtian æra, the very mark A. M. or *Anno Mundi* in Iriſh affairs, is well interpreted *Aſinaria Maxima* by foreigners, and affords perpetual laughter.

Theſe fables ſhall be diſmiſſed with a remark or two, naturally ariſing from the ſubject. The whole tale of the Mileſians, and the hiſtory of the monarchs of that mock line, preceding our æra, or for a thouſand years, is the moſt deplorable piece of nonſenſe, that ever ſtained the annals of mankind. The fables of the other Grand Celtic race, the Welch, as delivered to us by the deſervedly infamous Geoffrey of Monmouth, and deduced from Brutus, great grand ſon of Eneas, who, as they tell, came to Britain about 1000 years before Chriſt, are ſober and ſapient, compared to the Iriſh fictions. In the page of Geoffrey of Monmouth may be found an Imogen, a Locrine, and Guendolen, with their daughter Sabra; a Bladud; a Lear, and his daughters; a Gordobuc; a Belinus; a Lud; an Arthur; all non-

non-exiſtences, yet well known in the regions of poetry and romance. But the whole Iriſh hiſtoric fictions are not only beneath contempt, as hiſtory; but beneath contempt, as fictions. To read them is to be condemned to a diſguſt, and pity, the ſame with that ariſing from the converſation of a mere idiot. Zealous as i am for what little truth can be found in hiſtory, were i a native of Ireland, and could evidence the veracity of theſe tales to all Europe by irrefragable proofs, i would give my vote for their being left in utter oblivion, leſt they ſhould diſhonour my country. Deſtitute of the ſmalleſt charm of fiction, they are not only lies, but diſguſting and nauſeous lies. Boyce, Buchanan, and the other Scotiſh forgers, made their fictions leſſons to monarchs; and it is to their falſehoods that we owe the death of Charles I. and abdication of James II[d]. The tales of the Welch and Scotiſh forgers had an influence on the whole hiſtory of Europe: thoſe of the Iriſh never had nor can have any effect, being wholly contemptible even to imagination. Biſhop Nicolſon, in his Iriſh hiſtorical library, has moſt facetiouſly attempted to bring the Iriſh fables into a ſimilar point of view with the Iſlandic. On the very plan he has followed, a compariſon might alſo be drawn of the Hottentot traditions with the Gothic: and he ſeems totally to have forgot that the power of the human mind is no where better diſtinguiſhed than in fiction, it's own creation. The Gothic tales are often ingenious, always vigorous, ſometimes ſublime. Even the wildeſt of them has always ſtrong marks of ΝΟΥΣ, of thought, of ſenſe. The mythology, and well-known unconquerable character of the people, live, and breath in them

[d] See Nicolſon's Scotiſh Hiſt. Lib p. 41. Sir James Turner, a colonel of Charles I. declared that Buchanan's books had alone raiſed the nation againſt the King. They were univerſally redd: and the Engliſh argued that if the Scots had power over their kings, they had the ſame.

all.

all. The Iriſh legends are in all points the reverſe. The Mileſian fable is connected with Pharaoh; and bears other palpable marks of being invented long after Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in Ireland. Odin was the god of war; and can be traced in moſt writers of the middle ages, long before the Icelandic monuments were written. Snorro, who wrote in the thirteenth century, places the arrival of Odin in Scandinavia, about ſeventy years before Chriſt [e]. Donald O'Neal, in the fourteenth, placed the arrival of the ſons of Mileſius, who were never heard of before, about 2200 years before Chriſt! Beda, who wrote in 731, mentions Odin; but, tho intimate with many of the moſt learned men of Ireland, had never heard a ſyllable of the Mileſian tales, but puts Ireland as the *patria*, or firſt habitation of the Scots. Let any one read the Northern ſagas, and he will find manly judgement, and fine imagination, while the Iriſh tales are quite deſtitute of theſe qualities. The Scandinavians we know had letters, and yet their antiquaries build not on this: the Iriſh we know had none, till converted by Patrick, and yet their writers are forced, as one abſurdity includes another, to build their fairy manſion upon the uſe of letters, among a people marked by the Greek and Roman writers as utterly ſavage. Biſhop Nicolſon's parallel only ſhews the infallibility of the axiom, that fancy will find reſemblances any where; while to diſcriminate is the peculiar province of judgement. Others have ſaid that there are fables in early Greek and Roman hiſtory, and why not allow the Iriſh to paſs as ſuch? With all my heart; but obſerve at the ſame time that the Greek and Roman fables vary a little from the Iriſh; the former being produced by great and able writers, and deſervedly admired for many

[e] Edda, apud Torf. Ser. Reg. Dan. Mallet has adopted this puerile opinion. It is doubtful if Snorro wrote that preface, for in his hiſtory he dates Odin under the Roman Emperors.

centuries; the latter the weak effuſions of ſilly ſennachies, and only fit for the flames. The argument is modeſt and Celtic; but there is, as is generally believed, a difference in fable; ſome ſlight ſhade of diſſonance between the hiſtory of Tom Jones, and that of Tom Thumb. There are alſo degrees in nonſenſe; ſome nonſenſe is riſible; other nonſenſe, as the old Iriſh hiſtory, is merely of the ſoporific deſcription. As hiſtory or as fiction, it is equally abſurd. Allegory is the laſt apology for nonſenſe[f]; but even John Bunyan could not allegorize Mileſian hiſtory. Late Iriſh writers ſay, that Fenius Farſa was a name for the Phenicians; Simon Brec for Sampſon, who broke the heads of the Philiſtines, &c. There is one infamy yet greater than telling a falſehood, and that is, to make an apology for that falſehood. The more plauſible the apology is, it is the more ſcandalous. So much the better, ſo much the worſe. For to impoſe on ſociety is one crime; but to colour that impoſition afreſh, and dreſs falſehood in the holy robes of truth, is a far greater crime. No modification, or apology of any kind, can be accepted. The point is utterly to give up theſe abominable fables; and till this be done, the Iriſh antiquaries will have them all to themſelves, without one rival. For how can the literati of Europe converſe with thoſe who give evident ſigns of deluſion, of a deluſion unknown to any other nation?

Before proceeding to conſider the real and genuine origins of Iriſh hiſtory, it becomes neceſſary to notice the claim, which ſome Iriſh antiquaries pretend their country has to the uſe of letters

[f] Late writers have attempted to compare Iriſh names and hiſtory with thoſe of Egypt, Armenia, Otaheite, &c. but, not to ſpeak of their groſs miſquotations and miſrepreſentations, the ſame frantic fancy might find reſemblance in any objects whatever. In the mental, as in the natural night, all objects are confounded. To ſhew the Chineſe hiſtory the ſame with the Dutch, in names and events, would only require one quality in any writer, a diſordered imagination.

before Chriſtianity was planted there. Keating tells that Fenius Farſa great grandſon of Japhet, and anceſtor of the Mileſians, ſet up a ſchool of learning in the plains of Senaar, about one hundred and fifty years after the deluge; and invented Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Iriſh, characters. Theſe earlieſt Iriſh characters were the *Beth-luis-nion* and *Ogum*, according to Toland, who gravely relates this puerile fiction as matter of fact. Charles the Second ſaid of Iſaac Voſſius, that he believed every thing but the ſcripture; and this character is juſtly applicable to Toland, whoſe incredulity muſt have been the fruit of vain glory, and not of ſtrength of mind. For there is nothing in ſcripture ſo abſurd as this: and he who believed this ſhould have boggled at nothing. The mind of Toland muſt, like that of Iſaac Voſſius, have been very ill poiſed; and inſtead of calling ſuch men philoſophers, it can only be ſaid that they were fools, who believed, or diſbelieved, as the whim led them. For ſound reaſon knows no prejudices; but weighs every thing in the ſame ſcales. The Iriſh hiſtory alſo bears, that king Tigermna, and after him Eocha Ollam-fodla, about 800 years before Chriſt, gave great encouragement to learning, ordered annals to be digeſted, &c. By ſuch groſs falſehoods, aſſerted at random, would theſe Iriſh antiquiſts perſuade the literati of Europe to believe impoſſibilities! Who can confute ſuch nonſenſe? and who will liſten to the confutation?

The old characters, which the Iriſh pretend to, are the *Beth-luis-nion*, the different kinds of *Ogum*, *Bebeloth*, &c. The Beth-luis-nion is the common Saxon, or lower Roman alphabet, changed in the order of letters, by the whim of the ſennachies. The different kinds of Ogum are merely ſorts of ſhort-hand writing, uſed in the middle ages. The Bebeloth is another contracted mode of writing, well known to the learned by the name of *Notæ Longobardicæ*. The Helſing Runes,

conſiſting of conic marks, variouſly diſpoſed, have alſo, i believe, been found in Ireland, ſo long poſſeſſed in part by the Danes; and have, as uſual, been regarded as letters older than chriſtianity, while they were uſed in Denmark in the Twelfth century. It is in vain to ſtrive, not only with folly, but with utter ignorance. If thoſe Iriſh antiquiſts will ſtudy the antiquities of Europe, and compare them with their own, they may acquire ſobriety. As it is, when an Uſher, or a Ware, ariſes in Ireland, they regard thoſe matters as mere dreams; and paſs at once to the time when chriſtianity and letters firſt appeared in Ireland. The cauſe of folly is only ſupported by ignorance; and no writer cares to anſwer what all know to be puerile. The conteſt between thoſe Iriſh writers, and the literati of all Europe, is the moſt riſible in the world. The former ſay, their country was highly civilized, had letters and academies, as the Greeks and Romans. The latter ſay, the Greeks we know, and the Romans we know, but who are ye? Thoſe Greeks and Romans pronounce you not only barbarous, but utterly ſavage. Where are your authorities againſt this? In the name of ſcience, of argument, of common ſenſe, where are the ſlighteſt marks of ancient civilization among you? Where are ruins of cities? Where inſcriptions? Where ancient coins? Where is the leaſt trace of ancient art or ſcience in your whole iland? The old inhabitants of your country, the Wild Iriſh, the true Mileſian breed, untainted with Gothic blood, we know to be utter ſavages at this day. Can a nation, once civilized, ever become ſavage? Impoſſible! Such a nation may be loſt in effeminacy, as the modern Italians and Greeks; but will ever bears marks of the exceſs, not the want of civilization.

Father Innes has at great length examined, and completely confuted, the Iriſh claim to letters, before St. Patrick introduced them, along with chriſtianity,

tianity, about the year 440. That the Iriſh had letters ſo early, and many writers ſoon after, is ſurely enough; and more than ſeveral great nations of Europe can pretend to. The Germans, Scandinavians, Polanders, Ruſſians, have by no means ſuch early claim; but ſtand later by near four centuries. In the name of heaven, what would thoſe Celtic gentry have? But, like the dog in the fable, by graſping at the ſhadow, they loſe the ſubſtance; and the fictions of early Iriſh hiſtory bring contempt upon the whole. From ſuch friends and aſſertors, may heaven defend my country! We are told of many abſtract terms in the old Iriſh language, as a proof that the people were civilized. Yet no ſuch terms are produced, and, if they were, how old are they? The uſe of Latin abſtract terms is quite modern. In the old German, Anglo-belgic, &c. the abſtract terms are peculiar to the ſpeech, as *godhede* for *deity*, &c. There is not one Iriſh manuſcript extant, older than the Eleventh century, long after metaphyſics, and other nonſenſical learning, had been ſucceſsfully ſtudied there. What wonder then at abſtract terms? The Iriſh antiquiſts, as i have found from experience, are ſo ignorant, as not to know a MS. of the Fourteenth century; but will repeatedly call ſuch a one of the Third, Fourth, or Fifth, as they pleaſe to baptiſe it. They do not know what is known to all; yet pretend to know what is unknown to all. Vague references to MSS. of vague antiquity form the main chicane of Iriſh authors; who are ſo ſtupid, as not to diſcern that this is never allowed in ſuch queſtions, but that if a MS. be quoted, it's age, place where kept, page, and column, are always accurately marked by the antiquaries of all other countries, and the words themſelves always produced, with a literal tranſlation. But the Iriſh MSS. are aſhamed of the light; and it is no wonder that they ſhun it. Of Icelandic MSS. we have above Five Hundred now in

other urgent reaſons. I once inclined to think that they did originate from Spain; chiefly becauſe Tacitus thought the Silures, who were in that part of Britain oppoſite to Ireland, a Spaniſh colony: and becauſe he mentions that the ports of Ireland were, in his time, more frequented than thoſe of Britain. Other reaſons alſo concurred. For it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that, as the Celts held Germany and Gaul, ſo they alſo poſſeſſed Spain, before the Iberi came over from Africa and expelled them. That the Iriſh were not Iberi, is certain from their ſpeech, which is Celtic, not Iberian, or Cantabric. If they came from Spain, they muſt therefore have been Celts from Spain. And it was highly plauſible to ſuppoſe that the Iberi drove the Celts out of Spain, on the Eaſt, over the Pyrenees; but that, on the weſt, the Celts were confined between the Iberi and the ſea, and had no recourſe but to eſcape by ſea: and that, as all the coaſt of Gaul and Britain was filled with their Celtic brethren, they would naturally paſs to the neareſt uninhabited land, which was Ireland. Facts alſo ſeemed to corroborate this theory. We find may Celtic nations in the North of Spain, as deſcribed by ancient writers. The Veroneſ, a people of preſent Biſcay, were Celts, as Strabo tells, *lib.* III. p. 245. In Aſturia there were alſo Celts, as Pliny informs us, *lib.* III. *cap.* 3. But above all, and what was moſt to the purpoſe, in Gallicia, that very point of Spain which fronts Ireland, and to which it was natural to ſuppoſe that the Celts would be driven, the ancients actually place Celts. Cape Finiſterre was called *Promontorium Celticum*, not Ibericum, by the ancients; and Pliny deſcribing the nations around it, or in Gallicia, puts *Celtici cognomine Neriæ*, and *Celtici cognomine Præſamarci*, lib. IV. c. 20. Strabo alſo, *lib.* III. p. 230, tells, that the region around this promontory was inhabited by Celts. And there is every reaſon to believe

that the Gallæci, who are here placed by Pliny, and other ancients, and who gave name to preſent Gallicia, were Gauls, and bore the Gallic name accordingly. In this ſcheme of Iriſh origins i much exulted; as it would give me no ſmall pleaſure to ſupport the Iriſh antiquaries, in their favorite Spaniſh origin.

But unhappily all this theory was forced to yield to ancient facts. In the diſſertation annexed, it is ſhewn that the Celtici and Celtiberi of Spain were not Celts proper; but German Gauls, who, as new poſſeſſors of Gaul, the ancient domain of the Celts, acquired the name of Celts, as the Engliſh in Britain are termed Britons, in America, Americans. Yet the Celtiberi were on the Eaſt, and the Celtici on the South of Spain; ſo that theſe northern Celts of Spain might have been remains of the old Celts. But the authority of Strabo is direct on the other ſide, and admits of no anſwer, or palliative. For he ſhews that both the Verones and the Celts of Gallicia were of the ſame race with the Celtici and Celtiberi, that is, German Gauls; and that, far from being old poſſeſſors of the country, they had only gained their territories in the ſame late expedition with the Celtiberi and Celtici. Of the Verones, he ſays, *lib.* III. p. 245: Οικουσι δ' εκ μεν των προς αρκτον μερων τοις Κελτιβηρσι ΒΗΡΩΝΕΣ, Καντα&βροις ὁμοροι τοις Κονισκοις, και αυτοι του Κελτικου στολου γεγονοτες. 'Inhabit to the parts north of the Celtiberi, the VERONES, neighbours of the Cantabrian Coniſci, and they alſo were of the Celtic expedition.' And *lib.* III. p. 230, ſpeaking of the Promontorium Celticum, which was alſo called Nerium, he ſays: ὑστατοι δ' οικουσιν Αρτα&βροι περι την ακραν, ἡ καλειται Νηριον, ἡ και της ἑσπεριου πλευρας και της βορειου περας εστι; περιοικουσι δ' αυτην ΚΕΛΤΙΚΟΙ, συγγενεις των επι τω Ανα. 'Furtheſt dwell the Artabri, at the promontory, which is called Nerion, and which is the bound of the northern, and of the weſtern ſide of Spain.

The Celtici inhabit around it, of the ſame race with thoſe on the river Ana.' Thoſe on the Ana were the Celtici, peculiarly ſo called; and who are ſhewn to have been Gothic, or German Gauls, in the annexed Diſſertation. Whether they were Celts or Goths is indeed nothing to the purpoſe; for it is clear that theſe northern Celts of Spain were all of one expedition with the Celtici and Celtiberi; who had lately paſt from Gaul into Spain, as appears from Lucan, Silius Italicus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Appian. So that they were not ancient inhabitants of the country, but late immigrators from Gaul, who had conquered poſſeſſions for themſelves from the Iberi. What time this expedition happened is uncertain; but from the ſtrong memory of it, in all the above authors, it was certainly late; and the learned and accurate Schoepflin[g] only ſays, that it muſt have happened before the Second Punic War, as Livy, XXII. 21. and Silius Italicus III. 350. mention the Celtiberi as engaged in that war which broke out 216 years before Chriſt. It is ſhewn in the Diſſertation, that the Celts proper, or old ſavages of Gaul, were ſo far from ſending colonies into other countries, that they could not defend their own: and in particular the Iberi gained all Aquitania from them; ſo that their conquering Iberian poſſeſſions would have been a phænomenon indeed. That the Gauls, or Celts, ſo called, of Gallia Bracata were Gothic, or German Gauls; and that as they lay on the North of Spain, while the other Gauls were at a diſtance, there is no room to doubt that they were the Celts, ſo called, who ſeized various poſſeſſions in Spain. This further appears from the names of their towns in Spain, of which many begin, or end, with *brig* the German *berg*, or *town*, ſo uſual at this day. Strabo, lib. VII. and Steph. de Urb. ſay that *bria*, or *briga*, ſignifies

[g] Vindiciæ Celticæ.

a town.

a town[h]. This it does in no Celtic dialect; but in the Gothic it retains that meaning. Among the Celts of the North of Spain we find *Flaviobriga*, (now Bilboa) or Flaviuſberg; and *Flavium Brigantium*, (Ferrol). But not to reſt the argument even upon this truth, it cannot at any rate be ever imagined that the few Celts who migrated from Gaul into the north of Spain, at a late period, could be thoſe Celts who peopled Ireland. Ware, and other cool Iriſh antiquaries, who argue that the Iriſh came from Spain, always conclude them Iberi, the real ancient inhabitants of Spain; and that the name Ibernia ſprung from the Iberi. But this opinion is wholly untenable, becauſe the Iriſh language, the Gaelic, is as remote from the Iberian, or Cantabric, as poſſible; and is well known to be a grand Celtic dialect. The ancients are totally ſilent concerning any Celtic aborigines in Spain; and uniformly regard the Iberi as the moſt ancient inhabitants: ſo that it is certain that the old Iriſh, as Celts proper, could not paſs from Spain, a country never inhabited by Celts proper, but muſt have paſſed from Gaul, a nearer country, and known to have been originally wholly poſſeſt by Celts proper.

So much for the origin of the Wild Iriſh, or true Gaelic Iriſh, eſteemed by their antiquaries the genuine Mileſian breed. The prevalence of their language is a clear proof that they were always by far the moſt numerous people in Ireland, as they formed the real ancient population of the country, and ſuch colonies as ſettled among them were regarded as aliens. The date of this earlieſt population of Ireland it is impoſſible to aſcertain; and it may have been a thouſand or two thouſand years before our æra. It is indeed a matter of ſupreme indifference at what time the ſavages of a continent peopled a neighbouring iland.

[h] It was a Thracian term. Nicol. Damaſcen. Hiſt. in Valeſii Exc. p. 495.

But

But tho it be thus certain that the Gaelic Iriſh, the Iriſh peculiarly ſo called, or Wild Iriſh, were Gael, or Celts of Gaul, it remains to enquire if any Iberian colonies ſettled among them. For tho the prevalence of the Gaelic tongue ſhews that the Celts formed the grand population of the country; yet Iberian colonies might arrive, and their own ſpeech be loſt, as uſual, in that of the more numerous inhabitants. The whole idea of the population of Ireland from Spain ſeems to have ariſen from the proximity of the names *Iberni* and *Iberi*: and the abſurd etymologies of Iſidorus, and other writers of the middle ages, ſurely led the way to all the dreaming connection between Ibernia and Iberia, between Ireland and Spain. To thoſe who know how often great events ſpring from little cauſes, it will not appear wonderful that the proximity of the words *Ibernia* and *Iberia* has converted the ancient hiſtory of Ireland into a maſs of folly never mentioned but with laughter. What fooliſh ideas did not the Iberi of Aſia, and thoſe of Spain, lead even ſenſible ancients into! Strabo, and others, thought the former ſprung from the later: Pliny and others, on the contrary, thought that the Iberi of Spain proceeded from thoſe in Aſia. Etymology, and approximation of names, one would imagine, were two rocks of Syrens in the ocean of literature, that deprived even ſenſible writers of common underſtanding. For is any matter ſo ſimple, ſo univerſally known, as that identic names will happen from mere falls of letters, and from the greateſt variety of cauſes? Did Pendennis in Aſia Minor bear the ſame origin as Pendennis in Cornwall? Cannot a hundred inſtances be given of identic names, in languages that have no relation? And in the ſame languages, is not the ſame word often uſed in various meanings; and the ſame name given to nations of quite diſtinct origins, becauſe it implies ſome common quality? I aſſent to Pelloutier that the name *Iberi* is from the Gothic,

Gothic, *Uber*, beyond; but think that the Goths of Aſia gave it to their own brethren *Beyond* the mountains, that run between them and the Iberi of Aſia; and thoſe of Gallia Bracata alſo gave the very ſame name to quite a different people *Beyond* the Pyrenees. We term the Scotiſh highlanders, Mountaineers, and the Swiſs Mountaineers; and if, in the ſimplicity of ancient times, Mountaineers had become a national term, it might have been argued that the Swiſs and Highlanders were of one name and origin. No writer of the ſmalleſt pretenſion to common rationality ever ought to found any thing on etymology or identity of diſtant names; and too ſtrong deteſtation cannot be expreſt againſt this childiſh frenzy, which has tainted and utterly ſpoilt innumerable works of this century, and corrupted them into maſſes of learned madneſs, the diſgrace, mortification, and contempt of human reaſon.

The Roman names of Ireland, *Hibernia*, *Iverne*, *Ierne*, are now thought to have ſprung from the Cumraig, or old Britiſh *Yverdon*, or Weſtern Ile; tho perhaps from the Gothic *Uber-Ey*, or *Iber-Ey*, 'the further iland,' in reſpect to Britain. The indigenal name *Erin* has the ſame meaning; but the Romans received the name from the Britons. The old etymology of *Iberni* from *Iberi* is accordingly now abandoned on all hands. But it deſerves notice, that there was a tribe called peculiarly *Iverni*, in the ſouth of Ireland, as appears from the Palatine MS. which contains the genuine text of Ptolemy, far more free from corruptions than any other. The common editions bear *Uterni*; but that *Iverni* is the genuine reading is clear from the Palatine MS. and from Richard of Cirenceſter. It may therefore be argued, that as the Gallic, and other merchants, would naturally touch at the South of Ireland, and enquire the name of the firſt people they traded with, the name of this tribe

tribe might come to be given to the iland. This derivation is indeed as probable as any other; and in a matter ſo uncertain, every one may follow his own mind. Of what extract theſe Iverni were, it is difficult to ſay. Their town was *Ivernis*, or, as we would ſay, *Inverneſs*, upon the river *Iernus*, now Kenmare. To the Eaſt of them were the *Vodii*: to the North-weſt, the *Luceni* and *Velabri*. *Iver*, or *Inver*, is not unfrequent in Scandinavian and German names of places; but as no ſuch people as *Iverni* can be found in Britain, Gaul, or Spain, it is impoſſible to determine the origin of the Iverni. To the *Luceni* and *Velabri*, on the Weſt of them, ſimilar names are found on the North of Spain: the *Luceni*, or *Lucenſes*, of *Lucus*, now Lugo in Gallicia, (Plin. III. 3.) and the *Velienſes*, of Biſcay *(ib.)* The *Auteri* of Ireland approximate to the *Autrigones* of Biſcay *(ib.)* The *Gangani* of Ireland, Camden and Ware derive from the *Concani* in Spain[i]. There were alſo *Caucenſes* in preſent Leon of Spain, as there were *Cauci* in Ireland; but the *Caucenſes* were but the inhabitants of *Cauca*, a ſmall inland town; ſo that they are as much out of the queſtion, as the *Caucones* of Pontus. Ptolemy mentions ſeven towns in Ireland; two *Rhegias*, *Rhaiba*, *Laberus*, *Macolicum*, *Dunum*, *Ivernis*. Of all which names i can find no trace in ancient Spain. He alſo gives fifteen rivers; *Logia*, *Argita*, *Vidua*, *Ravius*, *Libnius*, *Auſoba*, *Senus*, *Dur*, *Iernus*, *Daurona*, *Bargus*, *Mo-*

[i] The reader will in vain look into geographers for Concani in Spain, or any where elſe. Camden's authorities are:

> Et qui, Maſſagetam monſtrans feritate parentem,
> Cornupedis fera ſatiaris Concane vena. *Sil. Ital.*

and Horace:

> Et lætum equino ſanguine Concanum.

The firſt authority ſhews them Goths, as were the other emigrators from Gaul into Spain.

donus,

donus, *Oboca*, *Buvinda*, *Vindarius*; and three iles, *Odrus*, *Limnus*, and *Ricina*. Of theſe names I only find a river *Durus* in Spain; and there was alſo a *Durius* in Devonſhire, and *Durius* in Italy; as there was a *Deva*, or Dee, in Aſturia. There was a river *Bargus* that fell into the Hebrus. (Pliny IV. 11). Of all the names therefore given us by Ptolemy, the *Luceni*, *Velabri*, and *Auteri*, alone approximate to the Spaniſh names, *Lucenſes*, *Velienſes*, and *Autrigones*. But there were alſo *Leuci* and *Leuaci*; *Velo-caſſi*; and *Atrebates*; names as ſimilar in Belgic Gaul. *Autricum* was a city of the Carnuntes. *Velavia*, or *De Veluwe*, is the ancient name of a large part of Guelderland. And the probability is much in favour of the Belgic names, for three reaſons. 1. That we find the Menapii and Cauci, two nations of the Belgic coaſt, in Ireland; ſo that it is certain that ſome Belgic nations went there; and probable that others followed; whereas there is no Iberian nation to be poſitively traced in Ireland. 2. That the Belgic coaſt is as near to Ireland, as the Spaniſh; and the paſſage is moreover a mere coaſting voyage, always in view of land. 3. That we know from Cæſar, and other ancients, that the Belgæ peopled great part of Britain, ſo that it is alſo probable that ſome went to Ireland, the next ſhore; whereas we find no trace of Iberi in Britain; Tacitus, who hints an opinion that the Silures were Iberi, in the ſame ſentence retracting that opinion. And the Belgic nations of Britain are marked by Ptolemy, and others, while not one trace of a ſingle Iberian nation can be found, no *Cantabri*, *Aſtures*, &c. Nor can any Cantabric, or Iberian words be found in the Iriſh language; while it abounds with Gothic terms. For the ſpecimen of Lloyd only ſhews the diſſimilarity of the very words he chuſes; and he might have eaſily found more Engliſh words, or German words, with greater reſemblance of the Cantabric, than the

the Iriſh, if his whims had turned that way [k]. The Japaneſe, as has lately been ſhewn, bears more reſemblance to the Iriſh, than the Cantabric does; and if one ſeeks reſemblance of ſingle words, in this way, one is ſure to find them; for it would be a miracle indeed, if out of 60,000 words, all produced by the ſame organs, there were not 100 alike, in any two languages whatever [l]. It will therefore, upon the whole, not be accounted raſh to ſay, that there is not the ſlighteſt proof to be found that any colonies ever came from Spain to Ireland: but that, as ſuch events always leave traces behind them, and none ſuch are to be found in ancient writers, nor in the language of the people, there is firm reaſon to infer the contrary.

On the continent, an antiquary is a man, who examines ancient matters upon ancient authorities,

[k] Lloyd has, in his total ignorance of the Gothic, miſtaken plain Gothic words for Iriſh and Cantabric. See Lloyd's liſt compared with the German, by Eccard, in his *Origines Germanicæ*.

[l] Thus the Tartaric, Chineſe, Japaneſe, Phœnician, Aſiatic, &c. &c. have been paralleled with the Iriſh. The Dutch with the Malayan, Hebrew, &c. The Welch with the Huron. The Engliſh with the Peruvian. The Greek with the Chineſe. And the reaſon of ſimilar words in all languages is certainly very profound, to wit, that all mankind have the ſame paſſions, and organs of ſpeech. When, in the Diſſertation annexed, Language is put as a grand proof of the origin of nations, it is meant, not that 100 words may be the ſame, but that 10,000 words, or more, are the ſame; and that the idioms, or ſoul, and grammar, or body, of the language are the ſame. A hundred compariſons of languages would be ſpared, if a complete compariſon of all languages were publiſhed, ſhewing in particular the difference between accidental reſemblances, and thoſe ſhades, which we call dialects, as the Engliſh is of the German, the German of the Gothic; the Curlandic of the Poliſh, the Poliſh of the Slavonic, &c. But it requires great learning and experience even to conceive thoſe radical differences, tho vaſt, which diſcriminate Grand Languages from each other, as the Gothic from the Slavonic, and the Tartaric: and to diſtinguiſh thoſe differences from thoſe of mere dialect. As to paralleling a few ſimilar words, from languages radically different, the moſt ignorant may do it by means of dictionaries; and it is remarkable, that the moſt ignorant writers are the moſt apt to fall into this.

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and ſolid reaſoning. In Britain an antiquary is a viſionary, who details ſuperficial dreams to the public, upon no ancient authority at all, and upon the moſt ſilly and irrational ratiocination. Hence what no foreign antiquary, what no man of ſound learning, would even imagine, has been ſeriouſly advanced among us lately; to wit, that the Phœnicians ſettled colonies in the ſouth of Britain, and in Ireland! That traces of the Phœnician language may be found in that of the Wild Iriſh! Seriouſly this is too bad! this is puſhing learned folly to an extreme degree! Do reflect, ſweet gentleman dablers, that the Phœnicians were a people equal to the Greeks and Romans in every art, and refinement. That the traces of their colonies in Africa, in Spain, are fixt, and deciſive; and throw light all around them. That, if they had held even the ſmalleſt ſettlement in Britain, or Ireland, ſo ſtriking a circumſtance, ſo diſtinguiſhed a mark of their extended power and navigation, could never have eſcaped *all* the ancient writers. It is well known that the Phœnicians traded to Britain and Ireland, from their Spaniſh colonies, perhaps a thouſand years before our æra. Strabo tells us, they imported to Britain earthen veſſels, ſalt, iron and copper goods; and exported ſkins, but above all tin; and Diodorus Siculus informs us that it was the people of Cape Belerium (Cornwall) that digged the tin. From Ireland they could only export ſkins; certainly a branch of commerce that no nation ever thought of ſettling for, when the ſupply depended on the hunting, &c. of all the inhabitants of the country. Had the Phœnicians ſettled in any part of Britain or Ireland, their uſual ſplendor would have attended them. A few Phœnician coins may perhaps be found in Britain and Ireland, a circumſtance naturally to be expected from their trading there; but, had there been any ſettlements, there would have been ruins, and numerous coins ſtruck at the

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ſettlement, as at all thoſe in Spain. But not to waſte time in anſwering the dreams of folly, the total ſilence of all the ancients on this head is a complete negation. The proximity of the Gaelic to the Phœnician is no greater than that of the Gaelic to the Japaneſe, or to the Shilhic, or to the Malayan, as we now know from ſpecimens of all. It is perfectly underſtood by every man of the leaſt reading, that any two given languages will afford ſuch ſpecimens. A learned German has ſhewn, that all tongues whatever have ſuch reſemblances. It is the grammar, and form, and whole maſs of a language; not a ſimilarity of a few words, that is the criterion. The Iriſh being a language quite in the dark, no wonder that it appears a bear, a tyger, a calf, a lion, a man, a ghoſt, or what you pleaſe, in the midnight around it. Let us await with patience till other antiquaries with new whims find Japaneſe, African, Malayan, Tartarian colonies in Ireland; and then the cool reader will anſwer them all at once, with the ſingle word *nonſenſe*.

Having now, it is hoped, paſt the moraſſes of folly, let us proceed on ſolid ground. The reader has ſeen that the firſt population of Ireland was, in every probability, from Gaul. The Wild Iriſh, confeſſedly the original inhabitants, call themſelves Gael, and their ſpeech Gaelic. Cæſar informs us, that *Kelts* was the indigenal name; *Gauls*, a name given by the Romans. It is therefore apparent that the primitive Iriſh called themſelves Kelts, and their ſpeech Keltic: and i am told there are woods in Ireland, called *Coit Keltich*, or Keltic Woods, at this day. The origin of names is quite uncertain, and eſpecially in the Celtic language, which is ſo lax, vague, and indefinite: but a queſtion ariſes, how the wild Iriſh droped the indigenal name Kelts, and aſſumed the Roman appellation, Gael, or Gauls? On many occaſions, as is well known, nations and ſocieties exchange the name

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they give themſelves, for a general foreign term, tho even of reproach. Thus ſprang the names of Arabs, Quakers, Hugonots, &c. Indeed this is neceſſarily the caſe; for it is needleſs to retain a name only known to a particular nation, or ſociety, while all its neighbours concur in giving it another; and it is forced, in every intercourſe with it's neighbours, to adopt the general term. There is a confuſion of words in the Celtic language, naturally ariſing from the confuſed and miſty ideas, well known to be peculiar to the people. Thus the moſt oppoſite terms almoſt coaleſce: *Ear* is the Eaſt, *Iar* is the Weſt: *Gal* is a foreigner, *Gaël*, a native. The confuſion ariſing from this proximity may eaſily be gueſt. *Galli*, or foreigners, muſt have been the name originally given by the Celts to the Germans, who poured into their country. *Gaël* ſeems the word which the Greeks, who in their muſical language perverted all foreign names ſadly, altered to Κελτοι. The Celtic G is indeed ſo ſharply pronounced, that it approaches to K. Gaël and Kelt may therefore be the ſame word, differently pronounced; while the Roman Gallus may be Gal, a foreigner. If this be granted, the queſtion is anſwered. But if Kelt, actually ſo pronounced, was the old indigenal term, and Gael be Gallus, the Roman appellation; the name muſt have been aſſumed from the Romans in Britain. To the former opinion i rather incline; for the Iriſh language was much ſoftened by the bards, as all their antiquaries agree: and Ghaëlt may have been the old name ſoftened by Greek and Roman pronunciation to Kelt, and by the progreſs of the Iriſh language to Gaël.

The firſt colonies that followed the Gauls to Ireland, ſeem to have been from Britain. Lloyd tells us the general tradition among the Welch, that the Cumri expelled the Guidhil from Britain into Ireland, a tradition confirmed by ſeveral of the oldeſt names of rivers, mountains, &c. in

England and Wales being Gaelic, not Cumraig. The Celts of Gaul may be infallibly concluded, from proximity, to have been the firſt tenants of Britain. The Cumri, or German Celts, ſeem to have arrived at a much later period: and in all probability in conſequence of the Gothic progreſs from the eaſt. The Cumri, or Northern Celts, were far ſuperior to the Gallic Celts in proweſs; as is clear from their conqueſt of Gaul in the time of Marius; not to ſpeak of the conſtant ſuperior hardineſs of northern nations. The Guidhil, or Gael, fled before them; and Ireland received them. Population was then very thin; but perhaps as many Gaël proceeded on this occaſion to Ireland, as had formerly paſſed from Gaul. They were one identic people with the firſt colonies, who, no doubt, with open arms received ſuch a reinforcement of brethren. This event cloſed the original population of Ireland: and the Wild Iriſh are thus partly from Gaul, partly from Britain.

The Alien Colonies now claim attention. It is highly probable that, when the Belgæ, or Goths, firſt came to Britain, about 300 years before our æra, a great number of the Cumri were driven to Ireland. Richard of Cirenceſter ſays, under the year of the world 3650, that is, by his calculation, about 350 years before our æra, *Circa hæc tempora in Hyberniam commigrarunt ejecti a Belgis Brittones, ibique ſedes poſuerunt, ex illo tempore Scotti appellati.* In the later point he is certainly miſtaken, for the name Scotti was a far later appellative; and was given to the Scythæ of Ireland. But that many Cumri, or *Brittones*, paſſed about that time into Ireland, there is every reaſon to believe.

So much for the Celtic, or ſavage, colonization of Ireland. We now come to the colonies of rude Goths, then a barbarous people, but always advancing in ſociety, while the Celts remained as they were. A barbarous people is indeed as much ſuperior to a ſavage one, as a civilized to a barbarous.

barous. Savage nations were the Ἄγριοι of the Greeks, the *Feri* of the Romans; while the name of Βάρβαροι, and *Barbari*, they ſometimes gave to nations as poliſhed as themſelves. Of ſavages there can be no hiſtory; while that of barbarians is often preſerved; and is moſt intereſting, as it marks the hiſtory of man, the progreſs of ſociety. As the hiſtory of North America, is the hiſtory, not of the ſavage natives, but of the Engliſh there; ſo the hiſtory of Europe is that of the Goths in Europe; that of Ireland is that of the Goths in Ireland.

That the Goths had arrived at the extremity of Germany, and penetrated into Gaul, about 500 years before our æra, is ſhewn in the annexed Diſſertation. That the Belgæ, a part of theſe Goths, had paſt to Britain, and peopled all the ſouth and eaſt of preſent England, is clear from Cæſar, who came to Britain 54 years before the Chriſtian epoch. From the full ſtate of that population, and other incidents mentioned by Cæſar, it ſeems certain that not leſs than two, or three, centuries could poſſibly effect it; and it may therefore be ſafely argued, that the Belgæ had begun to colonize Britain, at leaſt 300 years before Chriſt's birth. That they had paſt to Ireland much about the ſame time may be thus ſhewn. From Ptolemy's deſcription of Ireland, written about 150 years after Chriſt, it is clear that the Menapii, a people of the coaſt of Belgic Gaul, held at that time large poſſeſſions in the ſouth of Ireland; as did the Cauci, a people of Germany, originally on the coaſt north of the Rhine. Now it ſeems certain that theſe nations could not have paſt to Ireland either in Roman times, or even in times of which the memory was recent, when Cæſar came to Britain. For Cæſar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Tacitus, who all deſcribe Ireland, Gaul, Germany, could never have been ſilent about this event, while they ſo

minutely detail the origins of any nations that they could diſcover. Commerce rendered Ireland well known to the Romans of Ptolemy's time, as is clear from his geography of it, which is very accurate for the age. Tacitus indeed obſerves that, in his time, the ports of Ireland were more viſited by merchants, than thoſe of Britain: the cauſe of which ſeems to me to have been, that the commercial articles of Britain were now conſumed by the home-trade of the Romans, actually living in Britain, ſo that merchants applied to Ireland for the ſkins, &c. The imports muſt alſo have been much leſſened; becauſe the Roman manufacturers ſupplied the natives with copper and iron, earthen ware, &c. while the conſumption of thoſe articles in Ireland, where there were no Roman manufacturers, muſt have remained in full force. By this trade with Ireland that country, in Ptolemy's time, was as much known to the Romans, as Japan, or any country traded to by Europeans, is to us. Had the Menapii and Cauci paſt from Germany and Belgic Gaul to Ireland, in Roman times, it ſeems impoſſible that this event could eſcape ſo many writers. Pliny in particular, that curious inveſtigator, had ſerved in Germany, and written Twenty Books on the German Wars, before he began his Natural Hiſtory, yet had not heard of this colonization. Cæſar, who deſcribes Ireland, Gaul, and Germany, knew nothing of it, tho from his work it be plain that he was verſt in the traditional hiſtory of the Gauls and Germans. I believe it will therefore be granted that this colonization muſt have been much more ancient than Cæſar's time; and, that if we allow it to have happened two or three centuries before that time, we ſhall be as near the truth as poſſible in a caſe of this kind. The Belgæ, and the Cauci their neighbours, ſeeing the ſucceſs of their brethren in Britain, woud naturally be inſtigated to ſimilar excurſions. The paſſage to Ireland was longer, but

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the acquiſition eaſier, as the Cumri or Northern Celts of Britain were the victors of thoſe very Gael, or Southern Celts, who held Britain. The Goths had in Britain to encounter the victors: in Ireland the vanquiſhed. As this was the caſe, perhaps the Gothic ſettlement in Ireland even preceded that in Britain; for ſuch affairs do not proceed on a fanciful mechaniſm. But as no certainty can ever be acquired on either ſide in this queſtion, it ſeems moſt proper, with the allowance uſually made in ſuch caſes, to date both events about one and the ſame time, 300 years before our æra.

That the Menapii and Cauci were not the only Belgic or German nations, that then paſſed to Ireland, there is every reaſon to infer. In Britain there were Belgæ proper, and many tribes of Belgæ with various names, not found on the continent. In Ireland the *Eblani*, on the north of the Cauci proper, ſeem a Caucic tribe. The *Luceni* ſeem to have been of the *Leuaci*, who lay next to the Menapii in Belgic Gaul; *Leuac* and *Luc* being ſimilar, and *en* only the German plural. The *Auteri* may have been *Atrebates*; alſo a people near the Menapii, in their original ſeats. The *Vela-bri* may have been of the *Velo-caſſi* on the ſhore of Belgic Gaul, the laſt ſyllables being varied epithets. The *Vodii* apparently bear a German name[m]: and the *Iverni* from their ſituation and name ſeem to have been Belgæ. Mr. O'Conor allows that hardly one of Ptolemy's names admits of a Celtic derivation; and the probable inference is, that the chief nations were not of Celtic origin. The greater part of Ireland was certainly ſubdued by the Belgæ; and rude towns and forts erected by them to maintain the conqueſt. The Celts, having

[m] *Vodo*-goriacum was a town of the Nervii, *Itin. Aug. Tab. Peut. Bodo*-briga of the Treveri. The Teuto-*Bodiaci* were part of the Galatæ, who were Germans.

now no further refuge, could not fly from the conqueror; but remained the numerous population of the ile; and their language of courſe in time prevailed. But the power of the Belgæ even Iriſh hiſtory and tradition imply. For *Bolg* ſignifies to this day a nobleman, and alſo a man of ſcience; and there are many old fortified hills ſtill called *Dun Bolg*, or forts of the Belgæ.

As the Belgæ entered on the South of Ireland, the Celts would naturally crowd to the North. About two hundred years before Chriſt, a vaſt number of Cumri retired thither from preſent Scotland upon the entrance of the Piks into that country, as before ſhewn. It appears from Ptolemy, that three Britiſh tribes had alſo ſettlements in Ireland, namely, the *Coriondi* or *Coritani* and *Brigantes*, in the South; and the *Voluntii* in the North. Theſe tribes ſeem to have been naturally directed in their choice by their Gothic and Celtic origin. The *Coritani* and *Brigantes*, Gothic neighbours in Britain, ſettled on the South of Ireland. The *Voluntii* Celts of Cumberland ſettled on the North, among their Celtic brethren. Richard dates this migration fifty-two years after Chriſt: and ſays, theſe nations retired to Ireland from the Roman arms; which ſeems very probable. He adds the *Cangi*, as a fourth tribe; as he takes the *Gangani* of Ptolemy to be *Cangani*; but of this let every one think as he ſees proper. The ſame writer tells us that the *Menapii* and *Cauci* were infallibly *nationes Teutonicæ originis*, 'nations of Teutonic origin,' that the time of their arrival was not known, but probably, as he gueſſes, a little before Cæſar's time. The reader has above ſeen arguments for a date yet a little earlier.

Thus were the Belgæ and German Goths eſtabliſhed in the ſouth of Ireland. A moſt curious and important queſtion now ariſes, namely, if any Scandinavian Goths ſeized on the north of Ireland

Ireland in early times? This is a hinge upon which the whole hiſtory of Ireland turns.

That fabulous progeny the Tuath de Danan are here out of all queſtion. If they paſſed from preſent Scotland, as all the Iriſh accounts bear, they were clearly Damnii, a Cumraig people, that fled before the Piks. If they were Danes, they muſt be thoſe who, in the eighth century, for the firſt time, appeared in Ireland. I incline, after more labour and inveſtigation than any part of Iriſh origins has coſt me, to give this grand queſtion the negative; or to think that no Scandinavians appeared in Ireland before the eighth century, upon the following grounds.

What ſeems totally to negative the queſtion at firſt is, that there is no mention of the Scandinavians, of any Danes or Norwegians in Ireland, before the eighth century, in Tighernac, the annals of Ulſter, or other authentic documents of real Iriſh hiſtory. In Cumineus, Adomnan, writers of the ſeventh century, not a trace of Scandinavian invaſion can be found. The prophecies of Columba could hardly paſs ſuch an evil, had he foreſeen what had never happened. Gildas, Nennius, Beda, are alſo quite ſilent. Sir James Ware therefore rightly ſays, that, in 795, *primum*, for the FIRST time, the Northern nations infeſted Ireland, as the Iriſh annals bear. It may be thought that as the Piks came from Norway to the Hebudes; and entered upon their conqueſt of preſent Scotland on that ſide about 300 years before Chriſt; their Gothic brethren of Norway and Denmark might naturally be imagined to have made other incurſions that way. But hiſtory does not bear ſuch analogical reaſoning; and human affairs proceed not upon mechanical, or upon theoretic, principles. In fact the effect was in this inſtance deſtructive of the cauſe. For the Pikiſh and Daniſh colonies were ſo large, that they may well be inferred to have exhauſted the Scandina-

vian population ſo much as to leave no occaſion for emigration, for a long time. This was the caſe with the Angli, Saxons, &c. In ancient times the Lydians, as Herodotus ſtates, formed an emigration of one half of the nation; but no more Lydians went to Hetruria afterward. The Danes were themſelves but a late Scandinavian colony; and their population muſt have been a long time only ſufficient for their own territory. The *Vitæ* and *Angli* ſeem the firſt colony they ſent out; and that only in the fifth and ſixth centuries. They are therefore out of the queſtion. The Scandinavians were exhauſted by the Pikiſh and Daniſh colonies. The former they might alſo, in theſe dark ages, regard as poſſeſt of all the iles on the weſt, and have of courſe no temptation to invade their own countrymen. Certain it is, that no trace can be found of Danes, or Norwegians, invading Scotland, till the ninth century. Nor a ſingle trace in all the Iriſh annals of any northern nations, by any name whatever, aſſailing Ireland till 795. About 210 years after Chriſt, as appears from the Pikiſh chronicle, a large colony of Piks ſettled in the north of Ireland; and they are remarkable to a late period in Iriſh annals, &c. by the name of Cruthneans, the Iriſh term for the Piks. They had their own kings, and are a marked people, till the ninth century. Had any Scandinavians been in that tract, there is reaſon to queſtion if the Piks could have effected a ſettlement. It is indeed no wonder that the Scandinavian ſagas and hiſtories, ſilent about the Piks, Vitæ and Angli, ſhould be ſilent about this; and if any ſaga ſhould ſpeak of invaſions of Ireland or Scotland, prior to the eighth century, no credit can be paid to thoſe pieces written many centuries after, and in which early chronology is quite confounded. Concerning Ptolemy's names of nations in the north of Ireland, *Darnii* (or *Damnii*, as Richard from older and better MSS. reads), *Venicnii*,

picnii, Robogdii, Nagnati, Erdini, i have conſulted a learned Northern antiquary, who informs me that they are not Scandinavian names. Had the Scandinavians made any invaſions on Ireland, they would alſo, as in later times, have attacked the weſtern ſhores of Britain; while there is not a hint of this to be found in Roman writers, who only mention the Scots of Ireland as invading the weſtern ſhore, and Saxons the eaſt. It may fluctuate in the minds of ſome, that as the Piks, 300 years before Chriſt, came from Scandinavia to the Hebudes, and thence conquered and peopled preſent Scotland; ſo it ſeems probable that other invaders would follow that tract to the north of Ireland, long before the year 795 after Chriſt. But the fact is, that this ſame large colony of Piks would be, of neceſſity, the very cauſe of preventing ſimilar invaſions in that courſe, till the memory of it had expired. For Caledonia, and the north of Ireland, were filled with Piks, or, in other words, with Scandinavians, which no doubt the Scandinavians perfectly knew from the intercourſe of ſingle ſhips, or trading veſſels. So that they would never think of attacking their countrymen, till length of time had extinguiſhed all ſuch conſiderations. In future times they did not attack Iceland, lately colonized, but Scotland, whoſe connexion was loſt. It may be ſaid that England preſents an exception to this remark, the Angli having only arrived in 547, and being attacked by the Danes in the beginning of the ninth century. But the Angli, tho of Scandinavian origin, as the Danes, were quite a diſtinct nation, not only from the ancient Danes, but from the Iutes, their northern neighbours. The Iutes had their own kings; and ſo had the Angli; as appears from Suhm's hiſtory of Denmark, and other works. So late as 830, Regnar Lodbrog, king of Denmark, was occupied in conquering the Iutes. The Angli were ſtill more remote from Den-

Denmark than the Iutes. The Danes, in attacking the Angli of Britain, warred againſt a people always diſtinct from themſelves: while the Scandinavians and Piks were diviſions of the ſame identic people. Beſides the caſes are, in another view, not parallel: for the Angli were only the *conquerors* who ſettled among the inhabitants of Northumbria, and were ſoon loſt among the inhabitants. The Piks, on the contrary, were the *people* of Caledonia. The Piks formed a great colony; and doubtleſs, as the Iſlandic, brought wives and family with them, or ſent for them when the ground was ſecured. Like the Lydians of Hetruria, they may have been a vaſt diſcontented party, or indeed like many modern colonies. On the firſt arrival of the Goths in Scandinavia, as they had enemies to ſubdue, they muſt have proceeded in armies, and have formed large ſtates under one government, as appears from Tacitus in his account of the Suiones or Danes, and Sitones or Swedes; all the former of whom obeyed one king, the later one queen. Of courſe, in theſe early times, the emigrating parties muſt have been very large, and in proportion to the ſtates. But in time, when the danger of the grand Generic foe, as the Fins for inſtance, was abated, the warlike ſpirit of the Goths broke out often among themſelves, and ſplit them into numerous petty kingdoms and ſtates; as we know was the caſe in Norway till the ninth century, and in Denmark and Sweden, tho not quite ſo long. In Britain the Piks were kept together, from conſtant danger of the Cumri, their ſouthern neighbours; ſo we learn of no diviſions among them, ſave contentions for the crown. But in Scandinavia the Fins being driven beyond the Bothnic gulf, and the Vends inhabiting only the ſouth of the Baltic, the Goths were ſecure from Generic foes, and often immerſed in domeſtic wars, and ſplit into contending ſtates. Thoſe domeſtick wars weakened them

them much, till ſeven or eight centuries after Chriſt, when monarchs of ſuperior talents ſubdued the reſt, and formed again into one powerful ſtate, what ſecurity from foreign foes had divided, ſoon after the Generic foe was ſubdued. Attention to all theſe circumſtances becomes neceſſary to form a proper judgment upon this queſtion. The reader muſt reflect on the three grand ſtages of Scandinavian government: 1. Great ſtates, united under one ſupreme power, againſt a Generic foe. 2. Thoſe ſtates ſplit into ſmall ones by diſſention from ſecurity, and from want of a common foe. 3. Great ſtates formed by the ſmall ones being ſubdued by one monarch, as the heptarchies of England. The middle ſtage of ſmall ſtates is the moſt unſuitable for emigration; becauſe the population is conſumed by domeſtic war. In the firſt and third ſtages alone the Scandinavian colonies emigrated. Conſidering the Piks therefore in this light, during the firſt ſtage, or till about a century after Chriſt, the memory of this grand weſtern colony was quite recent; and the Scandinavians could no more dream of ſending out freſh colonies, or of invading that quarter, than we of ſending colonies to North America, or the Spaniards to the South, already in their own occupation. During the ſecond ſtage, till ſeven or eight centuries after our æra, domeſtic war engaged all attention, and deſtroyed population, ſo that no colonies nor invaders could be ſent. During the third ſtage freſh invaſions naturally aroſe. From all theſe reaſons it ſeems clear that before the year 795 the Scandinavians never invaded Ireland. Indeed, he who aſſerts that they did muſt do it upon his own authority; as the negative teſtimony of all the ancients, Roman, and Britiſh, and Iriſh, is moſt cogent againſt him. Such being the ſtate of the queſtion, the Scandinavians are to be regarded as having no part in Iriſh origins.

The ancient hiſtory of Ireland is therefore the hiſtory of the Belgic and German Goths in Ireland. And the reader having thus ſeen the detail of Iriſh origins, it remains to conſider the name of Scots.

Many etymologies have been given of the word *Scot*. All the more ancient writers concur in repreſenting it as the ſame with *Scyth*, or *Scythian*; an opinion which prevailed till the preſent century. Of the late Dr. Macpherſon ſuppoſes *Scuit*, or *Scot* to ſignify a *ſmall body* of men; Mr. Whitaker, *wanderers*, or *refugees*. Others more plauſibly derive it from *Coit*, a wood; or from *Schut*, a boat, or ſmall veſſel, as Ireland abounded with woods, and the Scots attacked Britain in ſuch veſſels. Others from *Scutten*, to ſhoot.

An opinion which, on ignorant repreſentation, ſeems erroneous, will often, when ſupported on due grounds, aſſume quite another appearance. The firſt etymon of *Scot*, as the ſame with *Scyth*, or Scythian, ſeemed to me moſt ridiculous; as the Scots of Ireland, as ſoon as known in hiſtory, ſpoke the Celtic tongue. But on the ſlighteſt reflection this was found no argument; for the Franks, or French, tho ſtill ſo called, do not ſpeak Francic; but the corrupted Roman of Gaul, where they ſettled. The Normans of France in two centuries after ſettling, ſpoke not Norman, but Romance alſo. The Angli ſpoke not Daniſh, after fixing here, but the Belgic of England. All theſe nations, with many others, retained their name, tho they changed their language. In ſhort, a ſmall nation, ſettling in any country, may retain it's name, may give it to all the country; yet will ever loſe it's ſpeech in that of the population of the country. Such are human affairs; and hence groſs impropriety riſes: for the French language is not the French, but the Roman; the Engliſh not Engliſh, but Belgic; the Iriſh-Scotiſh, not Scythic, but Celtic.

It

It is ſhewn, in the annexed Diſſertation, that SCYTHÆ was the grand generic name of the furtheſt Germans on the weſt. And that SCOT is ſynonymous with SCYTH, and was the name originally, and generically, borne by the Belgæ and Germans, who conquered Ireland, will appear from the following arguments. 1. All the Iriſh accounts bear, that the Scots landed in the ſouth of Ireland, and from thence ſubdued the old inhabitants; a deſcription only applicable to the Belgæ and Germans. 2. The Scots infeſted Britain from the eaſtern ſhore of Ireland; which, we know from Ptolemy, was held by the Germans and Belgæ. 3. The Celts of Gaul and of Britain were eaſily ſubdued by the Romans; and gave them no further diſturbance. The Scots of Ireland were ever making incurſions into the Roman provinces; a conduct not at all according with the Celtic character. 4. King Alfred, in his tranſlation of Beda, and an Anglo-Belgic poem on the Daniſh wars in the Cotton Library [n], with other writers of that time, uſe *Scytiſc* for Scotiſh familiarly; ſo that *Scyt* and *Scot* were ſynonymous: and the only Scythæ implied muſt be the Belgæ and Germans; for the Piks of the north of Ireland, are out of the queſtion, not ſettling there till about A. D. 210, long after the Scotiſh monarchy was eſtabliſhed in Ireland; and being poſſeſſed of but one corner. 5. By all the Iriſh accounts the Scots were the people who came laſt to Ireland on the ſouth, before Chriſtianity; and vanquiſhed the old inhabitants: a deſcription only applicable to the Belgæ and Germans. Late Iriſh writers diſtinguiſh the Belgæ, or Fir-Bolg, from the Scots; but repreſent the later as leagued with the former in vanquiſhing the Tuath de Dannan. The Fir Bolg were a part of the Scots, as the Angli were of the Goths, who came to England. The mention

[n] Vitellius, A. X.

of

of a particular name argues not that name to be of a different generic people. 6. The Iriſh writers uniformly ſay that the Scots were Scythians, and ſo Nennius tells us expreſſly; and the Belgæ and Germans were the only Scythians we find at the time in Ireland; ſo that the Belgæ and Germans muſt have been the Scots. Diodorus Siculus repeatedly names the very country from whence the Cauci went, 'Scythia above Gaul;' as ſhewn in the Diſſertation added. If we deny the Scots to have been Scythians, we muſt reject all the Iriſh accounts, ancient and modern. But, if Scythians, they could only come from the Scythic territories in Germany and Gaul. For the Gothic colonies in the north of Spain are out of the queſtion, the Gothic nations in Ireland identifying their Belgic and German origin by their names, *Menapii*, *Cauci*, &c. Other arguments might be added [o], but it is believed that theſe may ſuffice to ſhew that the Scots were thoſe Scythæ, namely the Belgæ and Germans, who vanquiſhed Ireland. The reaſon why Nennius, and other writers of the middle ages, who expreſſly tell us, that the Scots were Scythæ, yet repreſent them as coming from Spain, was that abſurd etymology of *Ibernia* from *Iberia*. But it is now granted on all hands that Hibernia is a name ariſing from the *weſtern* ſituation of this fine iland; and that Scotia is an appellation ariſing from the Scots ſettling in it. So that this opinion of the Scots having come from Spain, or Iberia, ſprung from a ridiculous etymology; and is beneath all notice, being of a piece with the Brutus of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The names of the Scotiſh kings in Ireland are alſo Gothic, not Celtic.

[o] The reader may conſult Innes, Vol. II. p. 517. *ſeqq.* for proofs that the Scots were quite a diſtinct people from the Wild Iriſh; and conquerors of the later. St. Patrick in his Epiſtles evinces this. The *Scoti*, whom he generally marks as *Reguli* and *Nobiles*, he uniformly diſtinguiſhes from the *Hyberionæ* and *Hybernigenæ*, terms for the commonalty.

Such

Such is *Leogaire* the firſt Chriſtian king, for who is ignorant that Leogaire is alſo the name of a Francic king; and is a German name, *Leof-gard* 'a keeper of love,' as Leopold, Leonard, &c.? Some of the names of Scotiſh or Iriſh kings are no doubt Celtic epithets, given them by their people; but others are mere Gothic names. Such are *Conary*, or *Conrad*, *Hugh*, *Hugony*; *Nial* is quite a Gothic name, familiar in Runic monuments, and Icelandic ſagas. The Celtic language changes almoſt all words to it's own form; and even in the Iriſh bible the names are forced to be changed and accommodated to that odd ſpeech. Thus *Alexander* can only be put *Aliſdair*; *Adam* is *Adhamh*; *Andrew* is *Aindra*; *Bartholomew* is *Partholan*; *Daniel* is *Donuil*; *David* is *Dabhi*; *Gideon*, *Gide-eon*; *James*, *Semis*; *John*, *Eoin*; *Peter*, *Phedair*; *Samuel*, *Somhairle*: &c. &c. &c. Such being the caſe, the ſtrange perverſion of Gothic names in the Celtic language is eaſily accounted for. My preſent ſubject forbids my entering at full length into this point; but from peruſal of the Annals of Ulſter i am fully convinced that the names of not only the Iriſh monarchs, but of moſt of the provincial kinglets, are Gothic.

But long before Chriſtianity was ſettled in Ireland, perhaps indeed before the birth of Chriſt, the Scots, or Scythæ, who conquered Ireland, had loſt their ſpeech in that of the greater number of the Celts, the common people, as uſually happens. From England and Scotland the Celts had crouded to the weſt, and vaſt numbers had paſt to Ireland. The mountainous north and weſt of England, the friths of Scotland, had formed barriers between the Goths and Celts. But in Ireland, the grand and laſt receptacle of the Celts, and whither almoſt their whole remains finally flowed, it is no wonder that the Gothic conquerors, the Scots, loſt their ſpeech in that of the population.

In Britain, the Celts who remained were much improved by Roman intercourſe; and the ſuperiority of the Welch to the Iriſh Celts appears in the laws of Howel Dha, in their hiſtoric fables, in the ſuperior accuracy of their language, and in the name they gave, and give, the Iriſh Celts, *Guydhil*, or *Wild Men*. Originally indeed the Northern Celts, or Cumri, were ſuperior to the Southern, or Gael, in ſtrength of mind and body; as the conqueſts of the former over the later prove. The Wild Iriſh are at this day known to be ſome of the verieſt ſavages in the globe: and have remained in the ſame want of civilization, as deſcribed by the Greek and Roman authors, and by thoſe of the middle ages. The chief families in Ireland, and the induſtrious and civilized part of the people, are all of Gothic deſcent, as Scots, Danes, Norwegians, and laterly Engliſh and modern Scots. What intereſt they can have therefore in ſupporting the Celtic viſions, which, far from honouring, really diſgrace their country, it were difficult to ſay; did not we ſee national prejudice, another name for national deluſion, often ſwallow up every ſpark of diſcernment. The Engliſh, till the preſent century, were fighting for the Welch antiquities, as doing honour to their nation; and the Scots are following the ſame tract to this day. The bards, and ſennachies, authors of all this perdition to the hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland, were ſtrollers of the genuine Celtic breed.

So much for the origin of the Scots[p]; and I beg leave to ſubjoin a hint or two concerning the early

[p] The origin of the Scots, above given, is confirmed by Ware, who ſhews that *Scythæ* and *Scotti* were but different names for the ſame people; and both are called *Scutten* by the Germans. Ware quotes Diceto, who ſays, 'E regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia dicitur Scita, Sciticus, Scotus, Scotia:' and Walſingham, who has the ſame idea. Reineccius, in his Hiſtoria Julia, ſays the ancient name of Scythians is ſtill retained by the Scots. Nay the Welch, as Camden obſerves,

early Iriſh hiſtory, which is that of the Scots, or Goths in Ireland. That they ſubdued Ireland with united arms, and divided it as uſual among their chiefs and ſoldiers, is apparent from all Iriſh writers ancient and modern; and inferable from others, as Oroſius, Beda, &c. who repreſent Ireland as fully poſſeſt by the Scots. The nature of the acquiſition would, in all likelihood, render the ſeveral diviſions monarchic; and one monarch or other would be acknowleged ſuperior; as, we learn from Cæſar, was the caſe among the ſtates of Gaul. In other countries, vanquiſhed by the Goths, the Celts totally retired apart, as did the Welch when the Saxons came here; and the victors ſometimes formed monarchies, ſometimes republics; being all freemen, and having no conquered ſubjects to keep under. But in Ireland, that grand refuge of Celtic population, the ſtates could not be republican, as three quarters of the ſubjects could form no part of the government; ſo that it muſt in all appearance have remained military, that is monarchic. In this all the Iriſh accounts agree; and in 432, when Patrick went to Ireland, we find Leogaire *Rex Hiberniæ*, king of Ireland by eminence. The idea aſſerted by Maitland, and ſome others, that Leogaire was the firſt king of this ſupreme title, is childiſh and invidious. We might as juſtly reject all the Daniſh, Swediſh, and Norwegian annals, prior to Chriſ-

ſerves, call both Scythians and Scots *Y-ſcot*. The old Chronicon Rhythmicum (Innes, App.) ſays,

> Dicitur a Getia Geticus, ſeu Gothia Gothi;
> Dicitur a Scithia Scithicus, ſic Scotia Scoti.

Eccard, in his Origines Germanicæ, has curious remarks confirming the German origin of the Iriſh Goths, ſuch as "Reſtant in Friſiorum et Hibernorum lingua quæ arcte conveniunt, atque in reliquis dialectis vix reperiuntur." The Cauci were in Friſia. An author of the XIth century, Innes, p. 191, ſays the Scoti were firſt called *Chuſiſci*; query, if the *Cheruſci* of Germany?

tianity's being eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries. How far back the kings of Ireland can be named with certainty, becomes not me to ſay, who have not ſeen the original documents. This is therefore ſubmitted to the antiquaries of that kingdom. Mr. O'Conor [q] dates the commencement of the genuine liſt at the eſtabliſhment of the palace of ſupreme royalty, at Emania in Ulſter, ſeven generations, or about 210 years, before our æra. The Pagan period of Iriſh hiſtory ſeems to fall into two diviſions; The OBSCURE, from the arrival of the Scots, till the reign of Tuathal the Acceptable, about 137 years after Chriſt: and The DAWNING, from the reign of Tuathal, till Patrick's arrival in 432, after which all is clear. Mr. O'Conor [r] remarks that Tuathal's reign forms a new and certain epoch in the progreſs of Iriſh hiſtory. Foreigners may imagine that it is granting too much to the Iriſh to allow them liſts of kings more ancient than of any other country in modern Europe: but the ſingularly compact and remote ſituation of that iland, and it's freedom from Roman conqueſt, and from the concuſſions of the fall of the Roman empire, may infer this allowance not too much. But all contended for, is the liſt of kings, ſo eaſily preſerved by the repetition of bards at high ſolemnities; and ſome grand events of hiſtory. For to expect a certain detail, and regular order, in the pagan hiſtory of Ireland, were extravagant. The Iriſh antiquiſts will, on the other hand, exclaim againſt this rejection of ſo many fables, which they call, and perhaps, if the human mind can be ſo debaſed, really think hiſtory. Mr. O'Conor ſays that the period from Tuathal to Leogaire is the moſt uſeful and important of the whole heathen hiſtory of Ireland. In which he is certainly right: and the traditions and bardiſh rhymes, with the early attention of the Iriſh, after

[q] Diſſertations. [r] Ibid.

converſion,

converſion, to ſuch learning as was then in vogue, promiſe conſiderably veracity to this laſt pagan period. Sir James Ware was confeſſedly ignorant of the Iriſh language; ſo that his rejection of all the pagan hiſtory of Ireland was at beſt raſh. But indeed the Iriſh writers, like the dog in the fable, loſe the ſubſtance, by graſping at the ſhadow: and their falſehoods are ſo wild, that it is no wonder they nauſeate the public againſt the whole. The claim of letters in Ireland, preceding Chriſtianity, is alone ſufficient to cauſe the rejection of the whole early hiſtory of that country, by all the literati of Europe: and he who aſſerts ſuch a glaring falſehood is the bittereſt enemy of his country, and in his deluſion diſgraces, when he means to honour. But it is the duty of a cool enquirer after truth not to allow the viſions of ſuch writers to hurt any cauſe, which they either attack, or defend.

SECTION II. *Progreſs of the Old Scots, or Dalriads, from Ireland to North Britain.*

IT is with infinite concern, that toward the cloſe of the Eighteenth century, i am forced to contend againſt modern errors in Scotiſh antiquities, that would have diſgraced the Thirteenth. Superficiality is the parent of error: and in antiquities, a ſubject requiring the utmoſt labour, and moſt profound and exuberant reading, it is no wonder that the fruit of ſuperficiality is monſtrous. Claſſical learning, as it is called, that is, a little dabbling in Greek and Roman claſſics, has in all ages formed the ſum total of Scotiſh antiquarian literature. In the preſent eſpecially, even our little learning has gradually leſſened; and *philoſophy*, or really *reaſoning ignorance*, ſupplies it's place. If philoſophy have not extinguiſhed common ſenſe among us, we muſt know that human hiſtory proceeds upon no theoretic principles, but upon facts eternally contradictive of all theory; and that theſe

facts can only be found in ancient authorities. To judge of antiquities upon a ſlight acquaintance with the claſſics, and with philoſophic theory, is ſo abſurd, that to mention ſuch an idea is to excite laughter. Yet it a is lamentable truth, that ſuch is the plan of examining Scotiſh origins, among all our writers of this century, ſave Innes. The authors of the middle ages, the genuine fountains of information, are not even known by name to our puerile antiquaries. The gold of truth, which is hid deep in the ſoil, they look for upon the ſurface of claſſic reading, and in the open day of philoſophy. Antiquities, the ſevereſt of all ſtudies in learned countries, are in mine the amuſement, as they call it, of men who are abſolute ſtrangers to the ſeverity of literary diſcuſſion. Puerile errors have begot puerile prejudices; and, in the frenzy of thoſe prejudices againſt a reſpectable nation, the Iriſh, it is riſible to ſee our antiquiſts forget that, even judging by thoſe prejudices, it is more diſgraceful to the Scots to have been the fathers of the Iriſh, than the contrary. For is it more diſhonourable to have a fooliſh father, or a fooliſh ſon?

It is needleſs to enter into any diſcuſſion of that abſurd queſtion, Whether the old Scots proceeded from Ireland to North Britain, or from North Britain to Ireland? That progreſs is detailed in the two following chapters. All that can be ſaid to our Scotiſh antiquiſts is, Read: and read as on any other ſubject, without prejudice. A few hints ſhall however be given, after premiſing that the origin of the PRESENT Scots, or people ſo called after the Eleventh century, is not here diſcuſſed, but reſerved for after-conſideration. It is that of the old Scots in Britain, otherwiſe called Dalriads, which is here examined. The origin of the opinion; that the old Scots proceeded to Ireland from North Britain, may well be ſuppoſed Celtic, that is in the inverſe ratio of reaſon, and is accordingly

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to be firſt found in Lloyd's Archæologia, printed in 1707, tho only in general terms concerning the progreſs of the Guydhil, or Gaël, from Britain to Ireland. Dr. Mackenzie, in the preface to his Scotiſh Writers, publiſhed in 1708, greedily purſued this ſcent; and, like a young hound, yelped much, but caught no prey. Gordon followed in a moſt impudent and lying ſection of his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, London 1726, folio. Yet Innes, whoſe book was publiſhed in 1729, ſeems to have looked on this new opinion as beneath notice; for he ſays nothing of it. This favourite plant of ignorance ſtill thrived, and aſſumed freſh vigour, in Maitland's Hiſtory of Scotland, 1757; and in Goodal's Introduction to Fordun, 1759. And laſtly the two Macphersons have dunged it afreſh, in recent publications. In vain did Robertſon and Hume teſtify againſt it. A new plan of inveſtigating antiquities was introduced for Scotland excluſively. Other countries reſt ancient facts totally upon ancient authorities; but for Scotland all authorities were to be cut down. The word of command was, "Put out the candles that we may ſee the clearer!"

It was my deſign to have laid before the reader a numerical abſtract of all the arguments advanced by Maitland, Goodal, and the Macphersons, againſt the Iriſh extract of the old Scots of Britain; and to give anſwers in like order. But, after careful and repeated peruſal of thoſe doughty champions, i was forced to relinquiſh the deſign, leſt the reader ſhould imagine that i was ſporting at his expence; and fighting with ſhades of utter ignorance and folly, of my own creation, in order that my great wiſdom ſhould appear conſpicuous in the victory. Another grand reaſon was that i really could not find one argument uſed by theſe writers, that would bear a repetition. To any man who, with Democritus, delights in laughing at the madneſs of mankind, there cannot be a greater

feaſt than the peruſal of the Scotiſh and Iriſh conteſt on their origins. Much cunning upon one ſide, much weakneſs on the other, while that ſupreme goddeſs Ignorance ſits umpire, and deals out her equal favours in the largeſt proportion to both parties. On the Iriſh ſide nothing can be charged, but a ſhameful credulity and obduracy in ancient fable. But our Scotiſh antiquiſts, ignorant themſelves, and writing in a country remarkable for ignorance of antiquities, are like other rogues, emboldened by darkneſs; and venture on tricks, that the moſt unprincipled man of learning would, in a learned country, tremble at, as if the pillory ſtood before him. This cenſure may be thought ſevere; but Truth whiſpers me, that it is not ſufficiently ſevere for the occaſion.

Theſe four Scotiſh champions of falſehood have had the honour to introduce quite a new ſtyle of compoſition. The only arguments they uſe are of two kinds: 1. Railing againſt all ancient authorities, which, by a madneſs unknown in any other country, they think they can *confute!* 2. Aſſertions totally falſe, and impudent. Far from being learned, they have not even thoſe ideas which lead to learning; and thus their arguments, far from being accurate, are unſcientific, nay irrational, and ſuch as never were uſed before in any literary queſtion whatever. Their heat is ſo extreme as to excite utter diſguſt; and to merit being repreſſed by all the indignation of inſulted ſcience. The Oſſian Macpherſon in particular uſes a moſt extravagant ſtyle. He ſays he has *finally decided* the queſtion, a queſtion of ancient facts and circumſtances, from his dabling in modern Gaelic, while there is not one MS. in Gaelic upon the matter! A boy at ſchool would know that a man may be able to ſpeak, nay read, Engliſh; and yet not decide upon Engliſh origins. But ſuch are Celtic underſtandings! The ſtyle of the later writer is indeed peculiarly Celtic, hyperbolic, and bombaſtic.

baſtic. Genius in Oſſian was well; but in a queſtion of this kind it is frenzy. The only powers of mind to be exerted are learning, clear and cool comprehenſion, veracity, and penetration. But Mr. Macpherſon pretends to build a houſe with a ſword: and he has only wounded himſelf. A book like his is indeed ſufficient to *decide* a queſtion; for if ignorance and falſehood be on one ſide, it follows that learning and truth will be on the other.

Theſe ſtrange writers have betrayed me into a ſtyle perhaps unworthy of my purpoſe, but which they deſerve. Good manners are not to be ſhewn to all; elſe what difference between the worthy and unworthy part of ſociety? Indignation belongs to virtue, and to ſcience alſo. And how anſwer writers who childiſhly take the Hibernia of the ancients for Scotland; the Jerne of Greek and Roman writers for Stratherne; the Mona of Cæſar, for Æmona, in the frith of Forth; *Tethyca vallis*[s] for Menteith, &c. &c. &c.? May that power, from whom the holy right of reaſon ſprings, prevent mine from being debaſed ſo far! Not content with aſſertions abſolutely falſe, ſuch as that the Highlanders call their country *Caeldoch*, that the Iriſh call their language *Gaelich Eirinach*, &c, &c. &c. they refer moſt falſely to authorities, which when examined, confute them; nay totally pervert, interpolate, and mangle thoſe authorities which they quote. What name ſhall we apply to ſuch practices, happily quite unknown in other countries? Indeed I am apt to think that, in ſome countries, the antiquaries form an exception to the

[s] Gildas, whoſe work is a ſtrange poetical rant, or rather proſe run mad, uſes *vallis* for the ſea, as Claudian

Nec multo ſpatii diſtantibus æquore vallis. *In Ruf.* II. 172.

uſes a ſea of ſpace for land. *Thetica vallis* is the valley of Thetis goddeſs of the ſea. So *firth*, 'a plain,' is now applied to ſea.

national character. My countrymen are deſervedly noted for probity; their antiquaries are juſt the reverſe. Their ſacrifice of all truth, to what they call the honour of Scotland, is proverbial. Deluded men! Can any honour ſpring from falſehood? The people of England are ſolid and ſenſible; their antiquaries generally moſt viſionary. The French are gay and frivolous; their antiquaries grave and ſolid. Let us then leave the *lana caprina* of confuting theſe writers to oblivion, that ſilent confuter of ſuch attempts. Mr. Macpherſon has been happily confuted by Mr. Whitaker, who has ſet nonſenſe againſt nonſenſe. For Oſſian, and Richard of Cirenceſter, are the authors upon whom Mr. Whitaker confutes the father of Oſſian. Oſſian and La Morte Arthur, which laſt Mr. W. ranks againſt Gildas and Beda, and gives a long hiſtory of king Arthur from it, were juſt fit to produce that nonſenſe which would counterpoize any other nonſenſe. So that Mr. M. and Mr. W. are perfectly matched in judgement and ſkill; and we are much obliged to Mr. W. for proving to us that Mr. M's theory could not ſtand againſt nonſenſe itſelf.

Riſu ſolvantur tabulæ, tu miſſus abibis.

Not to waſte time in a formal refutation of ſuch writers as Maitland, Goodal, and the Macphersons, it is ſufficient to obſerve that all this work is a ſilent confutation of them; for by eſtabliſhing the truth all errors fall before it.

One point deſerves conſideration. Mr. Macpherſon has moſt ingenuouſly and ingeniouſly obſerved, that on the firſt mention of the Scots by Ammianus Marcellinus, at the year 360, we find them in Britain; and *ergo* the Scots were ſettled in Britain before they were in Ireland. By the ſame rule as Ammianus, at the year 369, mentions the Saxons in Britain, they were alſo ſettled in Britain. But the fact is, that Ammianus, in both places, is ſpeaking of the nations that invaded the Roman pro-

vinces in Britain. This is a ſpecimen of the arguments of thoſe Scotiſh antiquiſts; and the reſt are of the ſame ſtamp; ſo that the reader may judge whether they deſerve anſwer, or only laughter. Mr. M. is however forced to yield to that glaring and invincible truth, ſupported by all antiquity, that the name of *Scotia* was long borne by Ireland, before given to Scotland. The truth is, as after fully ſhewn in this work, that, from the Fourth Century to the Eleventh, the names *Scotia* and *Scoti* belonged ſolely to Ireland, and the Iriſh. In the reign of Malcom II. or take at a medium the middle of this reign, and ſay about the year 1020, the name *Scotia* was firſt applied to North Britain; but from its firſt appearance to that time, it belonged to Ireland alone. No foreigner has been miſled by the pitiful prejudices and falſehoods of our Scotiſh dablers. Cellarius, Eccard, Schoepflin, D'Anville, the learned editors of the Hiſtoriens de France, Suhm, &c. &c. &c. have all agreed in this point. But of this afterward. If therefore priority of name argues priority of poſſeſſion, the Scots muſt have come from Ireland to Scotland. But this inference is not beyond controverſy. For the people may have gone from Scotland to Ireland, ſome will ſay; and the name of Scots have been there given them, yet afterward, by ſome ſtrange contingence, have reverted to the parent country. That ſuch a contingence is quite unknown to any other hiſtory, would not be a ſufficient anſwer, for analogy, tho uſeful in ſuch caſes, is not abſolute proof. If any writer were to attempt to prove that Greece, far from being the parent country of Magna Græcia, was actually peopled from it, in what way is he to be confuted? The probability is indeed equal on both ſides (to ſpeak for once as a Scotiſh antiquiſt), and the grand mark, that of identic language, may be applied either way. It is certain therefore that the only information we can have on this, or

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any other ſubject of ancient hiſtory, is that derived from ancient authorities; and in this peculiar and great inſtance, from the Tradition of the people themſelves. Now all writers, Engliſh, Scotiſh, and Iriſh, from Beda down to this ſuperficialc entury, agree in this point, that the Ancient Scots of North Britain were a colony from Ireland. And in all ages the Scotiſh highlanders have aſſented: and the lowlanders, from Barbour in 1375, to this moment, call the highlanders Iriſhry, and their language Iriſh, Eriſh, or Erſe. This clear inference is fully confirmed by all the ancient accounts of the progreſs of the old Scots in Britain, now about to be detailed; and is ſo firmly rooted in the whole ancient hiſtory of Britain and Ireland, that nothing but ignorance joined with frenzy could attempt to ſhake it. Indeed ignorance, the deepeſt ignorance, was neceſſary to ſuch an attempt; for profound ignorance judges of others by itſelf; and thinks that dark and dubious to all, which is dark and dubious to itſelf alone, while others ſee it in the brighteſt day. An ignorant man will talk of opinion in the mathematics, becauſe he can form no idea how certain they are. Opinion is the ſafe harbour of ignorance; and a benighted mind flies to it as a covert from utter ſhame. He who would call it matter of opinion, whether the Greeks proceeded from Magna Græcia, or to it, would be regarded as a mere ignorant; and the progreſs of the old Scots from Ireland, is far more clear, and reſts upon more numerous grounds than the former. Before i had in the leaſt examined this ſubject, i ſaw it in the dark, and thought it doubtful; nay really believed, from general theory, that the Iriſh Scots had paſt from Scotland. When i had examined it, i ſaw that i had been totally wrong; and that the contrary was from ancient writers, and innumerable other leſſer lights and circumſtances, only acquirable in a thorough examination, as clear as day. Let thoſe who doubt therefore

therefore only read, and examine, with a mere desire of knowing the truth, and satisfying their own minds; and no arguments need be used. The proofs are so numerous, clear, and consistent, that they afford a perfect blaze of truth; as many small lights will, at night, make a chamber as bright as noon.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

The firſt Colony of Old Scots in North Britain, under Riada, about the Year 258; *being the* DALREUDINI, *or* ATTACOTTI,

SOME Engliſh and Iriſh antiquaries, as Uſher, Biſhop Lloyd, Stillingfleet, O'Flaherty, &c. have, in their great zeal againſt the antiquity of the Scots in North-Britain, paſt this colony in oblivion; and repreſented the ſecond colony in the year 503, as the firſt ſettlement. The cogent authority of Beda they neglected, or railed againſt. That reſpectable writer, in his firſt chapter, gives us the origin of the Britons, Piks, and Scots, in Britain. In his ſecond chapter he proceeds to the wars of Julius Cæſar in Britain. Had Beda therefore followed ſtrict chronology, the Scots, by his account, muſt have been ſettled in Britain before Cæſar's time. But the Scots he introduces here, from their after connexion with the Piks, and that he may proceed to a continuous account of the Roman affairs in Britain. In like manner, under the year 449, he gives us the origin of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angli, in England; tho the Iutes alone arrived in that year, and there were no Saxons here till 477, nor Angli till 547. So, *lib.* I. *c.* 3. he places Veſpaſian after Claudius, and then paſſes to Nero: and I. 20. he puts St. Germanus, who lived about 420, long after the battle of Badon, 520. Nennius, a writer of the next century, with a ſtill greater neglect of order, ſays, *ch.* 2. that in Britain at firſt dwelled *Scoti*, *Picti*,

Picti, atque Saxones, et Britones. Yet, *ch.* 3, 4, he gives us the Britiſh origins; *ch.* 5, the Pikiſh; and *ch.* 6, he ſays, *Noviſſime autem venerunt Scoti a partibus Hiſpaniæ ad Hiberniam.* But Beda, by giving us the name of the leader of this firſt colony, enables us to fix the date.

The words of Beda are, *Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, poſt Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit. Qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia egreſſi vel amicitia, vel ferro, ſibimet inter eos ſedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. A quo videlicet duce uſque hodie Dalreudini vocantur; nam lingua eorum dal partem ſignificat.* 'In proceſs of time Britain, after the Britons and Piks, received a third nation, that of the Scots, in the part belonging to the Piks. Who emigrating from Ireland, under their leader Reuda, either by friendſhip or arms vindicated to themſelves thoſe ſeats among them, which they to this time hold. From which leader they are called Dalreudini to this day; for in their language *dal* ſignifies a part *.'

This very preſervation of the name of the leader by Beda argues a late ſettlement; and accordingly we find that it took place about the year 258. For the REUDA of Beda is the READA of king Alfred's tranſlation; and the RIADA of the ancient Iriſh writers.

But concerning this Riada, and his colony, the modern Iriſh authors were long mute. Stanihurſt, and others, who, at the end of the ſixteenth century, firſt ſuperficially treated Iriſh antiquities, had ſeen few or none of the old Iriſh MSS. then in private and unknown hands, till Sir James Ware collected them. Uſher, who publiſhed his

* *Dal*, or *Dæl*, is a *part* in the Gothic, not in the Celtic, in which Dal ſignifies a *tribe* (Kennedy, p. 106), and is quite common in Iriſh hiſtory. An eaſy metonymy. But the Scots of Ireland, it is likely, retained more of their own Gothic words, in their firſt meanings, in Beda's time, than after.

Anti-

Antiquitates Eccl. Brit. in 1639, was a bitter enemy of the Scotiſh fables; and in his zeal denied that the Scots were ſettled in Britain till 503. Keating, who wrote about the ſame time, from the ſame motive, followed the ſame courſe. Ware did not underſtand Iriſh; and his book is ſo brief that it is not to be wondered that he ſays nothing of the origin of the Scots in Britain. O'Flaherty even contradicts himſelf, as Mr. O'Conor ſhews [a], from his zeal againſt the antiquity of the Scots in Britain, and his wiſh to appropriate to the Iriſh Scots all the actions againſt the Romans; ſo that he denies all ſettlement of the Scots in Britain till 503. And, in his "Vindication of Ogygia againſt Sir G. Mackenzie," he inſiſts that the Dalreudini were only ſettled in the north-eaſt corner of Ireland, till a part paſſed in 503 to Scotland. Still later Iriſh writers have, it is believed, in their prejudice againſt Scotiſh antiquity, followed the ſame tract; but from the greater candour of others the truth has appeared in this century.

Kennedy, whoſe book [b] was publiſhed at Paris 1705, and tho brief, is the moſt accurate known on Iriſh hiſtory, as he generally quotes MS. page, and column, firſt laid open the fact, that a colony of Scots, under Riada, ſettled in Pikland. He tells us, p. 104, "Our books of antiquity, giving an account at large of the children and race of Conar Mac Mogalama king of Ireland, mention that he had three ſons, Carbre Muſc, Carbre Baſkin, and Carbre Riada: and that the firſt was by another name Ængus; the ſecond Olfill; and the third Eocha." And p. 107, "Our writers unanimouſly tell us that Carbre Riada was the founder of the Scotiſh ſovereignty in Britain; but they make him only a captain, as venerable Beda does, or conductor, who ingratiated himſelf ſo

[a] Ogygia vindicated.

[b] Genealogical Diſſertation on the family of Stuart, 8vo. pp. 249.

far

far with the Picts, by his and his childrens assistance, and good service against the Britons; that they consented that they and their followers should continue among them." In both these passages he gives no authorities, tho he commonly produces them. This most foolish and detestable practice prevails to this day in Irish writers alone[c].

Mr. O'Conor, in his Dissertation on the History of Scotland, at the end of his Dissertations on the Irish history, Dublin, 1766, 8vo. is the next, and last, Irish writer whom i shall quote upon this point. He there tells us, that in the time of Cormac O'Cuin, as O'Flaherty himself acknowleges *Ogyg.* part III. c. 69, an establishment of the Scots was made in North Britain. That it was in favour of Carbre Riada, a prince of the Degads [d] of Munster, cousin of Cormac O'Cuin, and son of Conary II. who died in 220. That Riada and his immediate posterity ruled that colony, as well as another which he had settled in present Antrim, and both colonies were from him called *Dalriada*. That the Piks at length forced the whole colony in Britain to take flight into Ireland, under their leader Eochad Munrevar, and they settled in the Irish Dalriada. But neither he, nor his son Erc, could obtain a re-establishment in North Britain. Nor was it effected till the beginning of the sixth century, when Loarn, son of Erc, again fixed the Scots there. It appears from this, that the retreat of this first

[c] Toland, in his *Nazarenus*, ed. 2. London, 1718, 8vo. has some remarks on the controversy between the Irish and Scotish antiquaries. He allows Usher to be in the wrong, and places Riada and the first colony in the third century.

[d] Kennedy, p. 69. says, this family was first in Ulster: but about 60 years before Christ they were forced to move into Munster, under Degad; whence they were called Degads of Munster. This Degad, he adds, is the Deachach, in the old Scotish genealogies (Deaga, see Innes, p. 235, table.) It need not be observed that all this is *gratis dictum*.

colony

colony happened two generations before 503, or about 440.

Mr. O'Conor has, on different occaſions, repeated this information. In his publication of O'Flaherty's Vindication of Ogygia, Dublin, 1775, 8vo. he gives ſeveral notes concerning this ſettlement, but particularly a long one, p. 163. He there ſhews that O'Flaherty is contradicting his own words in the Ogygia, where, ſpeaking of Cormac O'Cuin, he ſays, *imperium in Albania exegit.* That the greater part of Antrim, and a neighbouring part of North Britain, were given to Carbre Riada. That ſome Iriſh ſenachies confirm Beda's teſtimony. That the Iriſh and Britiſh Dalriada were governed by the ſame family. That the ſons of Erc, in the eighth generation from Carbre Riada, re-eſtabliſhed this colony, which had ſuffered much. That when Conary II. was murdered in 220, his three ſons were minors. That Carbre Riada, one of them, diſtinguiſhe himſelf at the battle of Kinſebrat, A. D. 237. That on Cormac's ſucceſſion to the Iriſh throne in 254, Carbre Riada was ſent againſt the Cruthnii, who had rebelled in Ulſter. That in 258 the war was carried into Albany, and the Scots ſettled there. And ſays that George III. deſcends from Conary thro Riada, and the Scotiſh Albanic line.

In the late *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* there are alſo ſome letters of Mr. O'Conor, throwing light on this ſubject. He tells us in one number[c], 'Foreign alliances were renewed, and in particular with the Cruthenians (Piks) of North Britain, among whom our Carbry Riada, the ſon of Conary II. found an eſtabliſhment for his colony of Scots, the firſt that migrated from Ireland to North Britain.' And in Number XII. p. 500, he ſays, 'About the year 256 Cormac O'Cuin, the moſt

[c] Number X.

celebrated

celebrated of our Iriſh monarchs, had his authority renounced by the Ultonians, the conſtant enemies of his family. After defeating thoſe rebels in ſeveral engagements, their remains fled for ſhelter into the iſles and continent of North Britain. Supplied with an excellent militia, diſciplined under the famous Fin Mac Cumhall, his commander in chief, and his ſon-in-law, Cormac followed his rebellious ſubjects into the places of their retreat. The terror of his power brought matters to a ſpeedy iſſue. By conſent, or force, he obtained from the Piks a ſettlement in Kintire and Argyle for his father's nephew Carbry Riada, above-mentioned. Through that colonization under his kinſman he left no foreign aſylum open for his Ultonian enemies, whoſe power in Ulſter he alſo curtailed, by ſtripping them of the territory now called the county of Antrim, with ſome contiguous diſtricts, well marked by Uſher. That territory, as well as the other in North Britain, had the name of Dalriada, from Carbry Riada, their firſt vaſſal ſovereign under the Iriſh monarch, who veſted him with authority [f].'

All

[f] Wynne, in his hiſtory of Ireland, London, 1773, 2 vols, 8vo. narrates the ſettlement of the Dalriads in Pikland in theſe terms. "Among the ſons of Olliol Olum, there was one known by the diſtinguiſhed name of Achy Ruada, or Riada, who was permitted by Olliol to raiſe a ſufficient body of forces to eſtabliſh himſelf in the province of Ulſter. Fergus, then king of that territory, being of the family, favoured him, and his followers, who were of the race of Degad: and, by the aſſiſtance Achy Riada procured, he ſoon ſettled himſelf in Ulſter, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the Irians. And from this circumſtance the acquiſition they made took the name of Dalriada, or the portion of Riada. But as Achy was one of thoſe that having much, ſtill graſp at more, obſerving a country over-againſt his diſtrict, which appeared eaſy of acceſs, he embarked with his followers; and, either by force or treaty, much more likely by the latter, he obtained a ſettlement there alſo for his tribe from the Britiſh Picts. And that tract of land was afterwards, for many ages, denominated the Albanian Dalriada,

All this is given, as uſual, without one authority or reference! The circumſtances of Mr. O'Conor's tale are alſo diſcordant. Firſt he ſays the ſettlement was owing to force; then he imputes it to treaty; then to force again. Dr. Kennedy's account, tho brief, ſeems much more accurate; and he imputes the ſettlement to the permiſſion of the Piks. Common ſenſe argues this to have been the caſe, for that a handful of men, to whom fortreſſes were unknown, ſhould force a ſettlement among ſo fierce and numerous a people as the Piks, is impoſſible. And even by Mr. O'Conor's account, when the Piks afterward quarreled with them, they totally expelled the colony. Mr. O'Conor's ſtory about the rebellion of the Cruthini, or Piks in Ulſter, ſeems mere romance; and we have no room to believe that theſe Cruthini acknowleged the Iriſh ſovereignty, or, in other words, that they could rebel. Thoſe Cruthini had only ſettled in Ulſter about the year 220; and, far from being conquered or expelled on this occaſion, we find them under their own monarchs till the eighth or ninth century. They were certainly not in Antrim, but in preſent Londonderry and Donegal. For the Iriſh Dalreudini poſſeſſed Antrim, by Mr. O'Conor's own account; and at the ſame time he allows that the Cruthini were in the north of Ireland; and from Tighernac and the annals of Ulſter, &c. it is certain that the Cruthini were in a diſtinct region of Ireland from the Dalreudini. That the Cruthini were not on the north-eaſt of Ireland, but the north-weſt, alſo appears from Mr. O'Conor's own information, that

riada, a name given to the inhabitants of Argyle, who were deſcended from this Iriſh colony." Wynne errs groſsly in making Riada ſon of Olliol Olum, for he was ſon of Conary II. king of Ireland, as all the above accounts bear. And this is confirmed by an old piece, publiſhed by Innes, p. 772. "Fergus filius Iric ipſe fuit primus, qui de ſemine Chonare," &c.

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he found in the old book of Glendalogh that the Cruthini were in Ulſter and Connaught, which laſt province is on the weſt. There is but one people of Cruthini in Ireland, to be found in Adomnan, Tighernac, the annals of Ulſter, and other authentic documents; and thoſe Cruthini were in part of Ulſter, and part of Connaught by Mr. O'Conor's own relation, that is, on the north-weſt of Ireland. The people on the north-eaſt of Ireland, among whom Riada planted his Dalreudini, were the Damnii or Darnii of Ptolemy, a Cumraig people, that had paſt from Scotland upon the arrival of the Piks. The Dalreudini, or tribe of Riada, were certainly led by him from Munſter, his own province; and muſt have been *Scythæ* or *Scotti*, who had ſubdued the ſouth, eaſt, and weſt of Ireland, but had not extended into the north, till Riada planted his colony. From the genuine writings of St. Patrick it is clear, as Innes remarks, that all the people of Ireland were not termed *Scotti*, but that the Scots were the ſuperior and conquering people, while the common ſubject race were termed merely *Hiberni*, or Iriſh. That the Dalreudini were Scots proper is certain from their being led from the South of Ireland, the chief region of the Scots; and from their being termed Scots peculiarly by Adomnan, Beda, and other ancients. This account of the matter is ſo conſonant to probability, that it would almoſt ſupport itſelf, independent of all the ancient authorities, which are united in its favour. Indeed i have always found that the higheſt probability and veriſimilitude ever attend the ancient authorities, when duly examined and collated.

It may be thought that Kennedy and O'Conor, writers of this century, are but poor ſupports of Beda's authority. But it muſt be reflected, that concerning the origin of the Dalreudini of Ireland, all the Iriſh writers, Keating, Uſher, O'Flaherty, &c. &c. &c. are concordant, and ſay the name

ſprung from Carbry Riada. Beda, a ſuperior authority to all the Iriſh annals put together, informs us, that this very Riada led alſo the firſt colony of Scots to North Britain. So that the point ſtands clear, independently of the lights which Kennedy and O'Conor throw upon it. This Carbry, or, as others call him, Eocha Riada, appears in the old genealogy of the Scotiſh kings, repeated at the coronation of Alexander III. and preſerved by Diceto, Fordun, and many others. In that genealogy he is termed *Eodacb Riede*, and is placed twelve generations before Fergus ſon of Erc. Kennedy informs us, that, tho the Scotiſh accounts thus put fourteen generations from Riada to Fergus (including both), yet the Iriſh and eſpecially the book of Lecan, give but eleven; that is, nine generations between the two, which, at thirty years to a generation, make 270 years. Mr. O'Conor ſays but eight, or 240 years, which is ſurely the truth. Kennedy mentions an Iriſh MS. which has but ſix: and ſays, that falſe names creep into ſuch genealogies, from miſtaking nicknames for proper names, and from putting names of predeceſſors as names of fathers; and ſcruples not, upon this occaſion, to ſhew diſcordances in ſcripture etymologies. It is moſt ſtrange that O'Flaherty, in his genealogy of James II. gives only *three* generations between Riada and Erc! But that gentleman ſeems to have paid little attention to facts or authorities, when his point was to abridge the antiquities of the Britiſh Scots, and to appropriate to the Iriſh all the actions of the Scots againſt the Romans. Which laſt purpoſe required no ſuch aid, as it is certain that the Iriſh Scots are thoſe of Roman hiſtory; and the Britiſh Scots were only known under another name, of which preſently. But O'Flaherty deſerves reproof for uſing falſifications, tho to ſerve the cauſe of truth: *Non tali auxilio.* It is matter of regret, that the acute and accurate

rate Innes, who also shews the first colony of Irish Scots in Britain to have settled in the third century, as here stated, has not examined the generations between Riada and Erc; for tho the lords of Dalriada were not kings till 503, and it is not certain whether they dwelled in the Irish Dalriada, or the Pikish [s], still they are the immediate ancestors of the Dalriadic or Old Scotish line. I shall here put down this genealogy according to the ancient Scotish account, and the Irish, as given by Kennedy.

The Scotish is,

1. Eochad Riede.
2. Fiachrach Tathmail.
3. *Eocha Andoth.*
4. *Akirkir.*
5. *Findach.*
6. *Cruichlinch.*
7. *Sencormac.*
8. *Fethelmac Romach.*
9. *Anguſa Butim.*
10. *Fethelmec Aſlingret.*
11. Anguſa Fir.
12. Eocha Munremor.
13. Erc.
14. Fergus.

The Irish follows:

1. Eocha Riada.
2. *Kinta.*
3. *Fedlim Lave-dhoidh-cuige* (hand that burns a province,)

[s] In the time of Aidan, the Irish Dalriada was divided from the British, and reverted to the kings of Ireland. *Kennedy; Vita Vta Columbæ apud Colgan.*

4. Fiachra Taithmail.
5. *Fergus Ulladh.*
6. Ængus Fear.
7. Eocha Munremor.
8. Erc.
9. Fergus.

Thus the Iriſh inſerts two names, between Eocha Riada and Fiachra, not found in the Scotiſh; and likewiſe a Fergus Ulladh not in the Scotiſh. And the Scotiſh has eight names not in the Iriſh. The four laſt names are alone concordant. So much for Iriſh genealogies! It is remarkable that Angus Fir was cotemporary with St. Patrick, and that after him the genealogy ſeems accurate. Before Patrick's time only the names of the kings of Ireland, and great events, can be received.

Moſt writers on Britiſh antiquities have been puzzled to divine who the ATTACOTTI were; and none has hitherto ſettled this point. I am fully convinced that *Attacotti* was neither more nor leſs than the name given by the northern provincial Britains, who were Cumraig, to the Dalreudini. From the *Dictionarium Kymbraicum* of Davis it appears that *At* is *ad*; *Attal* is *retinere, detinere*, &c. So that there is reaſon to conclude, that the name Attacotti means ſimply *Hither Scots*, or *Scots remaining* in Britain. The *S* is quite a ſervile letter, ſometimes ſuperfluous, ſometimes omitted, *euphoniæ cauſa*, as all, the leaſt verſt in the ſtructure of languages, know. But this opinion receives full confirmation from other reaſons. Ammianus Marcellinus firſt mentions the Attacotti at the year 364. *Picti, Saxoneſque, et Scotti, et Attacotti, Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis.* And then at the year 368, *Picti in duas gentes diviſi, Dicaledones et Vecturiones; itidemque Attacotti, bellicoſa hominum natio; et Scotti; per diverſa vagantes multa populabantur.* And from St. Jerome we learn that

that the Attacotti were a nation of Britain. Thus quite a new nation appears in Britain at this period. But how came it to escape the Roman writers for a whole century, from 258 till 364? The wonder would, it is presumed, have been greater, had this new colony appeared in Roman history sooner. Horsley well observes, that from the expedition of Severus 211, till Carausius 290, nothing concerning Britain can be found. And from 290 till 364, what have we? Only a hint or two of panegyrists, dealing wholly in generals. The first books of Ammianus are most unfortunately lost; so that from 258 till 364 we have really no writer, from whom such information could be in the least expected, either historian or geographer. Ammianus, at the year 368, tells us he had given a description of Britain, when describing the actions of Constans there, about the year 342, so shall add no more. Then he proceeds to the sentence above quoted. It is therefore to be inferred, that as he says nothing at 368 of the Attacotti being quite a new nation, he had described them at 342: and in all probability told us, as we are still fully enabled to discover, that they were a colony of the Scots who had come from Ireland, and settled on the north of the Glota, or Clyde. But the knowlege we have that the colony calling themselves Dalreudini came to Britain about 258; and the mention of the Attacotti, a new nation in North Britain, only a century afterward, will of itself convince us that Attacotti was neither more nor less than the name given by the provincial Britons to the Dalreudini.

Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, who is often palpably erroneous, is a writer to be cautiously used. To Ptolemy's map of North Britain, Richard has added the *Attacotti*, and *Damnii Albani*, nations unknown to Ptolemy; but is certainly right in their posi-

tion. He places the Attacotti on the north of the Frith of Clyde; and the Damnii Albani juſt above them. And theſe two nations form the only addition he makes to Ptolemy's map. Now Beda places the Dalreudini, on their firſt arrival, exactly in that very region. *Eſt autem ſinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Britonum a Pictis ſecernebat: qui ab occidente in terras longo ſpatio erumpit; ubi eſt civitas Britonum munitiſſima uſque hodie, quæ vocatur Alcluith. Ad cujus videlicet ſinus partem ſeptentrionalem Scotti, quos diximus, advenientes, ſibi locum patriæ fecerunt.* This is ſurely a ſtrong confirmation that the Dalreudini and Attacotti were one and the ſame nation. The Damnii Albani of Richard were, it is likely, ſome of the Damnii of Antrim, conquered by Riada, whom he had tranſplanted here along with his colony of Dalreudini. Albani is a well-known term for *North Britiſh* in the Iriſh tongue.

The Attacotti make a diſtinguiſhed figure in the *Notitia Imperii*, a work of the fifth century, where numerous bodies of them appear in the liſt of the Roman army. One body was in Illyricum, their enſign a kind of mullet: another at Rome, their badge a circle: the *Attacotti Honoriani* were in Italy. In the ſame work are named bodies of Parthians, Sarmatæ, Arabs, Franks, Saxons, &c. Thoſe foreign ſoldiers had, in all likelihood, belonged to vanquiſhed armies; and been ſpared from carnage on condition of bearing arms in thoſe of Rome. Some, it is likely, were merely foreign levies and auxiliaries. To which claſs thoſe Attacotti belong, it is difficult to ſay. Certain it is, that Theodoſius, in 368, repelled the Piks, Scots, and Attacotti, from the Roman provinces in Britain; rebuilt the wall of Antoninus between Forth and Clyde; and founded the province of Valentia. The Attacotti, finding no employment for their arms, might be tempted to enter into the Roman armies; for it was the Roman

man policy in later ages to levy as many foreign troops as poſſible, and to oppoſe barbarians to barbarians. Perhaps the Attacotti were ſubdued and forced to furniſh levies. Perhaps theſe bodies were priſoners of war [h].

The time when the Attacottic colony arrived in Pikland, was certainly that in which flouriſhed the celebrated *Fion Mac Cumhal* (pronounce Fin Mac Cuwal) as all the Iriſh hiſtorians agree: and therefore a few words ſhall be added concerning that hero, who has had ſo ſingular a fate in our time. In Scotland he is alſo called *Fingal*; and is mentioned under that name by Barbour in 1375: but this name is unknown to the Iriſh. That Fingal was the ſame perſon with the Iriſh Fin Mac Cuwal, is clear from the identic name of the father *Cuwal*, the ſon *Oiſin*, the grandſon *Oſkir*; and from the old Scotiſh poets, who ſometimes call this perſonage *Fingal*, ſometimes *Fin Mac Coul*. The names of his companions Gaul, ſon of Morni, &c. alſo coincide both in Iriſh and Highland tradition; ſo that the identity of Fin Mac Cuwal and Fingal is demonſtrative.

[h] Some imagine that the preſent Highland dreſs repreſents the Roman military habit. The *philibeg* was always quite unknown among the Welch and Iriſh: but i know no Roman name for it. Among the Romans it was a mere ornament, or fringe, to the mail; and they wore *braccæ*, or breeches, under it. From old illuminated MSS. it appears to have been a dreſs of the people among the Saxons, who could not afford breeches. See Strutt's Antiquities. I believe it alſo occurs on Trajan's pillar, as the dreſs of the common Daci, while the chiefs have *braccæ*. Its antiquity among the Highlanders is very queſtionable; and ſome ſuppoſe it not older than Mary's reign. Gildas repreſents both Piks and Scots of his time as quite naked, with only a piece of cloth tied about their middle. Giraldus Cambrenſis mentions trouſers as the Iriſh dreſs, A. D. 1185. Froiſſard, tho amazed at the *ſauvages Ecoſſois*, as he calls them, takes no notice of this ſtriking peculiarity. Plaids are uſed by the Wild Clans of Barbary: Shaw's Travels. Tartan is perhaps a late invention: and it is believed paſſed from the Lowlands to the Highlands. The Highland dreſs is not ancient, but ſingular, and adapted to their ſavage life.

But

But how the Scots alone came to term him Fingal, is not ſo eaſily ſhewn. In the old Iriſh writers, as Tighernac, the Annals of Ulſter, &c. *Fingal*, or *White Strangers*, is a name uniformly given to the Danes, and is not uſed till their appearance in 795; as Duf Gal, or Dugal, *Black Strangers*, is the peculiar name of the Norwegians. Mr. Thorkelin, a learned native of Iceland, informs me that the old dreſs of the Norwegians, and eſpecially of the pirates and mariners, was black; as the Icelandic is at this day, and has always been. But the Danes ſeem to have been called Fingal, from the whiteneſs of their complexions, while the Celts are of black complexion. The name Fingal, given to Fion, ſeems therefore an impropriety, and a confuſion (as tradition is ſynonymous with confuſion) of the fame of the Fingals or Danes in Ireland, with that of Fin, the hero. The whole Iriſh and Highland poems and traditions, concerning this perſonage, form indeed one maſs of confuſion and abſurdity.

The period when Fin flouriſhed has, like other traditional matters, ſuffered the groſſeſt anachroniſms. Later Iriſh MSS. and traditions, and poems, both of Ireland and the Highlands, repreſent his ſon Oiſin or Oſſian, as he is new chriſtened, as cotemporary with St. Patrick, A. D. 440, holding dialogues with that Saint, writing poems to him, &c. But the real epoch of Fin preceded Saint Patrick near two centuries, as is clear from Iriſh hiſtory. He flouriſhed under Cormac O'Cuin, who aſcended the Iriſh throne in 254, as Mageogaghan 1627, Keating, O'Flaherty, Mac Curtin, O'Halloran, O'Conor, Warner, Wynne, and other writers, who mention Fin, ſhew from the Iriſh annals. Colonel Vallancey tells us, that at the memorable battle of Gabhra, A. D. 296, between Moghchorb king of Munſter, and Cairbre, ſon of Cormac, king of Tara, moſt of the ſtanding army that had lately been

been commanded by Fion Mac Cumhal, and its renowned heroes called Fiana Eirionn, or Phenians, were ſlain, after vaſt carnage of the enemy. O'Flaherty informs, that Fin died in 284; and under the year 291, ſays *Prælium Gauranum prope Temoriam.* "*In prælii æſtu Carbreus, et Oſgarus Finnii ex Oſſino nepos, manus conſerunt*[1], &c. That Fin and Oiſin do not belong to Saint Patrick's time, is indeed clear from Tighernac, the Annals of Ulſter, and other authentic documents. Jocelin, in his life of Saint Patrick, written in the twelfth century, places *Finnan Mac Con*, a giant, above a hundred years before Patrick. As to the anachroniſms which have crept in, they are common in all traditions. Fin and Patrick were the two moſt famous men of ancient Ireland; and they are thus brought together. Still greater anachroniſms appear in the Northern Sagas, concerning Starkader, the Fin or Arthur of Scandinavia. Torfæus, in his Norwegian hiſtory, has a diſſertation *De Starkadis*; and makes many out of one, whom Saxo repreſents as living three centuries. Nay Torfæus ſays there is no age from Chriſt's birth, to the eighth century, free from ſynchroniſms of Starkader! Torfæus, in the ſame work, vol. I. p. 296, is forced to ſtrive againſt the groſs anachroniſm of a man, whom he puts in the fifth century, marrying Ragnar Lodbrog's daughter, who lived in the ninth! But ſuch is tradition! Suhm, in his Abſtract of Daniſh Hiſtory, makes two Starkaders, one in the fifth, the other in the eighth century; both of them great warriors and great poets. This reſembles the three Odins,

[1] In the Britiſh Muſeum, Cat Ayſc. 4817, is a fine MS. of Mageoghagan's Hiſtory of Ireland, written in 1627, where, at the year 267, he ſays, "Fynne Mac Coyle, the great hunter, and defender of Ireland, beheaded." He gives a long fabulous account of him; and obſerves that "Oſgar Mac Oſſyn, Fynn Mac Coyle's grandchild, was a valourous and hardy man."

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and is a mere apology for the anachroniſm of tradition. The mention of Starkader leads me to hint the great ſimilarity between him and the Iriſh Fin and Oiſin; whence it is reaſonable to infer that the Danes and Norwegians in Ireland and Scotland, grafted many of the fables about Starkader on the ſtory of Fin, Oiſin, &c. Starkader, like Oſſian, is not only an Achilles, but a Homer; not only a hero, but a great poet. As Fin and Oiſin are equally celebrated in Ireland, and the Highlands; ſo Starkader, both in Denmark and Sweden. Starkader was famous for aſſiſting the oppreſſed, ſo Fin; ideas evidently of the times of chivalry. As Macpherſon makes his Oſſian an hiſtorian of grave note; ſo Saxo repreſents Starkader. Oiſin celebrates his own actions, ſo Starkader [k].

Almoſt every nation has had a champion of this ſort: the Perſians, Ruſtan; the Greeks, Hercules; the Scandinavians, Starkader; the Welch, Arthur; the Iriſh, Fin; the French, Charlemagne, &c. Of theſe the Welch Arthur is now known to be a nonexiſtence, being only a Cumraig epithet *Ard ur*, 'The Great Man,' for Aurelius Ambroſius, their Roman leader againſt the Saxons. And of the Iriſh Fin the leſs that is ſaid in hiſtory the better; and the Iriſh antiquaries act judiciouſly in this reſpect. He ſeems however to have been a man of great talents for the age, and of celebrity in arms. His formation of a regular ſtanding army trained to war, in which all the Iriſh accounts agree, ſeems

[k] Starkader annoſus poeta erat, et carmina ejus vetuſtiſſima cenſentur eorum quæ jam homines memoria tenent. *Verel. Goth. et Rolf. Hiſt.* Ramus, in his *Nori Regnum*, p. 36, gives two fragments of Starkader's poetry, in which he ſays, 'I was young when dreadful fires deſtroyed my father and other brave men,' &c. a paſſage ſimilar to one in Oſſian. A poem of Starkader on frugality may be found in Olaus Magnus, V. 3. another on his battles, V. 7. The reader is referred to Olaus for a long and curious account of this hero.

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to have been a rude imitation of the Roman legions in Britain. The idea, tho ſimple enough, ſhews prudence; for ſuch a force alone could have copt with the Romans, had they invaded Ireland. But this machine, which ſurprized a rude age, and ſeems the baſis of all Fin's fame, like ſome other great ſchemes, only lived in its author, and expired ſoon after him [1].

Of the pretended poems of Oſſian, the ſon of this Fin, it is almoſt beneath the purpoſe of this work to ſpeak. That ſo ſilly a deluſion ſhould impoſe even on ſome literati, both of England and Scotland, is only a proof how little hiſtorical antiquities are ſtudied in Britain: for in any other country only laughter could have followed. As to us of Scotland, foreigners ſeem, on this occaſion, juſtly to queſtion whether we be yet ſavages or not. For that the moſt civilized and benevolent manners ſhould belong to ſavage ſociety, as repreſented in Oſſian, is not ſo abſurd as that ſuch a deluſion could impoſe on any, in a country advanced beyond a ſavage ſtate. National prejudice is alſo a ſpecies of madneſs, and conſumes all reaſoning and common ſenſe; ſo that people, rather acute on other points, will on this betray a credulity beneath childhood, and an obduracy beyond the pitch of confirmed frenzy. Certain it is, that, had theſe poems of Oſſian been publiſhed by an Iriſhman, all Scotland, from the Mull of Galloway to the Orkneys, would have been in one peal of laughter at ſo enormous a *bull*.

Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe poems form a literary phænomenon, the moſt ſingular that has ever appeared, or will, in all probability,

[1] Buchanan, in his account of the family of Buchanan, Edin. 1723, 4to. gives an account of the Feans, or militia of Fin, and ſpeaks of 'rude rhimes,' on the actions of Fin Mac Coel, their general, as retained by the Iriſh, and Scotiſh Highlanders. This gentleman was well verſed in the Gaelic language.

ever

ever appear, in the world of literature. Their general manner is ſuch, that it is no wonder they impoſe. When very young, and immerſt in Greek and Roman reading, i had a firm opinion of the falſehood of Oſſian's poems; becauſe it appeared, at firſt glance, that their preſervation was an impoſſible fiction. This was before i had redd them; but, upon peruſal, my ſentiments totally changed. The intrinſic ſtyle and manner, and imagery of the poems, with the tranſlator's plauſible notes, and the teſtimonies given by Dr. Blair, a man of the moſt excellent moral character, made me a complete convert; and from the age of ſixteen till twenty, their veracity appeared to me poſitive; any objections to it the mere effect of envy, or of national prejudice. But beginning at laſt to ſtudy the antiquities of modern nations, and of my own country in particular, i ſoon awakened from ſo groſs a deluſion; and was apt to conclude them the mere fabrications of the tranſlator, from the total ignorance even of the greateſt features of our hiſtory, and manners, that runs through the whole. I am convinced, therefore, from my own experience, that as ſoon as hiſtorical antiquities, the moſt manly and important of all literary purſuits, begin to be in the leaſt ſtudied in Britain, the poems of Oſſian will be regarded in their true light of mere romance. But that they are totally the fabrications of the tranſlator, would be a raſh concluſion; and tho i was led to think ſo once, in my abhorrence of being made a dupe, yet, upon full conſideration of this point, i am convinced that one half, or perhaps more, of theſe poems is really traditional. For the poem of Fingal is mentioned as preſerved by tradition in the Highlands, long before the tranſlation appeared. And Dr. Blair produces about an hundred reſpectable witneſſes to the tradition of other poems, and paſſages. But this very tradition will, to any impartial mind, preſent

ſent a clear proof that the original parts are of a late age. And it appears to me, that ſome poet, or poets, of ſuperlative genius, flouriſhed in the Highlands of Scotland, in the Fourteenth or Fifteenth century[m]; to whom we are indebted for the traditional parts. For that they are not more ancient is clear from their being preſerved by tradition[n]; and from the total confuſion of all hiſtory that pervades them. The tales of Fin, and his heroes, were always famous among the Iriſh, and their deſcendents the Scotiſh Highlanders; as thoſe of Arthur among the Welch. Had a poet of ſuperlative genius ariſen in Wales, at a late period, we might have ſeen as fine poetry, with a ſimilar ignorance, and perverſion of all hiſtory. Arthur would no doubt have fought in France, Ireland, &c. and have been always victor. Had ſuch a poet ariſen in Bretagne, Wales, the real region of Arthur, would have been repreſented as the ſcene of his conqueſts, as is the caſe with Oſſian. The French *lais* often place Arthur's court in Bretagne.

But it is ſaid, that Oſſian bears intrinſic marks of truth. 1. Becauſe Oſſian always appears as the poet. 2. Becauſe there is no mention of Chriſtianity. 3. Becauſe the manners are of genuine hue. The firſt of theſe arguments is nonſenſe. The ſecond fooliſh. The third utterly falſe. Had

[m] The learned Murray, in the *Novi Commentarii Societatis Gottingenſis*, Gotting. 1771, 4to. laughs at Fingal and Temora; and thinks them productions of the XIIth or XIIIth century, under an ancient name, as Klopſtock gave his *Barditus*. And he ſhews, tom. III. 1773, p. 128, that there was no *Lochlin* known in Scotland or Ireland till the 8th century, ſo that Oſſian muſt be a forgery.

[n] Were they more ancient, far from being preſerved by tradition, the very language would be unknown to the vulgar mouth. Evans, in his Specimens of Welch Poetry, p. ii. obſerves, with great ſimplicity, "The language of the Scotiſh oldeſt poets, it ſeems, is ſtill perfectly intelligible, which is by no means our caſe." No; nor the caſe of any other nation!

Oiſin, ſon of Fin, and father of Oſkir, compoſed any poetry, this circumſtance could never have eſcaped the whole Iriſh antiquaries. Any one the leaſt verſt in the Gothic, or other poetry of the middle ages, muſt know that nothing was ſo uſual as to compoſe poetry in the name of an eminent perſon. Lodbrog's death-ſong is one inſtance of an hundred. Arioſto quotes Turpin as his author; and Cervantes has his Arabic authority. Even in England, ſo late as the end of the ſixteenth century, The Mirror of Magiſtrates is wholly of this kind. This was a mere trick of the poet for greater effect; and to command reverence. As Homer, and other poets, put their poetry into the mouth of a muſe; ſo theſe bards uſed one or more eminent perſons, by way of a muſe. A poor Highland ſtroler, however great his genius, would never have commanded half ſo much attention, to his own poetry, as he muſt have done by imputing it all to the celebrated Oiſin, the ſon of Fin. Literary forgery is by no means confined to enlightened periods; but is, on the contrary, the proper fruit of a dark period, and of an ignorant country; for in other periods and countries the light is too ſtrong. The night is the ſeaſon of deception. In the dark ages there was a falſe Herodotus, Phalaris, Æſop, &c. &c. &c. who all vaniſhed when the light of literature aroſe. The forgeries of monks, poets, &c. in the middle ages, may be reckoned by thouſands. But in the preſent caſe, as the tranſlator has confeſſedly altered his copies at his pleaſure, there is room to believe that moſt of the paſſages concerning Oiſin, and his harp, are of his own interpolation, in order to appropriate the pieces to his title, The Works of Oſſian[o]. If this

[o] Smith obſerves, in his Gaelic Antiquities, that 'Since the order of the bards has ceaſed, almoſt all the ancient Gaelic poems are aſcribed to Oſſian.' Let me add, and all with equal juſtice.

tranſlator

tranſlator would leave his Celtic hyperboles for a moment, and deſcend from the ſtilts of his extravagant impudence, merely to inform the republic of letters, in which the leaſt are his equals, few not his ſuperiors, what is traditional, what interpolated in theſe pieces, it would be better for him. As it is, the manifeſt intention he ſhews to deceive, and his ignorant and impudent aſſertions, will totally ſtifle all return from the public to his labours, and render his poſthumous fame leſs than nothing.

That there is no mention of Chriſtianity in theſe poems, is a fooliſh argument. By this argument few modern poets would belong to a Chriſtian period. Poetry has a machinery of its own in all countries. I have ſeen Icelandic poetry, written laſt year, in which the whole mythology of the Edda was kept up; as it is indeed always followed, ſave in hymns alone, by the Icelandic ſkalds. Beſides, the Norwegians, who ſeized the Hebudes and weſt of Scotland, in the ninth century, were not Chriſtians; and their Celtic ſubjects had no religion at all, but became utterly ignorant. But this queſtion is alſo in the hands of the tranſlator, who has altered the poems, put out Saint Patrick, and put in Caracalla. As the pieces are confeſſedly altered, how reaſon with accuracy upon ſuch a fabrication? Suffice it to ſay, that *granting* there is no mention of Chriſtianity in theſe poems, any argument drawn from this would be as fooliſh, as to infer that the productions of the Northern ſkalds, were all written before Chriſtianity.

As to the manners in this Oſſian, they are falſe to exceſs, as are the whole hiſtory, geography, and chronology[p]. To dwell at length upon this, would

[p] Lord Kames, in his Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, vol. I. has a long argument to prove the authenticity of Oſſian. He, Dr. Blair, and one or two more really ingenious

would be foreign to my purpoſe. Fin, an Iriſh general, is metamorphoſed into a king of Scotland; as Arthur, from a Roman general, became, in Welch tradition, king of Britain. To ſee Mr. Macpherſon, who betrays ſuch irrational prejudices againſt the Iriſh, furbiſhing up the refuſe of their fables, and inſiſting upon making one of their generals king of Scotland, is one of the moſt riſible proſpects in the ſcene of human madneſs.

men, as Mr. Gray in England, do honour to that ſide of the queſtion. But i beg leave to aſk my reader, if he would take the advice of theſe gentlemen in any medical caſe? And are not they juſt as much phyſicians, as they are antiquaries? With want of knowlege of the Gaelic, it is as ridiculous to charge the antagoniſts of Oſſian, as his defenders. The later confeſſedly have no ſkill in the Gaelic; but argue upon arguments of fooliſh ingenuity. The queſtion is indeed of mere learning in antiquities, and freedom of mind. Lord Kames argues, that the manners of Oſſian belong to the hunting ſtate, the earlieſt of ſociety; and that no late poet of the XVth century could have forged ſuch manners. What forgery of manners? Were not the highlands in a hunting ſtate of ſociety even in the XVIth century? The little or no mention of cattle, in Oſſian, only ſhews the author's ignorance; for Dio tells us, that the Caledonians drove cattle and ſheep in the way of the army of Severus, in order to draw parties into ambuſcades. But how argue upon pieces all altered by a modern tranſlator? Could any critic, in any age, reaſon accurately upon ſuch a work from intrinſic proofs? The noted mythology of Oſſian is in fact Norwegian. Odin in his magic, ſt. 20, mentions the ſhades of the dead flying over the trees: *Runa Cap. apud Haavamal Reſenii.* Is it not a plain fact, that not even a ſhort poem ever was preſerved by tradition for more than three centuries, not a ballad? how then preſerve long and numerous pieces for fourteen centuries? Is it not a plain fact that the language of every country becomes obſolete thro time, even to the learned? how then can Gaelic of the third century be preſerved in the popular mouth? Is it not a plain fact, that Scotland has no privileges from heaven above other countries; and that he muſt be the dupe of his prejudices who can ſuppoſe that the nature of human affairs is altered in Scotland alone? Lord Kames obſerves, 'One may venture boldly to affirm, that ſuch a poem as Fingal, or Temora, never was compoſed in any other part of the world, under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances.' Hear the philoſopher! Is Scotland in the world, or not?

But

But ignorance is a ſtrange affair! The very name of Lochlin was unknown in Ireland, or the Highlands, till the ninth century, when the invaſions of the Scandinavians began. The name means *pirates*; and Mr. M. puts it as a name of Scandinavia. The name Fingal was never given to Fin by the Iriſh, or Highlanders. It was only applied to him by the Lowland Scots; and perhaps means Fin the Gaël, or Fin the Iriſhman, by eminence. The actions of Cuchullin, who lived in the firſt century, are blended, in truly Celtic confuſion, with thoſe of Fin in the third, and of the Fingal and Lochlin in the ninth and tenth. Moylena, in the King's County, is placed in Ulſter: as is Temora, which is in Meath. The laſt error deſtroys a whole poem, that of Temora, in Eight Books; which i am convinced is wholly Mr. Macpherſon's own, ſave parts of the firſt book, which he at firſt publiſhed ſeparately. The car of Cuchullin has been regarded as a mark of ancient manners. But the Norwegians uſed cars in the ninth century at the ſiege of Paris; and they are believed to have been uſed by them in Ireland, as in Scandinavia, down to the eleventh century. That they were uſed by the Crutheni or Piks in Ireland in the ſixth century, we know from Adomnan. But, from the old tales, an Highland poet of the fifteenth century might eaſily have deſcribed a car; as modern poets deſcribe gonfanons, mail, and other ancient, but well known, features of war. Arguments, as to the age of poetry, from ſuch deſcriptions, are beneath puerility. The want of *coſtume* in theſe poems is groſs. The manners of chivalry, gallantry to the women, and relieving the oppreſſed, fill every page of Oſſian: and Fin, like king Arthur, is a perfect knight errant, ſeven centuries before knight-errantry was invented. To knight-errantry belong alſo the *halls* and *towers*, while, in Oſſian's time, there were only palaces built with wattles, and

all on one floor in Ireland. The *mail* alſo, or *ſteel* habergeon, perpetually mentioned in Oſſian, ſhews the ignorance of thoſe who fight for his antiquity; for Herodian expreſsly tells us that the people of Caledonia wore no mail, and hardly cloaths. Mail of complete ſteel in Caledonia! *Ægri inſomnia.* Braſs alone was uſed among the barbaric nations to a late period; and only for ſwords. Nay the ſhields in Oſſian are not of leather, but of *bell-metal*: elſe how could each of ſeven boſſes yield a different ſound, as a ſignal? Why ſhould I be condemned to follow ſuch ſickly idiotiſm? How comes Oſſian to omit boars and wolves, ſo frequent in Scotland, down to the fifteenth century, in all his imagery? In the battle of Lora we find an *arrow of gold*; and a ſimple chief offers an hundred ſteeds, an hundred maids, an hundred hawks! The ſtandard of Fingal was called the ſun-beam, becauſe ſtudded with ſtones and gold! The only barbaric enſigns were the heads of beaſts. In Carthon a thouſand lights from the ſtranger's land are placed in the hall of Selma, which the learned tranſlator thinks may be *wax-candles* from the *Roman Province!* The ſtars on the ſhield of Cathmor, Temora, b. VII. to what a ſtrange underſtanding muſt they have occurred! The ſingle ſhip invented by Lumon, with which he effects a ſettlement in Ireland!. Suffice it to ſay, that, conſidering Oſſian as a hiſtoric poet, no arguments need be uſed againſt him. They who look upon him in that view, muſt be too ignorant to underſtand argument. How ridiculous would it be to uſe arguments againſt Geofrey of Monmouth, or the Pſalter of Caſhel! This Oſſian, however, as the frenzy of the tranſlator has puſhed him into this odd point of view, may be ſafely regarded as the laſt effort of Celticiſm, to injure the hiſtory of Britain. Geofrey and the Pſalter Caſhel, the Welch and Iriſh fables, are loſt in oblivion. The High-

Highland Celts alone remained; and for the first time thrusting their noses into the world of letters, they have, from the darkness of their own minds, judged of an enlightened age. For how can an ignorant and absurd mind conceive the light and accuracy of science; or have any idea of the danger of insulting it? Alas! *they know no better.* To their misty understandings tradition's silliest tales, and the dreams of the darkest night of ignorance, altered at pleasure by the prejudiced imaginations of modern writers, strangers to all principles of common science or common literary integrity, assume the sacred shape of *history!* Instead of arguing against such infatuation, peculiar to a second-sighted people of disordered senses, we can only express the deepest regret at such a prospect of mental misery, at such calamitous depravation of the name of man.

So much for Ossian as a historic poet. As a romantic poet, or a mere poet, it is doubtful whether his faults or merits are greatest; for both are extreme. The faults of a total confusion of history, chronology, and geography, are radical, and run thro the whole. The verisimilitude, so necessary to please the mind, is quite wanting [g]. The poems ought also to have been dedicated to Death; for there is a death in almost every page, eternally the same. A vein of modern sentimental poetry, and late fiction, also very frequently peeps out from the cobweb covering. Half would have been more than the whole. Eternal episodes, eternal ladies in mail, where no mail was known, sicken one at every turn. The machi-

[g] A late French critic says, "On voit dans les anciens poetes Ecossois qu' Ossian prenoit sa harpe, et chantoit sur le champ le triomphe, ou la mort glorieuse, d'un guerrier: aussi, malgré l'art du traducteur, je n'ai pu lire sans degout les ouvrages de cet improvisateur barbare. C'est le galamathias d'un energumene: je n'y vois rien de vrai; et

Rien ne plait que le vrai, le vrai seul est aimable."

The want not only of truth, but of verisimilitude, indeed eternally disgusts in every page of Ossian.

nery, imagery, and phraſeology, are queſtionleſs fine; and ſome paſſages ſuperlative. The phraſeology is indeed often perfectly ſcriptural, becauſe the tranſlator was at firſt *Reverend*. In the third edition the parallel paſſages of ſcripture are marked in the notes. To prophecy concerning the future reputation of theſe poems of Oſſian would puzzle the moſt acute and enlightened critic. On the one hand the pieces, with great defects, have alſo great and original merit. On the other there is a total confuſion of all hiſtory, chronology, and geography, and *coſtume*; a radical and ruinous defect, unknown in any poetry that has hitherto found continual applauſe, and indeed affording a diſguſt ſufficient to obliterate all pleaſure, in peruſing ſo ignorant and inſane a maſs of fiction. How far this defect, joined with the impoſture which pervades the tranſlation, and which the public will ſoon recoil from with contempt and abhorrence, may cruſh and obliviate what merit, however high, the poems may poſſeſs, muſt be left to the judgment of poſterity.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

The ſecond arrival of the Ancient Scots in Britain, and firſt eſtabliſhment of the Dalriadic Kingdom in 503.

THE Dalreudini, or Attacotti, were, as has been hinted in the former chapter, repelled to Ireland in the middle of the fifth century, or about 200 years after their arrival. This event, preſerved in Iriſh hiſtory, alſo appears from the Scotiſh accounts of Fordun, Major, Boyce, Buchanan, &c. who all allow that the Scots were driven to Ireland; and, after a retreat of about fifty years, were reſtored by Fergus, ſon of Erc. Gildas alſo ſtrongly implies this: ſo that this incident may be regarded as fixt, and univerſally allowed. But its preciſe epoch, and circumſtances, deſerve conſideration.

Gildas, after mentioning the letters of the Britons to Aëtius, conſul for the third time, that is in 446, tells us, that the Britons, inſtigated by deſpair, obtained a victory over the marauding Piks and Scots. That the Piks then remained quiet for a ſeaſon; but the Iriſh returned home, not long after to return, *revertuntur ergo impudentes graſſatores Hiberni domum, poſt non multum temporis reverſuri.* Then he mentions the plague, which in 446 pervaded Europe; and the arrival of the Iutes in Kent, 449. Thus the date aſſigned by Gildas is 446. But as his authority only affords a ſtrong implication, it remains to confirm it by the Iriſh and Scotiſh accounts.

The Iriſh account, as above ſtated, bears that it was in the time of their leader Eochad Munrevar, father of Erc, father of Loarn and Fergus, who, in 503, re-eſtabliſhed the Old Scots, that their retreat took place. That is, two generations before 503, or about 60 years, which brings us to 440 But as in ſuch caſes the generations cannot afford the preciſe number, the Iriſh account confirms the date given by Gildas of 446.

As to the Scotiſh account, it is ſo perverted by the forgeries of Fordun, who places the expulſion of the Scots in 360, and their re-eſtabliſhment by Erc's ſons in 403, that all that can be argued from it, is the duration of the expulſion, which by this calculation is 43 years. He alſo quotes ſome old verſes, which give this number. Of later Scotiſh hiſtorians ſome enlarge this number, ſome diminiſh it. But ſufficient traces remain in our old writers to ſhew the tradition of the expulſion; and that it laſted forty, or fifty, or more years.

The epoch of this re-eſtabliſhment is ſo marked and clear, that no part of ancient hiſtory can well be more certain. The period when Erc and his ſons flouriſhed, nay the year of the progreſs of the later to Pikland, and foundation of the Dalriadic kingdom, will, to any one the leaſt verſed in Iriſh hiſtory, or our own old chronicles, illuſtrated by Innes, be as openly evinced as any date of Greek or Roman hiſtory. Nor is this circumſtance to be wondered at, when the importance and lateneſs of the event are conſidered. Maitland, and ſome other weak and ignorant writers, perſiſt, in ſpite of all truth, learning, and common ſenſe, to fix the reign of Fergus, ſon of Erc, at 403, for two reaſons: 1. Becauſe the Roman tranſactions againſt the Piks and Scots, ceaſe about this time; and this date affords, therefore, a *convenient* chain of hiſtory. 2. Becauſe this date makes the Scotiſh kingdom more ancient than

thoſe of Spain, France, England, nay Ireland, which Maitland begins at Leogaire, the firſt Chriſtian king. Thus the date 403 is very convenient; and what is truth to a Scotiſh antiquiſt, who in the darkneſs of ignorance cannot even form an idea what the light of ſcience is? Yet, A. D. 303, 203, or 403 years before Chriſt if you will, would be as proper a date for Erc's ſons, and the eſtabliſhment of the Dalriadic kingdom, as 403. What would we ſay of a writer who, to ſerve a fooliſh hypotheſis, ſhould antedate the reign of any prince in Greek or Roman hiſtory, a full century? The caſe is as abſurd here; for, after the Chriſtian period of Iriſh hiſtory, the events are as clear and poſitive, being ſo late, as thoſe of any ancient hiſtory whatever.

Erc, the ſon of Eochad Munrevar, is well known in Iriſh hiſtory, and flouriſhed toward the end of the fifth century. He died in 474. Uſher has long ago told us, what ſo many Iriſh writers have ſince repeated, that Tighernac, one of the moſt ſolid of the Iriſh annaliſts, and who wrote about 1080, ſays, that Fergus, ſon of Erc, with the race Dalriada, held a part of Britain, and died there. This event he puts in the firſt year of the pontificate of Symmachus, or 498[a]. The author of the ſynchroniſms, alſo quoted by Uſher, puts this event twenty years after the battle of Ocha, where Ailil Molt, king of Ireland, fell A. D. 483, that is, in 503.

Two queſtions ariſe upon this ſubject. 1. Whether the date 498, given by Tighernac, or 503 put by the author of the ſynchroniſms, ſhould be preferred? 2. If Loarn, or Fergus his younger brother, was the firſt king of Dalriada?

[a] Tighernac's chronology is often wrong by five years, as the reader has ſeen in the former part, and will ſee in the courſe of this work.

The

The firſt queſtion is of ſmall importance in an event of this nature, the difference being only five years. The author of the ſynchroniſms is, by Mr. O'Conor, called Flan of Bute, and placed in the tenth century. The learned Uſher calls him *non novitius autor*, 'no late author.' The queſtion therefore lies between him and Tighernac. The author of the ſynchroniſms, by ſuch extracts as are given of his work, appears a writer of conſiderable learning and accuracy, who ſtudiouſly endeavoured to ſettle the chronology of his country, by ſynchroniſms of Roman emperors, &c. And the date 503, given by him, is confirmed, as Innes ſhews, by the number of years aſſigned in the old Scotiſh chronicles to the kings from Fergus to the death of Aidan, which by all accounts was in 605: namely, Fergus 3, Dongard 5, Congal 24, Gabran 22, Conal 14, Aidan 34, making juſt 102 years; which, ſubtracted from 605, leave the date of the commencement of the Dalriadic kingdom, 503. This certainly turns the ſcale in favour of the ſynchroniſms. Mageoghagan, Uſher, O'Flaherty, Kennedy, Innes, O'Conor, all aſſent to this date of 503. As to the date 498, ſuppoſed to be put by Tighernac, it ſeems doubtful if ſo meant by the author; or if he, in other words, marks preciſely the firſt year of Symmachus. For his dates are ſometimes wrong by four or five years; and Uſher, who, in his *Antiquitates Eccl. Brit.* ſays that Tighernac mentions the firſt Symmachus, in another place ſays, that he only puts this event, *ſub initium pontificatus Symmachi*. Symmachus ſat from 498 till 514, or ſixteen years; and the year 503 would be toward the beginning of his pontificate. If ſtrictly interpreted, Tighernac would place the death of Fergus in the ſame year with his colony; for the words, *et ibi mortuus eſt*, would in regular annals imply this. But as it is well known, that this was not the caſe, it may well be argued that Tighernac puts the date of this

this event not to the preciſe firſt year of Symmachus, but toward the beginning of his pontificate; and 503 is toward the beginning of it, as it laſted from 498 till 514.

Let us now conſider the ſecond queſtion, or that concerning Loarn. In the Scotiſh accounts of Dalriadic kings Fergus begins the ſeries; and Loarn is paſt in oblivion, but in the Iriſh Loarn ranks as the firſt king. Innes, who was afraid of offending his bigotted countrymen, and who palpably trembles when aſſerting plain truth and authority againſt ignorant prejudice and falſehood, paſſes Loarn in utter ſilence; as he has paſt the evidence for the retreat of the Scots from Albany to Ireland, in the fifth century. Strange that he ſhould affront us ſo far as to think that queſtions of plain matter of fact, and mere mathematical pleaſure, in other countries, ſhould in Scotiſh antiquities, excluſively, be regarded as ſacred to bigotry and frenzy! To him who looks on ſuch queſtions with a due eye, they are points of mere curioſity; and of no more concern or prejudice than if they related to the hiſtory of Egypt, Macedon, China, or Peru. Nevertheleſs let us beware of that common error of flying from one prejudice to another; and examine fairly whether Loarn or Fergus was really firſt king of Dalriada.

The ſilence of the old Scotiſh liſts upon this point is not to be wondered at, for they are totally erroneous and defective in other reſpects, as ſh ll preſently be ſhewn, when we come to the chapter of Dalriadic kings. Thoſe petty princes were little regarded, even in their own domain: their future fabulous fortunes were unknown. The Pikiſh monarchs were the kings of Scotland; and as ſuch attracted all notice. The petty ſovereigns of Argyle and Loarn were of ſuch ſmall account, that the only wonder is that any tolerable liſt of them is preſerved at all. We have however no equal

liſt

liſt of any provincial kings in Ireland: an advantage which their detached ſituation afforded. But the Scotiſh liſts are, after all, right, that Fergus was firſt king of ALL Dalriada; for Loarn was only king of a part, while Fergus held the other, and, ſucceeding his brother, firſt ruled the whole.

The Iriſh accounts bear, that Loarn, Angus, and Fergus, three ſons of Erc, led the Scots back to Britain in 503. That Loarn was the firſt king, and was ſucceeded by Fergus. What became of Angus we are not told. It would ſeem that, either from incapacity, or preference of private life, he aſpired not to any ſhare of the power of his brothers. But tho Loarn be left out of the regal liſt, in the Scotiſh accounts; yet neither he, nor Angus, are unknown in them. Fordun, lib. III. cap. 1. ſays, that Fergus, ſon of Erc, came to Scotland, *cum duobus fratribus Loarn et Tenegus*, 'with his two brothers Loarn and Tenegus,' which laſt word is a not uncommon corruption of Angus with Fordun. The regiſter of the priory of St. Andrew's, written about 1250, alſo ſays of Kenneth, ſon of Alpin, *ſepultus in Yona inſula, ubi tres filii Erc, ſcilicet Fergus, Loarn, et Enegus, ſepulti fuerant*; 'he was buried in Hyona, where the three ſons of Erc, namely, Fergus, Loarn, and Enegus, were buried.' And the Gaelic poem, of Malcom the Third's time, puts Loarn as the firſt king. Indeed we learn from Jocelin, a writer of the twelfth century, and who compiled his life of St. Patrick from more ancient authors, that Fergus was the *youngeſt* ſon of Erc; ſo that the arrangement ought infallibly to be Loarn, Angus, and Fergus.

As to the Iriſh accounts, it is now perfectly known, from the works of O'Flaherty, Kennedy, O'Conor, &c. that they put Loarn as firſt king of Dalriada: and the Gaelic poem of Malcom the Third's time, and ſuppoſed to be written by the court-bard, as it is the moſt ancient monument of Dalriadic

Dalriadic hiſtory remaining, deſerves the greateſt credit in this as in other points. The Highland Scots are allowed by their own late writers to have been an illiterate people. The celebrated monaſtery of Hyona was ſupplied from Ireland, which it always regarded as it's own parent country: and, being detached from Dalriada, had no effect on the character of the Highlanders. Ireland was, on the contrary, much noted for ſuch learning as was then in vogue. So that it is from the Iriſh writers that we muſt expect genuine memorials of the Dalriadic kingdom; and the proximity and identity of the Old Britiſh and Iriſh Scots, and conſtant intercourſe between them, lend theſe memorials every degree of authenticity and credit. In any other hiſtory ſuch teſtimonials would bear no doubt; and it would be a mark of deplorable prejudice to weigh the hiſtory of Scotland in any other ſcales than thoſe uſed in that of any other country whatever. The early hiſtory of all barbaric ſtates can only be gathered from writers of neighbouring nations; and the future authors of theſe barbaric countries have uniformly aſſented to theſe foreign accounts: nor has any one ever attempted, ſave in Scotland alone, to overturn foreign authorities by no authority at all. Setting aſide Greek and Roman authorities, where would be all the ancient hiſtory of Europe, Aſia, and Africa? The teſtimony of Iriſh writers is not equal to that of Greek and Roman; but is certainly more than ſufficient for the early hiſtory of Dalriada, a petty Iriſh colony.

But in the preſent caſe it ſo happens, that there is no occaſion for diſpute; for the Iriſh and Scotiſh accounts are moſt eaſily reconciled. Late Iriſh authors doubtleſs err in ſuppoſing Loarn firſt SOLE king of Dalriada. He and Fergus were, in every appearance, joined kings, or rulers, of ſeparate parts; the former of Lorn, which, as uſual with Iriſh countries, retains his name; the later

of

of Argyle. Loarn of the northern part of Dalriada; Fergus of the ſouthern. Upon the death of Loarn, without heirs male[b], Fergus acceded to his ſhare; and was thus in fact firſt king of Dalriada. This plain account, which reconciles all authorities, recommends itſelf by it's ſimplicity. The reaſon why Loarn is omitted in the Scotiſh liſts, and genealogiſts, thus appears at once. From Tighernach it is clear that Fergus led a great part of the Dalriads to Britain, and that ancient writer does not even mention Loarn. Hence it appears that Fergus was a chief leader of this colony; and it is not probable that he would have yielded to the ſole ſovereignty of his brother, who had done no more in the matter than himſelf. Thus even the Iriſh authorities concur to eſtabliſh this account. Loarn and Fergus were both advanced in life, when they proceeded to Britain.

[b] Perhaps Loarn left ſons, tho not come to maturity; and Fergus ſeized the occaſion of fixing the kingdom in his own family. The deſcendants of Loarn ſometimes held the Dalriadic ſceptre, as ſhewn chap. V.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Extent of the Kingdom of Dalriada.

THE Dalreudini, or Attacotti, as above ſhewn, were ſeated on the north-weſt ſide of the Frith of Clyde, or in the ſouth of preſent Argyleſhire. From the figure which they make in hiſtory, and in the *Notitia*, it is clear that they muſt have been conſiderably numerous. At the ſmalleſt computation not leſs than ten thouſand effective men could infer the notice they attract; and ſuppoſing one man from each family, and each family to be of four perſons, their population would thus amount to 40,000, or 50,000. Nor can more be granted from our knowlege of the territory they held; and from their being only denominated a *Dal* or *Tribe*, under one leader, Reuda, and his ſucceſſors.

But on their return under Loarn and Fergus, in 503, their number ſeems to have doubled that account. The former leader had the north part of preſent Argyleſhire, now called Lorn from his name. The *Epidii* are the only Caledonian, Pikiſh, or Gothic, people placed in all this tract by Ptolemy; and they were in Cantire, and the ile of *Epidion*, or Jura and Ila. The ile of Mull was alſo retained by the Piks; for in 565 Hyona, which is on the ſouth of Mull, was given by the Pikiſh monarch to Columba. The name Cantire is Gothic, but may have been given by the Norwegians, on their ſeizing the Hebudes about the year 800. When this tract was ceded to the Dalriads, ſuch of the Epidii as choſe to remain, it may

may be inferred, had that privilege; but were ſoon loſt in the new language of the colony.

Certain it is, from all the ancient teſtimonies, that the kingdom of Dalriada, in the whole period of it's duration, or from 503 till 843, did not exceed the limits of preſent Argyleſhire. This ſmall territory is mountainous and barren; and it was no great gift to yield it to a colony of Scots, the old allies of the Piks. The ile of Mull, which fronts it's northern corner, and is flat, fertile and populous, the Piks retained; and it was alone worth all the reſt. In treating of the extent of the Pikiſh dominions, the limits of Dalriada have been mentioned, and need not be here repeated. An ancient writer ſays, Fergus ruled the tract from Drum Albin to the Iriſh ſea, and Hebudes. Drum Albin is the higheſt part of Braidalbin, on the eaſt of Argyleſhire; and it is clear from Adomnan, that it was the eaſtern boundary of Dalriada, or the Old Scotiſh kingdom in Britain. The Frith of Clyde is well known to have been the ſouthern; and the Iriſh ſea the weſtern. The northern boundary is not ſo poſitive. Innes has not ſufficiently illuſtrated this point. Winton conſiders old Argyle, as the whole of the Dalriadic kingdom[b]; for, ſpeaking of Kenneth, the fabled conqueror of the Piks, he ſays,

Out of ARGYLE he brocht the Scottis,
And put thame quhair that the Pychtis
Had befoir tham maid duelling;
And thair gart tham be, and he thair king.
Book VI *ch.* 106.

But it appears that Loch Linny was the northern boundary of Dalriada. For Mull remained to the

[b] So our old chronicles, publiſhed by Innes,

Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis.

and of Kenneth, 'Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.'

Piks

Piks [a]; and it is not to be conceived that it was detached from their other dominions, but on the contrary muſt have adjoined to them. So that Morven, and the reſt of that part of preſent Argyleſhire, which lies north of Loch Linny, was in every appearance poſſeſt by the Piks: as was the reſt of the north of Scotland. The name *Loch-Aber* given to the north-eaſt part of Argyle implies, i am told, *The Lake of Strangers*; and ſeems to mark a limit; but on this nothing can be founded [b]. It is to be regreted that thoſe ancient pieces which mark Drum Alban, and the Iriſh ſea, as the eaſtern and weſtern bounds of Albany, did not alſo affix the northern bound; for as to the ſouthern it is perfectly known to have been the Frith of Clyde. But to any one who caſts an eye upon the map of Scotland, Loch Linny will appear the only grand boundary which could be aſſigned on the north of the Dalriadic territory; and it is connected with other lakes which interſect the country to Inverneſs. This was the limit of Veſpaſiana; and is now marked with a chain of forts, William, Auguſtus, and George. Beyond this, on the north-

[a] Walafrid Strabo, who wrote in the ninth century, puts Hyona as on the confines of the Piks:

Inſula Pictorum quædam monſtratur in oris,
Fluctivago ſuſpenſa ſalo, cognominis Eo.

This paſſage is in his life of St. Blaithmac, who was ſlain in Hyona by the Norwegians: *apud Canis. Lect. Ant.* tom. vi.

The kingdom of Dalriada certainly never extended over the Hebudes: as our old chronicles alone might evince, for they mark it as reaching from Drum Alban, or Brun-Alban, (*Brun, pectus, collis*, Old Germ. Gr. φρων, Wachter.) on the eaſt; *uſque ad mare Hiberniæ, et ad Inch-Gall* on the weſt. It no more included Inch-Gall, or the Hebudes, than it did the Iriſh ſea: it reached *ad*, not *ſupra*.

[b] In the German language *Haber* is *corn*: in Scandinavian *Hafrar, avenæ. Haber-dun*, the Saxon name of a place in Bedfordſhire, means *Oatlands*. Archæol. VIII. 377. The Piks were an agricultural people; the Dalriads not: ſo perhaps this may afford an argument, tho a trifling one.

weſt of Scotland, there are only ſmall creeks and crowded hills, which afford no grand natural boundary. The old deſcription of Scotland, ſuppoſed to be by Giraldus Cambrenſis; and Winton, with other ancient accounts, unanimouſly mark Argyle as the Dalriadic kingdom. The Piks certainly held Hyona; and of courſe Mull and the adjacent northern coaſt. For all theſe reaſons it ſeems certain that Loch Linny was the grand and natural boundary of Dalriada on the north.

The charter of the earldom of Moray, publiſhed by Home, Lord Kaims, in his Eſſays on Britiſh Antiquities, and in Shaw's Moray, throws ſome light on the old limits of Argyle. This great earldom or province of Moray included preſent Elginſhire, Nairn-ſhire and Inverneſs-ſhire: extending on the north in the words of the Charter *per mare-uſque ad marchias boreales Ergadiæ quæ eſt comitis de Ros:* Glenelg, or that part of Inverneſs-ſhire which borders on Roſs on the Weſt, being included in Moray. Thus it would ſeem that in the fourteenth century Argyle extended even to Roſs-ſhire. Yet in Gordon of Straloch's maps Argyle is reſtricted to the ſouth of Lorn, and of Loch Aw. From the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*, publiſhed by Innes, it alſo appears that in the 12th century *Argathelia* was regarded as a large province. But this impropriety aroſe after the Norwegians ſettled in the north and weſt of Scotland in the ninth century; and it is clear from Tighernac, and other early writers, that Lorn was a diſtinct province from Argyle: and the later was on the ſouth of it, as Gordon of Straloch's maps rightly bear. From the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ* it appears that *Argathelia* was all the country held by the Gatheli, Gael, or Iriſh; and thus ſeems different from the *Argal* of Tighernac. But both being tranſlated Argyle, confuſion aroſe. There is however no proof that the Gael extended

extended up to Roſs-ſhire, before the Norwegians ſeized on the Hebudes; ſo that the limits of Dalriada [c] have nothing to do with thoſe of Argathelia.

[c] This name of Dalriada continued to the time of Kenneth ſon of Alpin at leaſt, as appears from the old chronicle, Innes, App. No. III. p. 783, which, ſpeaking of that king, ſays, "Iſte vero, biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam, DALRIETÆ regnum ſuſcepit."

CHAPTER V.

Catalogue of the Dalriadic Kings.

IT is ſurprizing that Innes, who has publiſhed the genuine old liſts of the kings in North Britain, as preſerved in Scotiſh manuſcripts, has given us no chronologic remarks on the dates of their reſpective reigns. The Pikiſh ſeries he has arranged; but has left the Dalriadic, not ſeeming even to ſuſpect the difficulties attending it, or perhaps afraid of offending weak brethren by ſhewing it's inaccuracy. The Dalriadic ſeries, as digeſted by O'Flaherty, with ſome care and fidelity, from the oldeſt monument on the ſubject, the poem aſcribed to Malcom the Third's bard, and ſupported by the Annals of Ulſter, Tighernac, and others of the moſt veracious Iriſh teſtimonies, Innes has paſt in total ſilence. Yet the Scotiſh liſts, compared with that of O'Flaherty, are moſt inaccurate, and liable to ſtrong objections. And it is in fact from Ireland alone that we are to look for genuine intelligence on this trifling ſubject of the Dalriadic kings, as above ſhewn. But when we find this intelligence reſting on the oldeſt Scotiſh monument, the poem of Malcom's time, it is raſh to oppoſe it; and to paſs it in ſilence, as Innes has done, is ſtill worſe. Indeed, when Innes wrote, much of the old leaven of fabulous frenzy, and childiſh prejudice, remained in Scotland: and it is no wonder that he ſhunned telling us that our own liſts of our dear kings of Argyle are inaccurate; and that the Iriſh accounts are far ſuperior. But as every reader muſt already have ſeen that the Pikiſh ſeries is that of the kings of Scot-

Scotland, down to 843 at leaſt, if not after; this line of Dalriadic princes becomes of no more importance, than that of ſo many Dukes of Argyle. Such being the caſe; and philoſophy making daily progreſs in Scotland; it is preſumed little or no bigotry remains on this ſubject: and it is hoped that every ſenſible reader will approve my treating it with perfect freedom, as I can ſafely ſay that my earneſt wiſh is to deſpiſe all prejudice and timidity, while aſſerting the cauſe of truth, which is that of my country; for falſhood is the greateſt diſhonour that any country, or individual, can undergo.

The ſucceſſion of Dalriadic kings extends from 503 till 843, when Kenneth aſcended the Pikiſh throne. For this period of 340 years, the old Latin liſts aſſign twenty-four kings, including Kenneth. The Albanic Duan gives thirty-four. So that the difference amounts to no leſs than TEN kings.

It has been mentioned above, when treating of the Pikiſh ſucceſſion, that from the liſts of Iriſh monarchs, and of the Pikiſh, and of the heptarchic kings in England, not more than eleven years each fall to any ſeries of barbaric monarchs in the north of Europe. Sir Iſaac Newton has ſhewn that eighteen years form the medium in great and civilized kingdoms; but in ſmall barbaric kingdoms it is clear, from facts as well as philoſophy, that the ſucceſſion is above one-third more rapid; and eleven years form the medium *. Now 24 kings, at 11 years each, give but 264 years inſtead of 340. And it is perfectly known that the Dalriadic kings were engaged in conſtant wars, and diſſentions, above any, either in Britain or Ireland; ſo that, inſtead of granting them longer reigns than the neighbouring princes, it is

* Mr. Gibbon obſerves, vol. V. p. 89, 4to ed. that, in the Byzantine empire, 60 emperors fill 600 years: a proportion, he adds, far below Newton's rule.

but fair to aſſign them rather ſhorter. If we put them therefore at ten years a-piece, the reigns of thirty-four kings will juſt fill 340 years, or anſwer the Albanic account. Kenneth's reign alſo extended more than a dozen of years beyond 843, ſo that 34 kings ſeem neceſſary, upon general chronologic principles, to fill the ſpace of time. But 24 kings for more than 350 years would give about 15 years a-piece; and form a ſtriking and abſurd exception to the Iriſh, Pikiſh, and Heptarchic liſts. This argument becomes ſo cogent as to be invincible, when we conſider that by all accounts the clear and certain liſt, from Kenneth's acceſſion to the Pikiſh throne, 843, till the death of Lulach 1054, contains no leſs than eighteen kings in 211 years. Which is but between eleven and twelve years for each king. If this was the caſe, when the diſſentions of the Piks and Dalriads being at an end, one grand cauſe of the ſhortneſs of the Dalriadic reigns had ceaſed; and the kings poſſeſſed ample power and ſecurity; it is ſurely reaſonable to infer, that the reigns preceding that date muſt have been ſhorter, inſtead of ſo much longer as to amount to 15 years at a medium.

But over and above this plea, deduced from the ſoundeſt rules and philoſophy of chronology, the preference due to the Gaelic liſt is clear, becauſe that liſt correſponds with dates preſerved in authentic Iriſh Annals, and is in itſelf ſufficiently exact, while the Latin liſts are totally abſurd[a]. Till the death of Aidan, 605, or for the firſt century, both anſwer as to names of kings, commencement of the monarchy in 503, and death of Aidan in 605. But from 605 till 843, the confuſion and inaccuracy of the Latin liſts are ſelf-apparent. They bear the following kings, and number of years each reigned:

[a] See them in Innes's Appendix.

1. Eochod

1. Eochod 16 years. Began to reign . 605
2. Kinat Keir 3 months 621
3. Fercar 16 years 621
4. Donal Brec 14 years 637
5. Malduin 16 years 651
6. Fercar Fada 21 years . . . 667
7. Eochoid Rinneval 3 years . . 688
8. Armkelleth 1 year 691
9. Edgan 13 years [b] 692
10. Murdac 3 years 705
11. Eogan 3 years 708
12. Ed Fin 30 years 711
13. Fergus 3 years 741
14. Selvac 24 years 744
15. Eochoid 30 years 768
16. Dungal 7 years 798
17. Alpin 3 years 805
18. Kenneth 808

Winton follows this ſeries, as to names of kings; but omits often the years they reigned; and puts the years of Chriſt at his pleaſure. Fordun, that weak and infamous falſificator and forger of our hiſtory, was the firſt who preſented us with another ſeries of all our old Dalriadic kings; which, to the diſgrace of our learning and ſagacity, has been blindly followed by Major, Boyce, Leſly, Buchanan; nay to this day by Maitland, Guthrie, and the other dablers in our hiſtory. That falſified liſt from the death of Aidan, 605, till Kenneth's acceſſion to the Pikiſh throne, 843, ſtands thus;

[b] The Chronicle of Melroſe begins where Beda ends, 731: and gives theſe kings after Edgan as above, only dating Edgan's death 741. But they are inſerted in the margin by an Abbot of Dundraynan (as the original MS. in the Cotton lib. bears, *mutuavit abbas de Dundraynan*) and in the thirteenth century, as the writing ſhews, being copied from our old liſts, and with very faulty chronology, as Innes remarks, p. 611.

1. Kennethus Keir 3 months . . 605
2. Eugenius III. 16 years . . 605
3. Ferquardus I. 11 years . . 621
4. Donaldus III. 14 years . . 632
5. Ferquardus II. 18 years . . 646
6. Malduinus 20 years . . 664
7. Eugenius IV. 3 years . . 684
8. Eugenius V. 10 years . . 687
9. Amberkelethus 1 year . . 697
10. Eugenius VI. 17 years . . 698
11. Murdacus 15 years . . . 715
12. Etfinus 31 years . . . 730
13. Eugenius VII. 2 years . . . 761
14. Fergus II. 3 years . . . 763
15. Selvathius 21 years . . . 766
16. Achaius 32 years . . . 787
17. Convallus 5 years . . . 819
18. Dungalus 7 years . . . 824
19. Alpinus 3 years 831
20. Kennethus 834

Innes has ſufficiently ſhewn the perverſions, and interpolations, of the former part of this mock liſt; and this later part has alſo it's ſhare. Connad Keir is placed before Eochoid, or Eugenius as falſely tranſlated, in direct perverſion of the old liſts which Fordun had before his eyes, and of the teſtimony of Adomnan, who lived in that very century, and tell us in expreſs terms that Eochoid ſucceeded Aidan. Tighernac alſo clearly marks the reign of Connad Keir to have followed that of Eochoid, as ſhall be afterward ſtated in his own words. Fercar II. Fada is alſo put before Malduin, in defiance of the old liſts, both Iriſh and Scotiſh. Eochod is again falſely tranſlated Eugenius: and a falſe Eugenius V. is interpolated, equally unknown both to the Iriſh and Scotiſh accounts. Ed Fin is placed before Eogan, againſt the ſame authentic catalogues. And a falſe Convallus is interpolated.

The

The cauſe of interpolating kings is ſelf-apparent, namely, to ſwell the liſt, and bring it into ſome conformity with chronology: and Fordun's power of creating kings is too well known. But what purpoſe that ignorant dreamer had in view, by merely altering poſitions of kings, and putting the laſt firſt, is not ſo eaſily ſeen. This flaw ſeems indeed to have ſprung merely from an extraordinary talent for blundering: or to ſhew us that our hiſtory was all his own, and he would uſe it as he pleaſed. But as he was ſtrong, he ſhould have been merciful; and not have inſulted us by ſuch a diſplay of power, only equalled in the Rehearſal,

And all this I ſhall do, becauſe I dare.

The falſehood of Fordun's liſt is alſo clear from it's chronology. Connad Keir died in 630, as Tighernac ſays: Fordun places his death in 605. Amkellach was ſlain in 719, according to the Iriſh annals: Fordun puts 698. Selvac is often mentioned in theſe annals at 719, &c. Fordun dates him 766. Theſe glaring faults, perverſions, and interpolations, render his authority as untenable in this part, as Innes has ſhewn it to be in the former; and the character of Fordun, now ſo well known as a groſs forger, and falſificator, ſets the due ſeal to his evidence. He had palpably never ſeen the Albanic Duan, nor the Iriſh accounts. All he does is to alter and interpolate the old Latin liſts, preſerved in the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, and other repoſitories; and publiſhed by Innes.

Fordun's liſt, followed by all our writers to this day, is indeed the utmoſt perfection of hiſtorical falſehood; for it is a falſification of the old Latin liſts, which are themſelves falſe. It is a ſuperfetation of falſehood: falſehood again falſified. For the defects of the old Latin liſts are ſo great as to ſtamp them with utter falſehood on the whole chronology in groſs, as above ſhewn.

Their

Their particular chronology is no leſs erroneous. Connad Keir died in 630: the liſts put 621. Amkellach died 719: the liſts ſay 692. Selvac began to reign 719: the liſts date 744. Murdac began his reign 733: the liſts ſay 705. And the well-known reign of Kenneth, who aſcended the Pikiſh throne, is antedated by theſe old-liſts near thirty years!

Fordun's liſt, blindly followed by Major, Boyce, Leſly, Buchanan, and to our own times by Maitland, Guthrie, and other dablers in our hiſtory, being ſo totally falſe and erroneous, as to be out of the queſtion; the only point that remained was whether the Latin, or Gaelic liſt deſerved preference. The Pikiſh ſeries, in the eſſential parts of which, as might be expected from it's importance, all Iriſh, Scotiſh, and Engliſh accounts, agree, as formerly ſhewn, is that of the kings of Scotland till 843. The Dalriadic ſeries of kings of Argyle was ſo unimportant, that it is ſurprizing that any tolerable liſt is extant. In fact, the whole ſeries ſtands upon one poem, which is now printed in the Appendix, from a tranſcript remitted to me by Mr. O'Conor. This poem bears in its concluſion that it was written in the time of Malcom III. 1056—1093[c]. It is beyond queſtion the moſt antient monument of Dalriadic hiſtory extant; and has been long ſince quoted as ſuch by Colgan, Ward, and others. O'Flaherty rightly drew the whole ſeries from it: and he, and others moſt ſkilled in the Iriſh language, have ever regarded it's authenticity as unqueſtionable. It is believed to have been written by the Highland court-bard of Malcom III. and

[c] The original of this piece is ſuppoſed to be in the Pſaltar Caſhail. It is quoted by Ward in *Vita Rumoldi*, p. 372. Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga* p. 115, publiſhed ſome diſtichs of it. See an account of it, and tranſlation of part, in O'Flaherty's Ogygia Vindicated, p. 143. Kennedy, p. 150, erroneouſly ſays, it rehearſes all the Pikiſh kings.

has

has no marks of having been written in Ireland. The beginning of this celebrated Duan, or ſhort poem, is,

A eolcha Alban uile,
A ſhluagh feta foltbhuidle,
Cia ceud ghabhail aneol duibh,
Ro ghabhſadar Alban bruigh.

'Ye ſkillful men of Alba, ye comely hoſts of the yellow treſſes, know ye the firſt tribes who poſſeſſed Albanian lands?' Then the bard gives us the fable of Albanus and Brittus, from Nennius, who wrote in 858, knowing nothing of Locrine, Albanactus, and Camber, ſons of Brutus, as Geoffrey fabled about 1150. Next he mentions that the Nemedians, under Erglan, ſettled in Albany, after the ſiege of Tor Conang (in Donegal), which is a fable like the former. He then proceeds to the Cruthni, or Piks; and ſtates, in conformity with the Iriſh annals, that ſeventy kings reigned in Pikland before Conſtantine. Next he puts the colony of Riada, deſcended from Conary, king of Ireland; and ſays, that 'in later time,' the three ſons of Erc, Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, came over. After which follows the liſt of kings from Loarn and Fergus, down to Malcom III. with the number of years they reigned. This Duan, beſides its hiſtorical merit, is alſo valuable for its curioſity, as an ancient ſpecimen of thoſe metrical liſts of kings, which ſupplied the place of hiſtory in illiterate countries, as explained in treating of the Pikiſh liſts. Among the oldeſt monuments of our hiſtory is a metrical piece in Latin, written in the thirteenth century, in elegiac meaſure, only beginning with Kenneth, 843. But this Duan is more valuable from it's being older by two centuries; and that Latin piece is evidently on the model of thoſe uſed in the vulgar idiom, before Latin was in ſuch general uſe.

Without

Without this old Gaelic Duan no ſeries of the princes of Dalriada could have been given; for many of them are not found either in the Latin liſts, or in the Iriſh Annals. Both the Latin liſts and Iriſh Annals, however, concur to certify this Duan; and lend it every degree of hiſtoric faith. Indeed, as the moſt ancient piece of Dalriadic hiſtory preſerved by near two centuries, this Duan would by every rule of hiſtoric authority have merited the preference, independently of other conſiderations.

There is, however, a circumſtance relating to this old poem, with which it is proper that the reader ſhould be acquainted. The part of it which contains the kings after Kenneth, ſon of Alpin, down to Malcom III. tho exact enough in the names and order, is yet very defective in the number of years it aſſigns to moſt of the reigns. Thus to Kenneth III. it gives 30 years, tho he only reigned 16: to Conſtantine II. the like number of 30 years, tho he alſo reigned but 16: to Ed 2 years, for 1: to Donal II. 5, for 11: to Conſtantin III. 46, for 40: to Malcom I. 4, for 9; to Odo or Duf 7, for 5: to Kenneth IV. 27, for 24: to Conſtantin IV. 7, for 1: to Grim 4, for 8. This chronology would carry the beginning of Macbeth's reign down to the year 1055, in defiance of all our chronicles, and of the Engliſh and Iriſh hiſtorians. Nor can there be a doubt that it is totally erroneous thro-out this part.

The Iriſh antiquaries therefor agree that this later part is corrupted, and added by ſome ignorant hand to the former, which they depend on as exact. But upon conſulting one or two perſons well ſkilled in the Iriſh language, i am informed that the ſtyle of this later part is identically the ſame with that of the former; and i am perfectly convinced that the whole piece is written by one hand; but that the Iriſh antiquaries aſſert the contrary,

trary, merely becauſe they find this later part untenable, as in the years aſſigned it contradicts the beſt and moſt numerous authorities. Inſtead therefor of granting that the years of the former part may be as erroneous as thoſe of the later, they attempt to paſs this laſt part as a corrupt addition, that they may ſave the credit of the former. But it is certain that the years in the firſt part often diſagree with thoſe of Tighernac; and ſeem fully as uncertain as thoſe of the laſt.

It therefor appears that the bard who wrote this poem, tho right in the names and order, which he muſt have had from older poems, yet as he probably firſt thought of giving the years in his verſe, he had not good authorities for theſe years; but has given them much at random from beginning to end. And as our old Latin liſts are certainly far more exact in the later part, as to theſe years, ſo it is but reaſonable to infer that they are alſo more exact in the former. The names and order of the kings were duly repeated by the bards at coronations; but the number of years they reigned appears not to have been recited on theſe occaſions, and were out of the bard's province. Our old liſts, preſerved in the Maſs-books, &c. are therefor much more to be credited, as to the number of theſe years; for numbers take leſs hold of the memory than any objects whatever, and are of courſe the leaſt to be truſted, of all traditional matters. The beſt plan of courſe appeared to be, to follow the bard in names and order; but to check his numbers from our old liſts; the Iriſh Annals; and arguments from the nature of the ſubject. It will not indeed be ſurprizing if the reader ſhould find the liſt of Dalriadic kings, which has coſt the author more labour than any part of this work, the moſt unſatisfactory part of it. The Pikiſh Chronicle of the Kings of North Britain was clear and eaſy; but to adjuſt the obſcure ſeries of Dalriadic kings is no leſs difficult than it is unimportant.

The

The reader will, however, it is hoped, allow that the ſeries of Dalriadic kings, preſerved in this Gaelic Duan, deſerves the preference over the old Scotiſh liſts in Latin, for the cauſes above detailed: to wit, 1. That the number of Thirty-four kings, given in the Duan, is conformable to the general chronology of the neighbouring barbaric kingdoms, which allows but ten or eleven years for each king; whereas, Twenty-four would allow fifteen: and there is every reaſon to infer that the Dalriadic kings reigned even a ſhorter ſpace in general, than thoſe of England, Pikland, or Ireland. Nay, in the real ſeries after Kenneth, till Malcom III. the later part of thoſe very Latin liſts gives but between eleven and twelve years for each king; tho in enlarged power and ſecurity. 2. That the old Latin liſts are ſo deficient in general chronology, that they want near thirty years of the period, which they pretend to reach at the commencement of Kenneth's reign in Pikland. 3. That the old Latin liſts are alſo quite deficient in particular chronology, as is clear from dates preſerved in the authentic Iriſh Annals, which are right as to the kings of Pikland, and the Engliſh Heptarchy, and cannot be ſuppoſed wrong as to thoſe of Dalriada alone; about whom, on the contrary, their intelligence muſt have been beſt. 4. That the Duan is more ancient by two centuries than any Latin liſt preſerved, and in this reſpect alone would, by every rule of hiſtory, deſerve ſuperior faith. The antiquity of the Duan admits of no doubt, being judged of by the very ſame rule followed concerning the Latin liſts, namely, that it was written under the king with whom it ends, and the length of whoſe reign it therefore ſays was only known to heaven.

Let us, therefore, proceed to digeſt the genuine ſeries of Dalriadic kings from that Duan. Mr. O'Flaherty, whoſe accuracy and fidelity in later events, and real hiſtory, are rendered ſuſpicious by

by his notorious credulity in fabulous periods, has with much care preceded me in this labour. His Dalriadic ſeries is in fact the beſt part of his work, for here he was a ſpectator, and not a party. *Si ſic omnia!* But i ſhall beg leave to differ from him in many points; and as his authorities, namely, the Gaelic Duan, with a literal tranſlation, and extracts from the tranſlation of the Annals of Ulſter in the Muſæum, are now on my table, i hope i ſhall not be blamed for uſing my own eyes and thoughts. It muſt be premiſed that the Annals of Ulſter ſeem accurate in Iriſh affairs; as appears from the eclipſes they mention; which, upon compariſon with the chronology of eclipſes, in *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, i have never found to differ above one year. But in foreign affairs, as the actions and deaths of Engliſh, Pikiſh, and Dalriadic monarchs, there are miſtakes from three to ſix years, ſometimes antedated, ſometimes poſt-dated. The years are right (allowing one year, as Ware does, for the difference in beginning the year), but foreign actions are often referred to wrong years, tho ſometimes alſo right.

1. *Loarn*, *Fergus*, } ſons of Erc, reigned together, as above explained. This reign began in 503. The Duan ſays Loarn reigned 10 years. But had he reigned ſo long, it is unaccountable that his name ſhould have been omitted in our liſts. Both he and Fergus were very old, when they came to Dalriada; and Tighernac ſpeaks of Fergus as dying after a ſhort reign. Loarn's reign could hardly exceed one year. Muredach, ſon of Angus, another brother of Loarn, poſſeſſed the iland Ilay: *O'Fl.* Erca, daughter of Loarn [d], was twice married; firſt to Muredach, father of Mur-

[d] The Chronicon Rythmicum, Innes, p. 808, bears that one *Lori* led the Scots to Argyle; and Innes is puzzled to divine who Lori is. It ſeems ſurprizing that Innes did not learn from O'Flaherty's Ogygia, that *Lori* was *Loarn*. Another Loarn, Abbot of Cluona, occurs; Ann. Ult. 765.

chert,

chert, king of Ireland, 513; next to Fergus, ſon of Conal, and couſin-german of her firſt huſband, to whom, among other ſons, ſhe bore Fedlim, father of Saint Columba. Pompa Bebona, as O'Flaherty quaintly latiniżes ſome Iriſh name, another daughter of Loarn, was alſo a mother of three ſaints!

2. *Fergus* I. firſt ſole monarch of Dalriada, as outliving his brother, and inheriting his part [c], A. C. 503. The Duan gives him a reign of Twenty-ſeven years: the old Latin liſts only of three: Fordun, &c. of ſixteen. He is ſometimes, in Iriſh accounts, called Fergus Mor Mac Miſe; for Miſe was his mother's name. *O'Fl. Mor* does not only imply *Great*; but often *tall*, or *fat*; or, by irony, *little*.

3. *Domangard*, ſon of Fergus, A. C. 506. reigned four years, *Duan*: five according to the old liſts and Fordun. He had two ſons, by Fedelina, daughter of Brian, ſon of Achay Mogmedon, king of Ireland, namely, Congal and Gabran. *O'Fl.*

4. *Congal*, ſon of Domangard, A. C. 511, reigned twenty-four years, Duan; and ſo alſo the old liſts. Fordun puts twenty-two. The Annals of Ulſter 34; as has the Chronicon Rythmicum: and their authority is here followed.

5. *Gabran*, ſon of Domangard, A. C. 545. In this reign there is the greateſt difference between the Duan and the Latin liſts; the former giving but two years, the later twenty two. The Annals of Ulſter date Congal's death, 544: Gabran's, 560; and ſo aſſign him 16 years. Tighernac, at the year 560, ſays, *Mors Gaurani filii Domangardi, et Albadi, a Brudeo filio Milchuonis, Rege Pictorum, in fugam converſi; Dermitio rege*

[c] The firſt king of Macedon is under a ſimilar difficulty. Herodotus, lib. VIII. ſays, Perdiccas was firſt king. Livy and Pauſanias make Caranus firſt king. Juſtin and Solinus ſay Perdiccas ſucceeded Caranus. Chronologers hence conclude that both reigned at firſt; but that Caranus dying, Perdiccas became firſt ſole monarch.

Hiberniæ

Hiberniæ poſtrema Temorenſia comitia celebrante. ' The death of Gabran, ſon of Domangard, and of Albad, put to flight by Brudi, ſon of Milchuon, king of the Piks; while Dermod king of Ireland was celebrating the laſt aſſembly at Temora.' *apud O'Fl.*

6. *Conal* I. ſon of Congal, ſucceeded his uncle, A. C. 560, and reigned fifteen years, *Duan*: fourteen, according to the old liſts. The Annals of Ulſter and Tighernac ſay, that he gave Hyona to Columba 565: but Beda, a far more ancient and better informed writer, ſays, that the Piks gave that ile to Columba, as above explained. The words in the Ulſter Annals, under 573, are, *Mors Conail Mac Comgail anno regni ſui* 16. *qui obtulit inſulam Hy Columcillæ.* Conal had a ſon called Donchad, who fell in battle at Loro, in Kintire, after his father's death, as we learn from the Annals of Ulſter, A. 575. *Bellum de Loro in Kintire in quo cecidit Duncath Mac Conail Mac Comgail; et alii multi de ſociis filiorum Gauran ceciderunt.*

7. *Aidan*, ſon of Gabran, A. C. 575, reigned twenty-four years, *Duan:* thirty-four, by the old liſts. The Annals of Ulſter, Fordun, and the chronology of the old liſts, fix his death at 605, and if ſo, he reigned juſt thirty years. O'Flaherty tacitly puts his reign from 574, till 606, or thirty-two years. We know from Beda's expreſs date that Aidan was defeated by Edilfrid in 603. At 579 we find Aidan mentioned in the Annals of Ulſter. Duncath, ſon of Conal, ſeems to have conteſted the kingdom; and the battle of Loro, above ſpecified, appears to have decided the conteſt in Aidan's favour, A. D. 575, which juſt anſwers to the chronology here laid down, and thirty years muſt be aſſigned to Aidan's reign. But perhaps the Duan dates from his unction as king, which, as we learn from Adomnan, Columba long deferred, having a predilection for Aidan's brother Eogenan. Thus there were both

commotions and delay between the death of Conal, and complete unction of Aidan as king; and in all probability our bard dates from the laſt epoch, and not from the death of Conal, which may well have happened ſome years before. One of the old liſts alſo makes Aidan's reign to be of twenty-four years, while two others give thirty-four. This Aidan is the moſt noted of all the Dalriadic kings: and Adomnan, Beda, and the Iriſh Annals, throw conſiderable light on his reign. The Duan calls him *Aidan of the extended territories*, and he certainly carried the Dalriadic power to a hight from which it ever after declined, till Kenneth aſcended the throne of Pikland. O'Flaherty tells us, that his brother Brandubius, as he chriſtens him in his quaint Latin, was king of Leinſter. In 579, we find the battle of Ouc againſt Aidan, mentioned in the Ulſter Annals. In 581, the battle of Manan, in which he was victor: O'Flaherty ſays, the ile of Maun. From Adomnan we learn, that Aidan alſo conquered in the battle of Miathorum, or Micithorum. O'Flaherty believes this may be the battle of Lethrigh, or Leithredh, mentioned in the Annals of Ulſter, as fought by Aidan in 589. In 590, Aidan was at the famous council of Drumkeat, in the Dioceſe of Dere, in Ulſter; conſiſting of kings, peers, and clergy, ſummoned by Aid king of Ireland, and mentioned by Adomnan, who names the place *Dorſum Ceti*, a Latin tranſlation of Drumkeat. Here Columba interceded for the Iriſh bards, whoſe diſorders provoked notice, and they were only reſtricted to Ulſter and Dalriada: whence may ſpring the ſuperiority of the Highland Oſſians, and their averſion to Ireland. In this council Aidan alſo procured the remiſſion of all homage due by the kings of Dalriada, to thoſe of Ireland; which indeed, conſidering the caſe, it is natural to infer they at firſt paid. If we credit Iriſh writers, the acts of this famous council are ſtill extant. In 594, Eugain, ſon of Gabran, and brother

brother of Aidan died: *Ann. Ult.* It is likely he is the Eoganan of Adomnan, whom Columba preferred to Aidan. In 603, Aidan appears in the page of Beda, under the name of *Edan rex Scottorum qui Britanniam inhabitant*, as coming againſt Edilfrid, king of Northumberland, with a great army; but conquered, and eſcaping with few. Beda adds, 'Nor from that time has any king of the Scots in Britain, dared to come to battle with the Engliſh to this day,' i. e. 731. Nor indeed ever after till Kenneth was called to the Pikiſh throne. In 605, Aidan died at an advanced age, probably more oppreſſed with chagrin at his laſt ſevere check, than elated with former ſucceſſes. Fordun ſays he died in Kintyre: and was buried at Kilcheran, where no king was buried before. Domangard, a ſon of Aidan, fell at Kirkuin, the year after Columba's death, or A. C. 598. *Codex Cluan. et Tighern. apud O'Fl.* Tighernac mentions that Conan, another ſon of Aidan, was drowned, A. C. 622. Adomnan ſays, Domangard was ſlain in Saxonia, or England; perhaps at the battle of 603, *bellica in ſtrage*; and he deſerves the greateſt credit. He alſo tells, that Artur and Eochod Find, ſons of Aidan, fell at the battle of Micitorum, above mentioned; and that Eochod Buidhe ſucceeded his father: and that there were yet other younger brothers, of whom Conan above mentioned may have been one.

8. *Eochoid* I. *Buidhe*, ſon of Aidan, A. C. 605, reigned ſeventeen years, *Duan*; ſixteen by the old liſts, and Fordun. Adomnan fully inſtructs us, that Eochod, ſucceeded his father Aidan; *Echodius autem Buide poſt patrem in regnum ſucceſſit*, lib. I. c. 8. ſo that Fordun's placing him after Connad Keir is a direct, and gratuitous, falſification of our old liſts; and of Adomnan, whoſe words he is ſo ſhameleſs as to quote.

9. *Connad Keir*, ſon of Conal, A. C. 622, reigned only three months, *Duan, Old Liſts, Fordun.*

dun. The Iriſh accounts bear, that he was ſon of Eochoid, the laſt king; which is improbable, as Eochoid was a young ſon of Aidan, and a child after his father came to the throne, as appears from Adomnan; and Fercar, ſon of Connad Keir, inſtantly ſucceeded him. Eochoid could not be above fifty-three when he died; and how could he have a grandſon fit to reign? The Duan, cited by O'Flaherty to this purport, ſays no ſuch thing. The old Liſts mark Connad Keir as the ſon of Conal, probably the king in 560. Tighernac puts the death of Connad Keir at 630: and the annals of Ulſter at 628. But their dates are ſometimes wrong. From Tighernac we learn, that in the laſt year of Eochoid Buide, Connad Keir conquered, and ſlew Fiachna, ſon of Deman, king of Ulſter, in the battle of Ardcoran. And in the only year of Connad, Malcaich ſon of Scanlan, king of the Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland, vanquiſhed Connad Keir in battle at Feaoin. In which fell Dicol of the royal race of the Piks; Rigallan ſon of Conan, Falby ſon of Eochoid, and grandſons of Aidan; and Oſtric, ſon of Albert, a Saxon prince; with a vaſt ſlaughter of others. The power of theſe Crutheni hence appears very conſiderable. Connad Keir did not dy in battle, but ſoon after; probably of his wounds, or of a wounded ſpirit.

10. *Fercar* I. ſon of Connad Keir, A. C. 622, reigned ſixteen years, *Duan:* and ſo the old liſts[t]. But it appears from the reign of his ſucceſſor Donal Brec, more noted in hiſtory, that the later muſt have ſucceeded about 630. Of courſe not

[t] The liſts call him ſon of Ewen. O'Flaherty, finding Tighernac date Eochoid Buide's death at 629, and Connad Keir's at 630, extends Eochoid's reign to 23 years; and reduces Fercar's to leſs than one year. He appears to be right. Perhaps Fercar and Donal Brec reigned together; and the former, as the ſon of an unknown Ewen, may have been of the houſe of Lorn, as was Fercar II.

more

more than eight years can be allowed for the reign of Fercar. The numbers in the Duan are often falſe, and the Dalriadic ſeries cannot be expected to reſemble the Pikiſh in clearneſs; but muſt be digeſted from various materials, and reconciled to general chronology. Torfæus, in arranging the ſeries of Daniſh kings, now univerſally received as authentic, uſes infinitely more freedom than ſhall be admitted in this Dalriadic ſeries.

11. *Donal* I. *Brec*, ſon of Eochoid Buidhe, ſucceeded his nephew, A. C. 630, and reigned twelve years. The Duan and liſts ſay fourteen. The tranſlation of the annals of Ulſter in the Muſæum has ſingular errors concerning Fercar, ſon of Connad Keir, whoſe death it marks in 693; and concerning Donal Brec. At 677 it bears *Bellum apud Calaros in quo victus eſt Domnall Brec:* and, at 685, *Talorg Mac Acithen, et Domnal Brecc Mac Eacba, mortui ſunt.* There are interpolated paſſages in the annals of Ulſter, *manu recentiore*, and theſe are certainly of them. For the Duan, old liſts, and Fordun, all concur to put the reign of Donal Brec from about 630 till between 640 and 650. The annals of Ulſter, tho a valuable compilation, were only completed in the year 1541, and often quote Tighernac, who wrote about 1080. Now Tighernac puts the reign of Donal Brec 637—642. The battle of Moyrath, in which he was totally defeated, was fought 637, in the reign of Donal Mac Ed, king of Ireland 628—642; and is a known epoch of Iriſh hiſtory. There was no other Donal king of Ireland till 743. The genuine annals of Ulſter ſay at 641, *Mors Domnail Mac Aodha regis Hiberniæ in fine Januarii. Poſtea Domnal in bello Fraithe Cairvin in fine anni, menſe Decembri, interfectus eſt, et an.* XV. *regnavit.* The later Domnal is Domnal Brec, king of Dalriada, ſlain at Fraith Cairvin, 642, by Hoan, king of the Britons, as O'Flaherty mentions from

the ſame Annals. Donal, ſon of Ed, king of Ireland, died in 642, at Ardfothaig, in the 14th year of his reign, as Ware informs. Adomnan alſo tells us, that Donal Brec was grandſon of Aidan, and was defeated at Roth (Moy-Roth) by Domnail, grandſon of Amurec; for Aid, father of Domnail, king of Ireland, was ſon of Amurec. See Ware. The reign of Donal Brec is therefore fixt: and the dates 677, 685, of the annals of Ulſter muſt be groſs interpolations, and they indeed form the only grand errors i have obſerved in that work[g].—This Donal Brec was ſingularly unfortunate; and his reign as ruinous to Dalriada as that of Aidan, his grandfather, had at firſt been advantageous. Congal Claon, king of Ullagh, having ſlain Suibney, king of Ireland, Donal, brother of Suibney, ſucceeded in 629, defeated Congal, and forced him to take refuge in Britain. Here Congal gained aſſiſtance, and eſpecially that of Donal Brec, who, in 637, attended him to Ireland with an army; but after a long and deſperate battle at Moyrath, Congal and Donal were defeated. The former was ſlain. The later ſo reduced, that in Adomnan's time, or about the year 700, Dalriada was in conſtant dread of utter ſubjection[h]. Indeed Aidan was the

[g] Perhaps this was another Donal Brec. But theſe Annals, as completed and interpolated 1541, have ſome miſtakes. At 670 we find *Mors Offæ filii Etilbrith rex Saxonum*: read *Oſuy*. Offa died 796.

In the Muſæum MS. at 685 it is *Donald Breco*. At 688 is *Mors Cataſuidh* NEPOS *Domnail Bricc*; an argument that the grandfather was dead long before.

[h] Adomnan, lib. III. c. 3. telling from Cuminius the prophecy of Columba againſt Aidan's deſcendants, adds, "Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus noſtris completum eſt in bello Roth, Domnaldo Brecco nepote Aidani ſine cauſa vaſtante provinciam (*i. e. regnum*) Domnail nepotis Amureq. Et à die illa uſque hodie adhuc in proclivo ſunt ab extraneis, quod ſuſpiria doloris pectori incutit." Hence it is clear that Donal Brec was grandſon of Aidan, and reigned in the time of Domnail,

the only great prince that Dalriada had; and it is clear from the annals of Ulſter, that, after this, the little kingdom declined almoſt to annihilation, before 843, when Kenneth came to the Pikiſh throne. In 638 there was a battle at Glen Mureſan, in which Donal Brec was again defeated [i]. In 642 he was ſlain at Fraith Cairvin, fighting againſt Hoan, in all probability a king of Strat-Clyde.

12. *Conal* II. } Began to reign 642; and
13. *Dungal* I. } the ſurvivor Conal reigned ten years: *Duan.* Conal, according to O'Flaherty, was ſon of Eochoid Buidhe [k], and younger brother of Donal Brec. Of Dungal nothing is known. His name ſignifies *the black ſtranger.*

14. *Donal* II. *Duin*, ſon of Conal II. according to O'Flaherty, began to reign 652, and ruled thirteen years; *Duan.*

15. *Malduin*, 665, ſeventeen years; *Duan:* the old liſts ſay ſixteen. Theſe liſts, by an eaſy miſtake, have paſt from Donal Brec to Donal Duin, confounding the two Donals, and have thus loſt three kings. O'Flaherty, on his own authority, ſays Malduin was ſon of Conal II. but the regiſter of St. Andrew's ſays he was ſon of Donal *Duin*, or, as miſprinted, *Durn.* This affords no ſmall confirmation of the accuracy of the Duan, which alone preſerves the reign of this Donal Duin.

Domnail, grandſon of Amureq, that is Donal II. ſon of Aod, ſon of Amurec, who died in the year 642, nor was there another Donal king of Ireland till 743.

[i] "Bellum Gline Mareſon in quo exercitus Domnaldi Brec in fugam verſus: et Etain obſidetur." Tighernac ad Ann. 638. "Bellum Gline Mureſan: et obſeſſio Edin." *Ann Ult.* ad 637.

[k] Surely not; for when Cuminius wrote his life of Columba, about the year 660, the deſcendants of Aidan had loſt the royalty, as Columba propheſied. *Cuminii Vita Columbæ*, cap. 5.

Thus far the Houſe of Fergus apparently ruled. After this the Houſe of Loarn began to hold the ſovereignty: and conteſts aroſe, which ſeem finally to have extinguiſhed both houſes.

16. *Fercar* II. *Fada*, or Tall, A. C. 682, reigned twenty-one years. Duan, and Old Liſts. This prince was the firſt of the houſe of Loarn, and in the eighth generation from Loarn, as O'Flaherty ſays, and indeed is right, running a parallel with the houſe of Fergus. That Fercar II. began a new houſe is clear from all the old Latin liſts, in which his father's name appears not, tho that of all the reſt be marked. After this alſo Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulſter, mention frequent conflicts between the houſes of Lorn and Argyle; ſometimes the one gaining the ſovereignty, ſometimes the other, as after ſtated.

17. *Eochoid* II. (pronounce Achy) *Rinnevail*, or Hooked Noſe, A. C. 703, reigned two years; Duan; the old liſts ſay three. All agree that he was the ſon of Domangart, ſon of Donal Brec; and conſequently of the houſe of Fergus. Domangart died 672. *Tighernac*, *Ann. Ult.*

18. *Ambkellac*, ſon of Fercar Fada, of the houſe of Loarn, A. C. 705, reigned one year; *Duan*, *Liſts*. The Annals of Ulſter ſay, he was expelled his kingdom, and ſent bound to Ireland. This event they date 697, but are generally ſome years wrong [1].

19. *Selvac*, brother of Ambkellac, A. C. 706, reigned twenty years. The old liſts are now totally perverted, and place Selvac about TEN REIGNS later; which is the chief flaw in their order; their other faults ariſing from omiſſion.

1 The book of Lecan, written 1380—1417, has, fol. 119, col. 2. the genealogy of Anbkelly, ſon of Fercar Fada, up to Loarn. O'Flah. Ogyg. Vind. p. 141. The ſame work has a *Commentarius de Antiquitate Albaniæ*; but is of ſo late date, as to deſerve little credit.

The

The Duan is alſo defective, and wants two reigns here. But the reign of Selvac is ſo marked by the Iriſh Annals, as to be very clear. In 700 Selvac deſtroyed Dunaila; *Ann. Ult.* this was before he was king, if the Annals err not by a few years, as not unuſual. But they ſeem right here, as they date the death of Adomnan and of Alfred, king of Northumberland, in 703. After this we find no more of Selvac for thirteen years. He is then oftener mentioned than Aidan, or any other Dalriadic king. In the Annals of Ulſter he appears at 713; at 718; at 722; at 726; at 729: his ſons at 732; at 735, as after ſtated.—Perhaps it may be ſaid that all theſe dates are erroneous: as we found above, that Donal Brec appears in theſe Annals no leſs than forty-three years after his time; ſo Selvac may be put fifty years before his time. But it muſt be obſerved, 1. That the two erroneous paſſages above-mentioned, concerning Donal Brec, are exceptions, not rules; there being no other ſuch errors in theſe Annals; ſo that even the chance is here more than a thouſand to one that they are right. 2. Thoſe two erroneous articles ſtand ſingle, and without conſequences, or connection; while theſe concerning Selvac are interwoven with marked events of the time. 3. The two paſſages concerning Donal Brec are contradictory of other paſſages, concerning him, in theſe very Annals, as above explained; whereas the articles reſpecting Selvac have not one contradiction or diſcordance. 4. The paſſages concerning Donal Brec are but two; theſe about Selvac amount to no leſs than eight, interwoven with other circumſtances, ſo that the chance of fallacy is leſs by three quarters. 5. Tighernac, the genuine old annaliſt, poſitively contradicts the annals of Ulſter, as to Donal Brec, but fully confirms them as to Selvac.—Theſe reaſons will, it is believed, be found more than ſufficient to fix the reign of Selvac here; and to

ſhew

ſhew that the old liſts are, in this one reſpect, not only defective, but diſordered.—Let us now attend to ſome particulars of Selvac's reign. In 700 we find him deſtroy Dunolla[m]: in 713 he builds it; and it is deſtroyed by his daughter Alena. *Ann. Ult.* I ſuſpect this to be one event variouſly told, and that the later is the true date. But this is of no moment. In 718 Selvac appears in two battles. One againſt Ambkellach his brother, who is conquered, and ſlain. About 706 Selvac appears to have uſurped the kingdom, ſeized his reigning brother Ambkellach, and ſent him bound to Ireland, as above mentioned. Ambkellach is called *The Good* in the Duan; and his mildneſs ſeems to have prompted his brother's ambition. For about twelve years Ambkellach ſeems to have lived in baniſhment, as Malcom in Macbeth's time: but in 718 he at length procured aſſiſtance, and was ſlain in aſſerting his kingdom. Selvac was a warlike prince, tho a bad man; and in the ſame year fought a naval battle againſt Duncha Beg, or Duncan the little, of the houſe of Argyle, but king only of Cantire; Selvac having apparently ſeized that part of Argyle which was next Lorn his patrimonial country. Selvac loſt this ſea-fight, in which many chiefs fell, and which happened off Ardaneſſe, ſome promontory in Argyleſhire. In 722 we find *Clericatus Selvaich*, or that Selvac went into a monaſtery. But this life, undertaken probably in penance for the murder of his brother, ſuited not his temper; and he ſeems to have aſpired to ſovereignty again. For in 724, 5, or 6, was another battle in Argyle between Selvac, and the clan of Echtach, grandſon of Domnail. Duncha Beg

[m] This is ſurely the noted caſtle of Dunolly in Lorn. Mr. Pennant, vol. III. ſays that oppoſite to Kerrera, an ile, remarkable for the death of Alex. II. "On a great rock within land, is the caſtle of Dunolly, once the reſidence of the chiefs of Lorn." It is near Dunſtaſnage, on the ſouth.

died

died in 720: and this Echtach was perhaps his ſon, and grandſon of Domnail, or Donal II. Duin; and the ſame who ſucceeded Selvac; for *Echtach* and Eochoid ſeem but one name differently ſpelt. Three years after this battle Selvac died: ſay 726, tho the Annals of Ulſter put 729. The fratricide of Selvac was puniſhed on his race ſoon after, as ſhall be ſhewn.

20. *Eochaid* III. or Achy, began to reign A. C. 726, and ruled about ten years, as appears from the dates of Selvac his predeceſſor, and of Murdac his ſucceſſor. This king is alſo loſt along with Selvac, in the Duan. This is the laſt *Achy* in the Dalriadic ſeries: and there is none in the Pikiſh; nor in the United ſeries; ſo that this is the famous Achy, who, according to our fables, made a league with Charlemagne, who was yet unborn. That ſilly fiction has been amply confuted[n]; and its total abſurdity will appear in full light

[n] By Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, in his "Remarks on the Hiſtory of Scotland." Yet this excellent writer ſuppoſes, that, as the double treſſure appears on the Scotiſh arms in William's time, 1165—1214, the league muſt have been formed at that period. But it is now known to be more than dubious if the fleur de lis appeared in the French arms before 1260: and, at any rate, it is denied that Scotland was ſo very humble as to borrow any part of her arms from France, as poor eſquires have been known to do from nobles. The double treſſure is of ſpear-heads, ſymbolic of warlike ſpirit. I aſſent therefor to the modern French writers, and to Rymer, that there was no league whatever between France and Scotland, till one was formed by John Baliol, which ſerved as a baſis for others, diſhonourable and deſtructive to Scotland. See Rymer's Letters to Nicolſon, London, 1702, 8*vo.* where it is obſerved that among the papers in the Scotiſh treaſury, 1282, tho there were *tranſacta* with England, Norway, Flanders, kings of Maun, there was not a ſcrap concerning France. Du Cange mentions a league between the French king and Llewellyn prince of Wales, ſealed with gold: but we find no league of that antiquity between France and Scotland. Matthew Paris gives the league between Henry III. of E. and Alex. II. whereby the kings of Scotland are bound never to make any league with the enemies of England. The conſequences of the French league were not mutual aſſiſtance

light from this whole work. Charlemagne could not know the exiſtence of the kings of Argyle. The kings of North Britain were thoſe of the Piks. But the *reges Scottorum*, who, according to Eginhart, were at his obedience, were thoſe of Ireland; from which country different men of ſaintly learning adorned his court and capital.—This Achy, who ſucceeded Selvac, is called *Ecchal Annuine* in the old liſts, tranſlated *Achaius* in the modern: *Annuine* is in ſome of theſe liſts, as that in the chronicle of Melroſe, tranſlated *Venenoſus*, 'Poiſonous;' and he has certainly poiſoned our hiſtory with nonſenſe. There was an old king of Ireland called Achy Apthach, or 'poiſonous,' becauſe there was a great mortality of his ſubjects in his reign. The old liſts, finding it neceſſary to pervert genealogy in perverting order, make Achy ſon of Ed Fin, who did not reign till ten years after him: Tighernac, as quoted by O'Flaherty, ſays at the year 733, *Achaius filius Achaii rex Dalriadæ mortuus eſt.* This ſentence of Tighernac's muſt be tranſlated from the Iriſh by O'Flaherty; for the old writers know of no ſuch name as *Achaius*, but give *Eochod*, and *Echa*. But it might ſeem from the Annals of Ulſter that this Achy was ſon of Duncan Beg, ſon of Donal II. or Duin. The genealogy of the Dalriadic kings is indeed here totally broken and loſt. As to Iriſh or Highland genealogies, the abortions of ignorant bards, and unknown in

ance (for Scotland aſſiſted France, while France never aſſiſted Scotland) but the putting of Scotland into French pay, as Swizzerland has ſince been. Corruption ſpred even to the throne: and let the battle of Flodden ſpeak the effects. Our weaker writers think this league an honour to the country!

——— miſerum eſt aliorum incumbere famæ,
Ne collapſa ruant ſubductis tecta columnis.

The reader who wiſhes to ſee the old French opinion of Scotland is referred to Froiſſart; and the modern to Voltaire on Univerſal hiſtory. Such contemptuous allies could hardly be of ſervice.

ancient

ancient documents, they can only be credited by people as weak and ignorant as themſelves.

21. *Murdac*, ſon of Ambkellach, began to reign, A. C. 736, and continued three years. *Duan, Liſts.* Tighernac, at 733, *Muredachus filius Anbkellachi regnum generis Loarni aſſumit.* The ſame year Tighernac informs us, that Dungal, ſon of Selvac, made an expedition into Ulſter; and Flahertac, king of Ireland, recalled his fleet from the Dalreudini, or hired theirs, probably to oppoſe Dungal. In the third, or laſt year of Murdac, 739, Unguſt, ſon of Verguſt, king of the Piks, ſeems totally to have deſtroyed the Dalriadic kingdom [o]. He waſted it's whole territories; took Dunat [p]; and burned Creic: and put Dungal and Ferach, the two ſons of Selvac, in chains. Soon after, in the ſame year, Talorgan, brother of Unguſt, and his general, put Murdac, ſon of Ambkellach, to utter rout; and many chiefs were ſlain. In 743, Unguſt again ravaged Dalriada. After this, the hiſtory of Dalriada is almoſt annihilated in Tighernac, the Annals of Ulſter, and other authentic documents.

THESE events call for a pauſe, in order to inveſtigate a curious and important point in our hiſtory, namely, What line of princes held the Dalriadic ſceptre at the time the kings of Dalriada are ſaid to have acceded to the Pikiſh throne?

[o] See the Extracts from the Annals of Ulſter in the Appendix.

[p] Perhaps *Duna* in Lorn on the eaſt of Dunolly. See Pont's maps in Bleau's Atlas.

To

To form a due eſtimate of this queſtion let us ſtate what few further notices we find in the Annals of Ulſter, on the affairs of Dalriada.

A° 746. Death of Dunlaing, ſon of Duncan, king of the ſept of Argyle. [Argal.]

A° 780. Fergus, ſon of Eachah, king of Dalriada, died.

A° 791. Doncorcai, king of Dalriada, died.

A° 806. The killing of Conal, ſon of Aoain, at Kintire.

A? 811. Angus, ſon of Dunlaing, king of Argyle, died [q]. [Ardgail.]

Theſe are all the notices to be found from 746, till 857, when the death of Kenneth, ſon of Alpin, king of the Piks, is marked.

The after kings of Dalriada, as appears from the Duan, &c. ſtand thus. After an interregnum;

[q] The reign of Angus, after Conſtantine, is given in the Duan as of nine years. But it is not clear that this Angus is the king of *Ardgail*, in the Annals of Ulſter. From 796 to 1252 we find the kings and wars of *Airgialla* in Ireland, mentioned in theſe Annals: and perhaps the Ardgail of 811 may be the later.

In the ſame Annals the kings of *Laoaire* occur from 796 to 1085: but cannot be confounded with thoſe of *Loarn*, except by a careleſs reader. Nor can thoſe of *Dalarai*, which go from 483 to the 13th century, be miſtaken for thoſe of *Dalriada*, as the names are carefully ſpelt in the original.

The only difficulty concerns *Airgialla*, a large province of Ireland, comprizing preſent Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh, (Ware Scr. Hib. p. 68); and *Argyle* in Scotland. I will not be poſitive that the later is ever mentioned in Iriſh annals, except under the name of Dalriada. But the *ſept of Argal* at 746 could not be applied to the large country of Airgial in Ireland, which no where elſe bears that diminutive title. And we know from the Duan that an Angus was king of Dalriada at this time.

The hiſtory of the Iriſh Dalriada is very obſcure. It is noticed till 1165, in the Annals of Ulſter, as in leagues, or battles, with its neighbours of Ullagh, Dalarai, Airgialla, &c. But i find no kings of it mentioned. It ſeems to have been ſubject to the kings of Britiſh Dalriada till the Danes invaded Ireland: and, after a period of confuſion, was annexed to the domain of the O'Neils, kings of Ulſter.

22. *Aod*,

22. *Aod*,	743—	r. 30 yrs.	29. *Angus*,	804—	r. 9 yrs.
23. *Donal* III.	773—	4	30. *Aod* II.	813—	4
24. *Fergus* II.	777—	5	31. *Eoganan*,	817—	13
25. *Doncercai*,	782—	7	32. *Dungal* II.	830—	7
26. *Conal* III.	789—	2	33. *Alpin*,	837—	4
27. *Conal* IV.	791—	4	34. *Kenneth*,	841—	
28. *Conſtantin*,	795—	9			

From the Annals of Ulſter it would appear that Dunlaing, ſon of Duncan Beg, and brother of Achy, ſucceeded Achy in Argyle. Conal, ſon of Aoian, or Owen, might be an Iriſh prince, for his death only being mentioned, it does not appear that he reigned in Kintire. In 811, is the laſt intelligence concerning Dalriadic affairs, the death of Angus, ſon of Dunlaing, king of the ſept of Argyle.

We are unhappily in the greateſt darkneſs, juſt before the morning breaks, in the reign of Kenneth, ſon of Alpin. The apparent genealogy of Angus, laſt king of Argyle mentioned, is Angus, ſon of Dunlaing, ſon of Duncan Beg, ſon of Donal II. Duin. Theſe four generations extend from 620, to 811, being 191 years, whereas by common rules they ought to be but 120. Duncan Beg died about 720; Dunlaing, 746; Angus, 811. But Donal Duin muſt thus have been born a full century before the death of Duncan Beg; ſo that there is no room to infer that Donal Duin was the Domnail, who was father of Duncan Beg. The line of Fergus was certainly loſt, on the death of Achy Rinneval; and Duncan Beg is only called king of Cantire, not even of Argyle. At any rate it is clear, by all accounts, that his race did not come to the Pikiſh ſceptre; for not one name of them occurs in the genealogy of Kenneth, ſon of Alpin. It ſtands thus, in the old Latin liſts and genealogies, Kenneth f. Alpin f. Achy Annuine f. Aod Fin f. Achy Rinneval f. Domangart f. Donald Brec. One old genealogy ſays f. Aod Fin f. Achy f. Achy f. Domangart *; and thus adds one generation. Donal Brec, died

* Innes, p. 795, f. *Echadach* f. *Echach*.

642, Kenneth 857; include Donal, and the ſpace will amount to about 257 years, and for this we have eight generations, by the laſt account, or 240 years, which is fair. But alas! all is out of order. Kenneth and Alpin are undoubted. Achy Rinneval lived 703, and thus might be father of Aod Fin. But Aod Fin reigned 743, ſo could not be father of Achy Annuine, 726; nor could Achy Annuine, 726, be father of Alpin, 837. Domangart died 672; ſo that the inſertion of another Achy, between him, and Achy Rinneval, 703, is erroneous. Achy Annuine was perhaps ſon of another Achy, as Tighernac ſays; and the double Achy is here, if any where. If wanting, a generation is wanting; and the liſt incomplete. But the above radical faults are more than ſufficient to ſtamp the whole genealogy, as one maſs of falſehood, the mere work of ſome ignorant Highland ſennarchy.

It muſt be clear to every reader, that Duncan Beg, and the princes of his family, were the ſole repreſentatives of Fergus, and hereditary kings of Argyle. They are ſo called; and the clan Argyle always appears with thoſe of that ſtem, againſt that of Loarn. Certainly then they were their undoubted and hereditary princes. The clan Argyle would never, at the price of their blood, have ſupported a race of uſurpers; or divided and weakened the kingdom for their ſake. They would not have contended againſt the houſe of Lorn, ſurely better intitled to be chiefs of Argyle, than any uſurping race. The attachment of the highlanders to their hereditary chiefs is well known; and forbids ſuch an idea, abſurd indeed in itſelf. But neither Duncan Beg, nor any of his race, appear among the anceſtors of Kenneth, ſon of Alpin. There is therefore reaſon to conclude that Kenneth was not of the houſe of Argyle, nor deſcended from Fergus, ſon of Ere.

Was he then of the houſe of Loarn? This queſtion is yet more ſtrongly anſwered in the negative, by all the liſts and genealogies. As

As Kenneth was certainly neither of the houſe of Lorn, nor of Fergus, it remains to examine how his anceſtors came to the throne of Dalriada; or rather of Lorn; for Argyle ſeems to have retained it's petty princes till 811 at leaſt. In 739, and 743, Dalriada was totally waſted by Unguſt, king of Pikland, and the princes of Lorn bound in chains. Thoſe of Argyle were certainly not placed on the throne of Dalriada by the victor; for in 746 we find Dunlaing only ſtyled king of the ſept, or clan, of Argyle. In 780, Fergus, who, by the old Latin liſts, was ſon of Aod Fin, is called king of Dalriada; as in 791 is Doncorcai. In 811 the race of Argyle are only marked as kings of Argyle. In 746, when Dunlaing was king of Argyle, Aod Fin was king of Dalriada. Thus nothing can be clearer, in ſuch remote periods, than that the kings of Dalriada were not of the houſe of Argyle, after Achy Annuine 736. That they were not of the houſe of Lorn is as clear. For Unguſt, in his conqueſt of Dalriada, 739, 743, threw the princes of Lorn, Dungal, and Ferach, into chains; and their names never appear either in the liſts, or genealogies; ſo that Aod Fin, and the new royal ſtem of Dalriada, did not belong to the houſe of Lorn.

There is therefore every reaſon to infer that Unguſt, king of Pikland, upon his conqueſt of Dalriada, appointed a ſovereign Aod Fin; and that this ſovereign was neither of the houſe of Lorn, nor that of Argyle. Of what race then was he? Common ſenſe, and the uſual practice in ſuch caſes, dictate that Aod was of the Pikiſh royal race; and in all probability ſon of Unguſt[1], who, by the Pikiſh conſtitution above explained, could

[1] The Annals of Ulſter, at 748, have *Combuſtio Killemere a Hugone Mac Aonguſa.* Hugo and Aod: Aongus and Unguſt are

could not aſcend the Pikiſh throne, as his father had reigned. Unguſt certainly had ſons arrived at manhood, at the time of conquering Dalriada; for in the very year of the firſt conqueſt, and captivity of Dungal and Ferach, is marked the death of Brudi, a ſon of Unguſt. The Celtic language perverts names ſtrangely, as the reader may have ſeen in many inſtances before. *Aod*, pronounced *Ed*, is tranſlated *Hugh* by O'Flaherty, and all the Iriſh writers. There is a Pikiſh name *Wid*, certainly more like *Ed* than *Hugh* is. The addition *Fin* or *White* is generally applied to the Gothic race by the Celts, as *Fingal, the white foreigners*, &c. for the Celts are duſky; the Goths fair. Theſe ſlight matters have ſome weight here. This Ed Fin, by the Duan and the liſts, reigned thirty years; being the longeſt reign ſince that of Aidan. Argyle had its own princes, yet he was not moleſted by them, as others of the houſe of Lorn had been; tho the native ſtrength of Lorn had been cruſhed by Unguſt. This circumſtance ſpeaks a new and firm power. It was natural that Lorn, which chiefly bordered on the Piks, as Argyle did on the Stratclyde Britons, ſhould have moſt intercourſe with the Piks, and be the chief object of their enmity or ſupport. It is alſo probable that Ed Fin might, by the female line, have a claim to the kingdom of Lorn; and as the Piks regarded only the female line, his claim, or that of his father, aſſigned to him, might be ſupported, and even allowed by the clan of Lorn, who had no reaſon to reſpect the race of the fratricide Selvac. If Unguſt gave the kingdom of Dalriada to his ſon, the caſe was paralleled in the kingdom of Cumbria, afterward held by the ſons of the Scotiſh kings.

are the ſame names, as appears from theſe Annals; our liſts, &c. The king of the Piks may have ſent his ſon, to aſſiſt one provincial king in Ireland againſt another.

Another

Another ſingular circumſtance deſerves attention. Conal 789, Conſtantin 795, Angus 804, Eoganan 817, are kings of Dalriada. Canul 786, Conſtantin 791, Unguſt 821, Uven or Eogan 836, are kings of Pikland. If we ſuppoſed an error in the dates of the Annals of Ulſter, concerning Doncorcai, whoſe reign we may, with the greateſt probability, ſuppoſe to be a little miſdated, as are many others in theſe Annals, here are four kings in Dalriada, who apparently came to the Pikiſh throne, before Kenneth. Canul and Conal ſeem the ſame. The name of Conſtantin is not to be found in the Iriſh or Dalriadic names of kings, tho it is in the Pikiſh; and it therefore affords a ſlight additional proof that the new Dalriadic ſtem was Pikiſh. And Angus or Unguſt, and Uven or Eoganan, were in appearance kings of Dalriada before they came to the Pikiſh throne. All that Kenneth did in that caſe was to render the Pikiſh crown hereditary, which before had been elective. I ſuſpect that this Eoganan was the father of Alpin, and that his name was from ſimilar ſound confounded with Eochoid Annuine, as in Iriſh pronunciation the names can hardly be diſtinguiſhed. If ſo, Alpin was ſon of Eoganan, or Uven, king of the Piks, who was ſon of Unguſt, king of the Piks, who was ſon of Verguſt, called Fergus by the Celtic writers. Hence the fable of Kenneth's deſcent from Fergus, ſon of Erc, might ſpring; for tradition confounds all chronology in ſuch matters: and as the Dalriadic Scots had all the little learning then known in North Britain, it was natural that they ſhould apply to their own Fergus the genealogy of Kenneth. We have an Alpin, king of the Piks, in 775, and another 725, and there is an Alpin, king of the Saxons, mentioned in the Annals of Ulſter at 779 (if it be not a miſtake for Alpin II. king of the Piks, who died that year): but no

ſuch name appears in either the Iriſh or Dalriadic liſt of kings. Is not this alſo an additional proof that Kenneth was really of Pikiſh extract? Tighernac and Caradoc of Llancarvon, mentioning his death in 857, call him ſimply, "king of the "Piks," without one hint of any acquired dominion. But of this afterward.

Upon the whole, the genealogy of Kenneth is ſo utterly loſt, that the name of his grandfather can never be aſcertained. The probability is clearly that he was a Pikiſh prince, who ſucceeded his father Alpin in the kingdom of Dalriada, an inferior Pikiſh monarchy ſince the days of Aod Fin: and that taking advantage of the internal diviſions in Pikland, he, with the help of his Dalriadic ſubjects, ſeized the Pikiſh throne. That he was not of the old Dalriadic race, is certain. There is a break in that ſeries before Aod Fin, and another before Alpin, that Celtic forgery has not been able to ſupply even plauſibly.

Aod Fin, according to O'Flaherty, and the Latin liſts, was ſon of Achy Rinneval: according to the old genealogy, he was ſon of Achy, ſon of Achy Rinneval. But even O'Flaherty can aſſign no genealogy for the TEN following kings, down to Alpin. And that Aod Fin was not of the houſe of Argyle, and could not be ſon of Achy Rinneval, has been ſhewn above.

But the name of the father of Alpin, father of Kenneth, I will venture to ſay, is loſt beyond all recovery. This will ſtrike any reader at once, upon looking at the pitiful ſhifts, and perverſions, uſed in this buſineſs. Two plans have been adopted; and both equally falſe.

1. The Latin liſts, publiſhed by Innes, which were drawn up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, being ſome of the oldeſt monuments of our hiſtory extant, make Alpin, ſon of Achy Annuine, ſon of Aod Fin. The old genealogy, repeated

repeated by a Highlander at the coronation of Alexander III. 1249, has the ſame. This ſtrange account has run thro Fordun down to Buchanan, and our own times; yet is as palpably falſe, and ignorant, as could be expected even from a Highland genealogiſt. For, as above ſhewn, Achy Annuine ſucceeded Selvac in 726, or in 722 when Selvac retired to a monaſtery. The old Latin liſts confirm this fully. For, as the compilers found that Selvac and Achy followed Ambkellac, who, by their own ſtatement, reigned about the year 700, and that Achy of courſe could not be the father of Alpin 837, they were forced to take out both Selvac and Achy, and throw them back before Dungal and Alpin. The reaſon of this *only* perverſion in the order of the old liſts thus appears at once. The ignorant authors of this childiſh and eaſy falſification did not know that the reign of Selvac was the moſt certain, and fixt of any in the whole liſt, without exception; being mentioned in no leſs than eight places, and interwoven with noted events in the Annals of Tighernac and Ulſter; and that the death of Achy, his ſucceſſor, was marked by Tighernac, who wrote in 1088, at the year 733. Such being the caſe, this pitiful forgery, and it's cauſe, become ſelf-apparent. This Achy, who ſucceeded Selvac, is the laſt in our hiſtory. There are three *Eochoids* (pronounced *Achys*) in the Dalriadic ſeries. *Achy Buide*, or the Yellow, ſon of Aidan, 605: *Achy Rinneval*, or Hooked Noſe, ſon of Domangart, ſon of Donal Brec, 703: and, laſtly, *Achy Annuine*, or the Poiſonous, 726; who, both by the Annals of Tighernac, and the old liſts, ſucceeded Selvac, and could not poſſibly be the father of Alpin, 837. But one falſehood muſt be ſupported by others; and the fabricators of theſe old liſts, following the ſecond-ſighted Highland genealogiſts, made Achy Annuine ſon of Aod

Fin, who did not reign till ten years after his death. Dungal, ſon of Selvac, who is never called king of Dalriada, and it is certain never reigned, they make the ſame with Dungal, predeceſſor of Alpin 830; tho he was put in chains 739! But it is needleſs to dwell longer on ſo glaring a falſification, completely refutable in a dozen different ways. Let the candid reader conſult his own thoughts, and pronounce if theſe poor ſhifts amount not to more than a confeſſion, that the father of Alpin is totally unknown to every domeſtic monument of our hiſtory.

2. The Iriſh accounts are at leaſt as lame as the Scotiſh. O'Flaherty, finding that Alpin belonged to no genealogy of Dalriadic kings, has made a father for him. He has uſed the freedom to add two Achys to the Dalriadic liſt, to make up the real number of fifty-two kings; tho, upon looking into the Annals of Ulſter, he might have ſeen that Fergus and Doncorcai were the two names, wanting in the Duan: the firſt of which is alſo evinced from our old liſts. For the firſt ſuppoſed Achy, whom he calls Achy IV. 743, he alledges the book of Synchroniſms, which makes an Achy king of Dalriada at the time of the death of Aid Ollain, king of Ireland, or 743. But O'Flaherty ſeems to have redd *Eochoid* for *Aod*, the real king of Dalriada at that time: and our old liſts acknowlege only the three Achys above ſtated. It is indeed likely that the Book of Synchroniſms may, by a miſtake of a few years, mean Achy III. But his Achy V. whom he places after Eoganan, and makes the father of Alpin, who ſucceeds him, is the offspring of his own brains; being unknown to the Duan, Old Liſts, Iriſh Annals, and every hiſtorical monument whatever. O'Flaherty could forge as well as another genealogiſt; and found this inſertion neceſſary; but could not even colour the falſehood. To this Achy V. he cannot

aſſign even one year's reign. The three generations of Achy V. Alpin, Kenneth, he puts in a courſe of twenty years! The Duan, tho defective in three other places, cannot be ſo here, as the very rimes ſhew that there was no king between Dungal II. and Alpin. Yet O'Flaherty leaves out Dungal, to make room for this Achy V. Thus it is clear, from both Iriſh and Scotiſh accounts, that the name of Alpin's father is quite unknown.

I muſt confeſs that this total failure of the Dalriadic liſt was moſt unexpected by me; and ſtruck me with great ſurprize when i diſcovered it: for i had always regarded it as a certain fact, that the Old Scotiſh, or Dalriadic line, had, in direct and clear genealogy, acceded to the Pikiſh throne. But the above cogent reaſons force me to abandon this idea; and to allow that the very contrary was the truth; and that the Pikiſh race acceded to the throne of Dalriada, a century before the Piks and Scots were united under Kenneth. Such being the caſe, the Iriſh extraction of our kings falls to the ground, in ſpite of all the labour which Iriſh antiquaries have employed to prove it; and their labours have indeed only proved the reverſe. It is from their own annals, and antiquaries, that this diſcovery can alone be placed in the cleareſt day. But this point, and the origin of the new name of Scotland, ſhall be treated afterward.

Let us conclude with a brief review of the Dalriadic ſeries. This ſeries may be divided into Two Parts; the CLEAR, and the OBSCURE. The FIRST Part reaches from Loarn and Fergus, or the beginning, down to the reign of *Aod Fin*, 743. The SECOND or OBSCURE Part reaches from that epoch to the end. This very circumſtance, of the laſt part being obſcure, certainly ſhews a kingdom declining in power, and not increaſing ſo as to conquer the great Pikiſh kingdom, as vulgarly dreamed. Had the later been the caſe,

the hiſtory of Dalriada would have been more and more important, and notorious; while, in fact, after it's conqueſt by Unguſt, it ſinks to nothing at once. The Pikiſh affairs, on the contrary, become more and more known. This is left to the cool conſideration of the reader. In the FIRST Part the Duan, Old Liſts, and Iriſh Annals, mutually confirm each other. The only additional kings, not found in our old liſts, are THREE together, *Conal* II. *Dungal* I. and *Donal* II. *Duin*. And the reaſon of their omiſſion is apparent, namely, the mere miſtake of paſſing *Donal Brec* and *Donal Duin*, as one perſon[s]. Yet the liſt of St. Andrew's plainly confirms the Duan, by marking Malduin as ſon of Donal Duin, as above mentioned. There is indeed a groſs perverſion, and the *only* one in the liſts, namely, the taking out *Selvac*, and *Achy Annuine* his ſucceſſor, from their real ſtation after Ambkellac, 706; and making them exchange places with Aod II. and Eoganan, 813. For the two *Eogans*; one before, one after Murdac, in the liſts; are only *Aod* II. and *Eoganan*, miſnamed, with Murdac put between them, to prevent the two Eogans from jarring and paſſing as one[t]. Allowing for this one perverſion, the order of kings in the Duan, and old liſts, is quite the ſame thro-out. But of TWELVE kings, from *Aod* II. to *Alpin*, the liſts have but SIX, the other ſix being omitted immediately after Aod I. and all together ſucceſſively, ſave one, *Fergus* II. This omiſſion ſeems to have partly ariſen, like the former, by paſſing two kings of the ſame name as one, namely *Aod* I. and *Aod* II. Such omiſſions often occur in tranſcrip-

[s] Like errors occur in Scandinavian hiſtory, from the ſame cauſe. See the writings of Torfæus, *paſſim*.

[t] In the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, Innes, p. 798, the firſt is called *Heatgan*, the later *Heogh-an*. The former ſeems *Het*, *Ed*, or *Aod*, with an epithet *gan*. The later is Eoganan.

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tion, while additions can never ſpring from this ſource; which is an additional argument for the larger ſeries. But from 739 till 843 is therefore the OBSCURE part of Dalriadic hiſtory: and no pains ſhould be ſpared to inveſtigate it.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Manners, Languages, Antiquities, &c. of the Old Britiſh Scots.

THE manners and language of the Ancient Britiſh Scots, being the ſame with thoſe of the Iriſh Scots, their progenitors, little need be ſaid on this ſubject. Both are Gothic mingled with Celtic. Ancient writers repreſent the Iriſh Scots, and their progeny the Attacotti, as ſavages in the extreme. Theſe accounts are confirmed by the long deſcription of the Iriſh given by Giraldus Cambrenſis; by the conſtant epithets of *feri* and *ſylvicolæ*, given to our Highlanders, by our writers; and by the infallible evidence of preſent obſervation. In vain do Iriſh writers attempt to reaſon againſt the ocular teſtimony of Giraldus; and to perſuade us that the Old Iriſh were not ſavages. We muſt entreat them not to reaſon us out of our ſenſes, by decrying the evidence of our own eyes. For the Wild Iriſh are the genuine remains of the Old Iriſh, with the very manners deſcribed by ancient writers.

Thoſe Scots, or Goths, who ruled in Ireland, were ſoon loſt among the numerous Celtic natives. In the time of Saint Patrick, 440, a great diſtinction prevailed as above ſhewn; but ſoon after the term Scots became general to all the inhabitants of Ireland, which was itſelf called *Scotia*: and the *Lingua Scotica*, was the Gaelic of Ireland. But in the time of Saint Patrick *Scotus* and *Hibernus* were by no means ſynonymous; and it ſeems

ſeems thence certain that they were not ſo in the Third century, when Riada led his colony of Scots (not Hiberni) to Pikland; nor ſo ſoon after Patrick's time as 503, when Loarn and Fergus re-eſtabliſhed the colony. Beda calls Aldan 603, *rex Scottorum in Britannia*; and it is apparent that the Dalriadic Scots conſiſted chiefly of Scots, or Goths, of Ireland, tho uſing the Celtic tongue. From this circumſtance may ſpring the peculiar Gothic epithet of 'yellow-haired' given to the Albanach by the poet of the Duan; and the ſuperior warlike ſpirit of the Highlanders compared to the Wild Iriſh. But the Highlanders, tho originally rather Goths than Celts, and tho afterward mingled with Piks and Norwegians, had been ſo contaminated with a Celtic mixture in Ireland, that their ſpeech and moſt of their manners were, and are, rather Celtic than Gothic [a]. And in lazineſs, filth, and every ſpecies of ſavageneſs, they have been always hardly diſtinguiſhable from the ſavages of Ireland. In all ages of our hiſtory they are marked as the ſavages of Scotland; and uniformly mentioned as ſuch by foreigners, and by Lowland writers. Every one, who has even travelled in Scotland, muſt have ſeen at one glance that the Highlanders are of as different a race from the Lowlanders, as the Old Welch from the Engliſh, or the Old Bretons from

[a] Dr. Macpherſon, Dr. Smith, in his Gaelic Antiquities, and others, give long accounts of the manners of the Highlands. Thoſe authors, under the idea of Druidic manners, &c. give us the commoneſt Norwegian cuſtoms, left by them in the Highlands, as appears from the Scandinavian antiquaries, whom they never conſult.

It has been long ſince aſſerted, and lately repeated, that the Celtic and Tartar languages approximate; but upon looking into the ſpecimens in Chamberlayne's Oratio Dominica, it will be ſeen at once that there is not the ſmalle ſtſimilarity. The names of Tartar chiefs may be eaſily interpreted, in Celtic, by thoſe ignorant of the true meaning. Any names will bear ſuch interpretation in any ſpeech. See Swift's Etymologies, *paſſim*.

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the people of Normandy. Their hilly habitation alone could not occaſion this difference; for the inhabitants of the Alps; Apennines; Pyrenees; mountains in the north of England, and in Ireland; Carpathian mountains, &c. &c. &c. differ not from thoſe in the plains. And it is in the weſt of Ireland, the moſt champain part of that iland, that the old Iriſh are now found in their primitive ſavageneſs. Nor is Bretagne a mountainous country. Had the Celtic part of our countrymen been in the eaſtern plains, the caſe would have been the ſame: as the Fins, for inſtance, are in a plain country, while the Norwegians are in weſtern mountains juſt ſimilar to our Highlands. Had theſe Norwegians been general inhabitants in the Highlands of Scotland, with ſuch ſuperior harbours and opportunities, theſe Highlands would now be as full of towns and commerce as Norway is. But our Highland population appears from the compariſon to be too truly Celtic: and the Gothic mixture has loſt all effect, as a generous liquor will, when mixt with one of baleful quality. The people of the Orkneys are pure Goths; and are ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the Hebudes, that Kirkwall is one of the moſt poliſhed places in Britain. Stornoway, the only town in the Celtic part of Scotland, was founded by the Dutch; and is now gone to ruin. In vain would we excite induſtry among ſavages; the point is to colonize the country afreſh.

Ancient monuments of the Britiſh Scots there are none, ſave cairns of ſtones, uſed as ſepulchres, and as memorials. Theſe were adapted to Celtic indolence: while the Gothic induſtry raiſed vaſt ſtones, inſtead of piling ſmall ones: nor are any cairns found in Gothic countries, ſo far as i can learn, except ſuch as are very large. The Celtic churches, houſes, &c. were all of wattles, as are the barns at this day in the Hebudes; ſo that no ruins can be found of them. The early cathedral

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of Hyona muſt have been of this ſort; and it was burnt by the Danes in the ninth century. The preſent ruin is not older than the thirteenth. In the twelfth century Saint Bernard repreſents a ſtone church as quite a novelty even in Ireland.

As to the language of the Dalriads, the only difference between it and the Iriſh, at preſent, is that the former has rather more Gothic words. Anciently they were quite the ſame, as indeed they are very nearly ſo now: the difference not being ſo great as between the provincial dialects in England. The old Gaelic, like the modern, was a totally different dialect of the Celtic from the old Welch, as Beda ſufficiently proves, who marks them as different languages.

The kingdom was hereditary; but the brother was always eſteemed a nearer heir than the ſon[b]. An infant king muſt indeed be a phænomenon unknown to early kingdoms; in which king and general are commonly ſynonymous. According to Iriſh antiquaries, the chief monarchy of Ireland was elective in a certain family: and Mr. O'Conor ſays the Dalriadic was ſo. But it appears from the ſucceſſion that the later kingdom was hereditary, and there is no proof of election. The kingdom of Dalriada indeed differed radically from that of Ireland, which conſiſted in a ſovereignty over not leſs than twenty-five kinglets; and the kinglet of Dalriada was one of them, till Aidan's time. It muſt therefore be compared, not with the kingdom of Ireland, but with it's petty royalties; and was but the chiefſhip of a large clan. For clans, *Genera*, or *Familiæ*, are primitive inſtitutions; and occur in the earlieſt

[b] O'Flaherty regards this ſucceſſion as merely a guard againſt minorities. He ſays, Ogyg. Vind. p. 153, "Neither was there ever a minor king of Ireland; being continually excluded by the law of ſucceſſion." Fordun III. 4. ſays, the uncles only ruled, till the nephews came to majority; but IV. 1. he allows that they reigned before them; and I can find no inſtance of a regency.

Iriſh

Iriſh periods and writers. And their very eſſence implies hereditary government, a mode uſed by different Gothic nations in the moſt ancient times. The Pikiſh monarchy was confined to one royal race: but it deſcended by the female, not by the male line: and the ſon of a king was always excluded; while in Dalriada the caſe was in both points reverſed. Hence the Pikiſh ſtrikes us as a mere elective monarchy, the Dalriadic as hereditary. But the later ceaſed to be ſo, before the kingdoms were united by Kenneth: and it is even uncertain if Kenneth was of the Dalriadic race, if not certain that he was of the Pikiſh: ſo that neither the Dalriadic nor Pikiſh ſeries can afford hiſtoric certainty of hereditary ſucceſſion, juſt before Alpin and Kenneth. The line of Scotiſh kings muſt therefore, in all events, only commence with Kenneth: and to the Forty taken from the liſt by Innes, Twenty-eight muſt be added: who, tho they really exiſted, had no more to do with the kingdom of preſent Scotland, than the kings of Stratclyde. And their hereditary ſucceſſion totally fails more than a century before the reign of Kenneth; ſo that even the name of Kenneth's grandfather cannot be recovered, as above ſhewn.

Let us cloſe this chapter with a few hints concerning Dalriadic manners. Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his account of the Iriſh, ſays, moſt of them were cloathed in black wrappers; as moſt of their ſheep were black. They uſed little *caputii*, or hoods of plaid, linen veſts, and trowſers. The phillibeg is quite unknown to the Welch, and Iriſh, language and manners. The gaudieſt ornament of the old Iriſh, and Highlanders was the *fibula*, or broach; ſometimes as large as a ſmall plater, of gold, ſilver, or braſs, ornamented with precious ſtones. With it the plaid was faſtened at the breaſt; and ſometimes a ſmaller broach within the large one faſtened the plaid, while the later was only

only ornamental. The dreſs of old Iriſh kings, as appears from monuments, was a cloſe veſt; long trowſers down to the ancle; and a long looſe robe over all, that reached to the ground, was brought over the ſhoulders, and faſtened on the breaſt, by a very large claſp or broch[c]. This dreſs is abſolutely Gothic. The primitive Celtic dreſs was only a ſkin thrown over the ſhoulder, and a piece of cloth tied round the middle. Gildas mentions the laſt as the dreſs of the Scots or Iriſh in his time.

The Iriſh armies conſiſted entirely of infantry: but laterly of two kinds. The *Galloglachs* were heavy armed, with helmet, and coat of mail, long ſwords, and pollaxes. The *Keberns* were light infantry, with javelins, and ſhort daggers called *ſkeyns*. The pollax was peculiarly common in Ireland in the time of Giraldus, and was always carried in the hand as a ſtaff. Their ferocity in war was great, and prompted the ancient, but falſe, accuſation that they ate human food. Diodorus Siculus, the firſt who mentions this, alſo imputes the ſame practice to the German Gauls on the Rhine. But as Tacitus, and other better informed writers, found the later falſe; ſo the falſehood of the former would have appeared, as is reaſonable to infer, had any Roman writer really viſited Ireland. Strabo and others continue this charge. Saint Jerome is, it is believed, the laſt; and he imputes it to the Attacotti. It is certain that human ſacrifices were uſed among the early Goths, as they were in Greece and Rome; and as the later nations ate great part of the common ſacrifices, it was natural for them to conclude that the ſame practice prevailed among other nations. But it was not ſo; for the human carcaſes were hung up in the holy grove. This however ſeems the real origin of the fiction. The

[c] Collectanea de Reb. Hib. N° XI.

Attacottic

Attacottic feasts were more innocent, and consisted chiefly of venison and other game. Their drink i do not find much illustrated. Ale they could not have, without agriculture. Ireland was always famous for bees; and mead would be a common liquor of course. The poor would, as now, use butter-milk. As to *usquebaugh*, or *aqua vitæ*, i agree with Ware, that it is of late times. The Sarmatic distillation from corrupted milk could not be known in Ireland; nor had they mares enough to procure it. To the Germans, and other Goths, it was unknown. Nor could the Irish distill from oats, while agriculture was hardly in use. In the mountains of Argyle there was no room for agriculture; and wine was surely unknown, as there was no commerce. When whisky became known in the Highlands, perhaps three centuries ago, it was, as it is now in poor houses there, drunk out of shells, instead of liqueur glasses. These whisky-shells the learned fabricator of Ossian makes very ancient; and his heroes at the *feast of shells*, or whisky-feast, enjoy themselves in potations of half a gill a-piece, while the naughty Germans were emptying quart horns [d].

As Aidan and Columba protected the Irish bards at the council of Drumkeat, there is reason to think that not a few of them must have repaired to Dalriada. The following story occurs in Adomnah's life of Columba, written about the year 700 [e]. 'Another time, when the saint was sitting at the lake Kei, near the mouth of the river, which in Latin is *Bos* (Damh?) with the brethren, an Irish poet came up to them, and, after some conversation, departed. Upon which the brethren said to the saint, Why did you allow

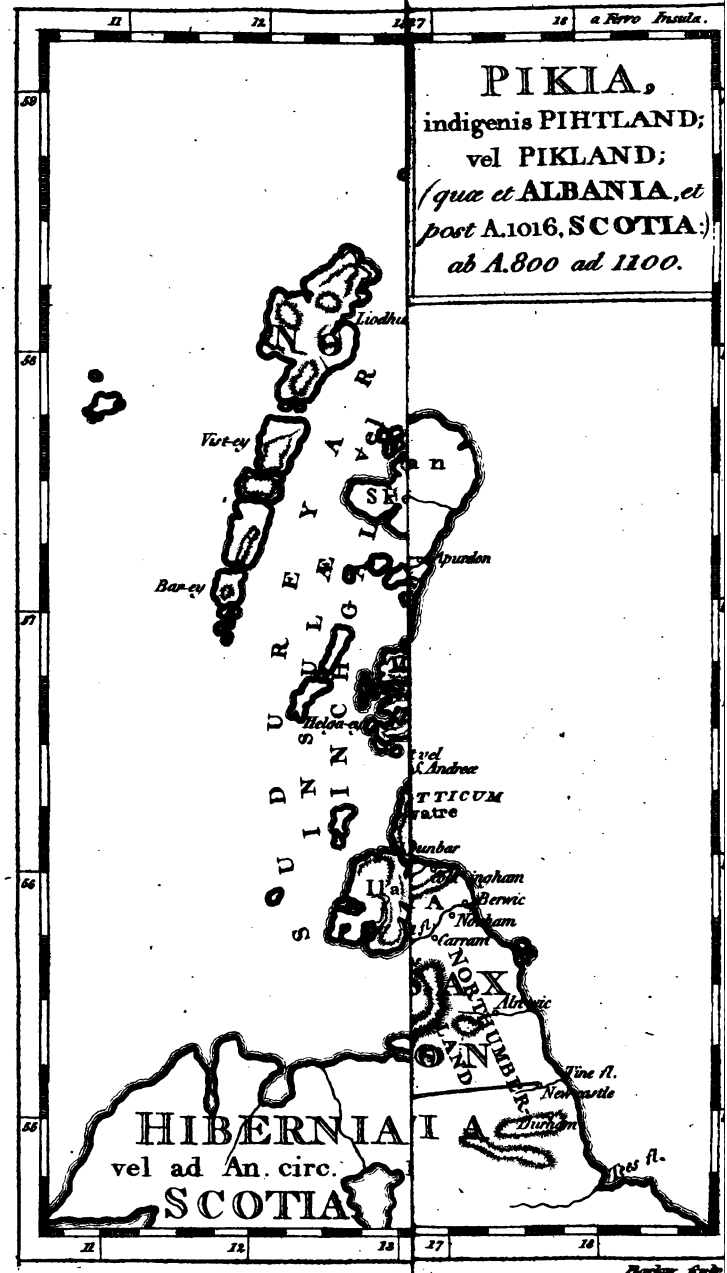
[d] The shells are small scallop-shells; and in drinking the ball of the thumb is placed on the hinge part. They are only used as liqueur glasses for whisky.

[e] Lib. I. c. 13. edit. Mettingham.

Coronan to depart, without aſking him to ſing us ſome ſong in modulation, according to the cuſtom of his art? To which the ſaint anſwered, Why do you ſpeak uſeleſs words? How could I aſk a ſong of gladneſs from that miſerable wretch, who, at this moment ſlain by his enemies, ſtood then at the end of his life? The ſaint had no ſooner ſpoken, than a man called from the other ſide of the river, ſaying, That poet, who juſt left you in ſafety, is ſlain in his journey by enemies. Then all who were preſent looked at each other in great amazement.' The place of this ſcene i cannot aſcertain; but it affords a ſtrong ſpecimen of the ſavage ferocity of the age. Upon the conſtruction of the old Celtic poetry we want much information. Moſt of it was accompanied with muſic. Giraldus Cambrenſis informs us, that the inſtruments in Ireland were the harp and the tabor; in Scotland the harp, tabor, and *chorus* [f]; in Wales the harp, pipes, and chorus; and that Scotland was in his time the moſt eminent for muſic. An ancient Iriſh harp yet preſerved is thirty-two inches high: the ſound-board is of oak; the reſt of red ſally richly adorned with ſilver [g]. Giraldus tells us, that the Iriſh preferred wire to leather for ſtringing of harps. The bag-pipe was a Roman inſtrument, as formerly ſhewn; but ſeems of modern uſe among our Highlanders.

[f] Chorus, inſtrumentum muſicæ, *Girald. Camb.* Et χορος in Vet. Teſt. Septuagint. in Vulgato chorus. So Du Cange; but the form of the chorus i find not.

[g] Walker's Iriſh Bards.


a Ferro Insula.
PIKIA,
indigenis PIHTLAND;
vel PIKLAND;
(quæ et ALBANIA, et
post A. 1016, SCOTIA:)
ab A. 800 ad 1100.
Liodhus
Vist-ey
Bar-ey
Hirta
Helga-ey
Apuardon
St Andrew
Dunbar
Berwic
Norham
Carram
Alnwic
Tine fl.
Newcastle
Durham
Tees fl.
HIBERNIA
vel ad An. circ.
SCOTIA
SUDREYAR
SUINSCHOLIA
NORTHUMBERLAND
Barlow sculp.

PART V.

Piks and Dalriads united.

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CHAPTER I.

Union of the Piks and Dalriads.

AT length we arrive at a period of Scotiſh hiſtory, which may reaſonably be expected to be more clear than the preceding; namely, that from 843 till 1056. Our whole hiſtory may be divided into Four Periods: 1. The Roman period, which reaches from the earlieſt accounts to the beginning of the Fifth century. In this part the facts are clear and certain, but few. 2. The Pikiſh period, beginning at the reign of Druſt the Great, 414, and extending to that of Kenneth 843. On this period Adomnan, Beda, Tighernaç, &c. throw much light. 3. The Middle

Period, from 843 till 1056. 4. The Clear Period, from 1056 till the Union of England and Scotland.

The Third Period, on which we now enter, might be expected to be clearer than the two preceding: and yet i queſtion much if this be the caſe. Far from the claſſic light, which is thrown on the firſt part by Tacitus, and others, there is not even an Adomnan, or a Beda; and the Iriſh writers, wholly occupied with the miſeries of their own country, occaſioned by the Northern invaders, hardly mark, now and then, the death of a king of North Britain. In Scotland itſelf not a native writer aroſe till the thirteenth century: and their brief accounts are perverted with groſs traditional fable. For theſe reaſons i rather incline to regard this Third Period as the moſt obſcure of Scotiſh hiſtory, and as a dark night juſt before the day of our Clear Period. Indeed, over all Europe, as is well known, the ninth and tenth centuries form the deepeſt night, between ancient and modern day. In the eighth century the former fails; and in the eleventh a new morning ariſes, and authentic writers appear in moſt countries.

Unfortunately the moſt important event, in the ancient hiſtory of Scotland, took place in this darkeſt night; namely, the Union of the Piks and Dalriads. Concerning this great event, upon which our whole hiſtory turns, we have no information till two centuries after, when accounts, palpably fabulous and abſurd, began to be blindly followed by old writers. So that the night is not only dark, but haunted with ſpectres of fiction; and i am tempted to exclaim with Taſſo,

Degne d'un chiaro ſol, degne d'un pieno
Teatro, opre ſarian ſi memorande.
Notte, che nel profondo oſcuro ſeno
Chiudeſti, e ne l'oblio fatto ſi grande;

Piacciati

Piacciati ch'io ne'l tragga; e'n bel ſereno
A le future eta lo ſpieghi, e mande.
Viva la fama loro, e tra lor gloria
Splenda del foſco tuo l'alta memoria.

The great importance, and thick obſcurity, of this event, render all the powers of induſtry and ſagacity neceſſary to inveſtigate it; and yet none of our antiquaries has yet lent it any examination. I am therefore induced to treat it with the minuteneſs and prolixity of a ſpecial diſſertation. The late prevalence of the names *Scot* and *Scotland*, as the real ſource of the old fables, ſo is the cauſe of their currency at this day. Let us firſt examine thoſe fables.

In Chap. IV. of this Part, where the cauſes of the new name of *Scotland* being given to North Britain are examined, the reader will find reaſon to conclude that this appellation (certainly unknown till about the year 1016 or 1020) was impoſed by the Iriſh monks and clergy, the only literati whom the country then had. A conſequence of this erroneous denomination, was that, apparently in the ſame century, the ſame Iriſh churchmen began to fable, that the Old Scots, or Dalriads, had vanquiſhed the Piks. This fable aroſe partly from the deep obſcurity of the ninth and tenth centuries, ſo univerſally felt over Europe; but chiefly from the natural predilection of theſe churchmen for the colony of their countrymen in North Britain. It was indeed a natural and neceſſary conſequence of the new name of *Scotia*; the origin of which the reader will find in the chapter above-mentioned.

Of courſe it is not ſurprizing that in the *Chronicon Pictorum* [a], we find the conqueſt of the Piks by Kenneth aſſerted. That venerable piece ends

[a] This piece is ſplit into two by Innes, p. 773, 782. contrary to the MS. See it in the Appendix to Vol. I. The firſt part muſt have been copied from ancient liſts; that after Kenneth ſeems original.

at the year 992: and tho the years of Kenneth IV. whom it cloſes with, be left blank, which might induce ſome to ſuppoſe it written in his reign, yet it's cloſing words, *Hic eſt qui, &c.* "this is he who, &c." ſtrongly imply, that it was written ſome time after. However, there is every reaſon to conclude, from intrinſic proofs, and from it's antique and barbaric manner, ſo diſſimilar to our fragments of the twelfth century, that the concluſion of it was certainly written in the eleventh, and probably in the reign of Malcom II. This piece ſays, *Pictavia autem a Pictis eſt nominata, quos, ut diximus, Kinadius delevit.* The words *ut diximus* refer to ſome ſentence, which does not appear in our copies: but the author of this part ſufficiently marks his opinion, that Kenneth vanquiſhed the Piks. *Delere* ſtrictly means to deſtroy; but alſo ſignified in the middle ages to ravage, or to conquer. Thus in the annals of Tighernac, at the year 681, we find *Orcades deletæ ſunt a Bruide.* This Pikiſh king did not, as i humbly conceive, root up and deſtroy the Orkneys; but merely ravaged them. It is clear however that the opinion, that Kenneth vanquiſhed the Piks, is as old as the eleventh century; and perhaps coæval with the name of Scotland in North Britain. But a groſs fable may take root in far leſs time than two centuries, which intervened between Kenneth's time, and the firſt appearance of this tale. And older authorities, ſoon to be produced, prove it void of all foundation.

Some parts of the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, alſo publiſhed in the Appendix to vol. I. and written about the year 1130, as they bear, likewiſe ſupport the conqueſt of the Piks by Kenneth. The Chronicle, N° IV. ap. Innes, written in William's reign, 1165—1214, and other later pieces, inſinuate the ſame. But extraneous writers puſhed the fable to the greateſt exceſs.

Henry

Henry of Huntingdon was born before the year 1108, as appears from his own work, *fol. v.* 217[b], where he narrates his father's death at that year. His hiſtory cloſes at the year 1154, and was apparently written then, or before 1160. As William of Malmſbury is remarkable for being the beſt of the old Engliſh hiſtorians; ſo Henry for being the worſt. Nicolſon has well branded him as fabulous and confuſed: and his work is rather a weak ſermon, than a hiſtory, from his perverſion of facts, in order to draw common-place morality from them. It is ſuperfluous to confirm this character by extracts from his hiſtory; the reader is referred to a peruſal of it, as the ſureſt proof. He was the firſt Engliſh writer who adopted the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth; and his judgment is equally apparent in being the firſt writer, whom i can diſcover to have mentioned the deſtruction of the Piks, by ſome pretended Scots: for the fact is, there was no people in Britain, known by the name of Scots, from about 740, when the kingdom of the old Scots in Britain fell, till about 1020; when the name of Scots was improperly given to the Piks, as after ſhewn. With his uſual confuſion Henry confounds the Old Scots of Beda with the Scots of his own time; as if he had taken the Marcomanni of Tacitus, for the Marcomanni of Rabanus Maurus; or the Hungarians for Huns. In this view it ſtruck him that the Piks had vaniſhed; and accordingly he ſays, "the Piks ſeemed then ſo far extinct, and their language ſo utterly deſtroyed, that all that was recorded of them in ancient hiſtory appeared a mere fable." [c] And adds, on the occaſion,

[b] Saville Scriptores poſt Bedam, Lond. 1596.

[c] Quinque autem linguis utitur Britannia; Brittonum videlicet, Anglorum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum .... quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti; et lingua eorum ita omnino deſtructa, ut jam fabula videatur, quod in veterum ſcriptis eorum mentio invenitur. Cui autem non comparet amorem

occaſion, a ſage reflection upon the inſtability of human glory: which reflection he ſeems to have wanted an occaſion to make; and has thus invented the occaſion, in order to make his reflection ſtriking. Nor is he the only author who has ſacrificed truth to eloquence, and fact to period. Inſtead of concluding that a nation might change it's name, that a people, called Piks three centuries before, might be called Scots in his time, as the Gauls were termed Franks, he raſhly infers that a whole nation had vaniſhed! But his ignorance concerning the north of Britain is not wonderful, when we reflect on his ignorance concerning his own country: and it is not ſurprizing that he thought the Piks extinct, who thought that William the Conqueror exterminated the Engliſh [d]. Such is the original fountain of this wondrous tale!

The ſtory, however, thus darkly ſurmized at firſt, was, like other falſehoods, ſoon to acquire circumſtances in order to make it tell well.

Giraldus Cambrenſis wrote about 1180; and preceding this epoch there is no mention to be found of the Pikiſh and Dalriadic union: nor is there indeed the ſmalleſt fragment, or ſcrap exiſting of Dalriadic hiſtory; except the Duan, which gives no hint on this ſubject, ſave that it tacks Kenneth to the liſt of Dalriadic kings; and that he was king of the Dalriads as well as of the

amorem cœleſtium, et horrorem terreſtrium, ſi cogitet non ſolum reges eorum, et principes, et populum, deperiiſſe; verum etiam ſtirpem omnem, et linguam, et mentionem, ſimul defeciſſe? Et, ſi de aliis mirum non eſſet, de lingua tamen, quam unam inter cæteras Deus ab exordio linguarum inſtituit, mirandum videtur. *lib.* I. *f. v.* 171. It is ſurprizing to find the learned Du Cange (Præf ad Gloſſ. ed. Adelung) apply this paſſage to the *Engliſh!* After the word *eorum* he inſerts (*Anglorum*). Accuracy!

[d] Perficit dominator Dominus de gente Anglorum, quod diu cogitaverat. Genti namque Normannorum, aſperæ et calidæ, tradidit eos ad exterminandum. *Lib.* VII. *f. v.* 210.

Piks

Piks is undoubted. But as it mentions the Pikiſh line to have cloſed in Conſtantin 821, which is demonſtrably falſe, no dependence can be placed on the Gaelic bard's knowlege of the Pikiſh kingdom, nor in courſe of the great event now treated. Yet he mentions no conqueſt of the Piks by the Dalriads, ſo that he was a ſtranger to the fables about to be conſidered. The words of Giraldus, in his *Topagrophia Hiberniæ*, lib. III. c. 16, after ſpeaking of St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland in 432, Leogaire, ſon of Nell, being king of Ireland, are as follow: *Hic quoque notandum videtur, prædicto Nello Hiberniæ monarchiam obtinente, ſex filios Muredi Regis Ultoniæ, in claſſe non modica, Boreales Britanniæ partes occupaſſe. Unde et gens ab iis propagata, et ſpecificato vocabulo Scotica vocata, uſque in hodiernum, angulum illum inhabitant. Sed quibus ex cauſis huc advenerint, qualiterque, et quantis proditionibus, potius quam expeditionibus, Pictorum gentem, pervalidam, armis quoque et animoſitate longe præſtantem, a partibus illis expulerunt, cum notabilem illam Britanniæ Topographiam declaravimus enucleatius expedietur.* "Here it is worthy of remark, that in the reign of the ſaid Nell, king of Ireland, ſix ſons of Mured, king of Ulſter, with not a ſmall fleet, occupied the north parts of Britain. Whence their progeny, by a ſpecial name called Scots, inhabit that corner to this day. But for what cauſes they came here, and by what treaſons, rather than expeditions, they expelled the Piks, a nation moſt powerful in arms, and far ſuperior in courage, from theſe parts, ſhall be more fully explained when we publiſh that notable Topography of Britain." This Topography never appeared, or at leaſt cannot be found, tho long and anxiouſly ſought after by many. But the above hint was ſufficient for thoſe Scotiſh writers, who were afterward to commence authors of our hiſtory, with ſmall talents for ſuch an important office, to narrate in ſolemn terms the conqueſt

conqueſt of the Piks by the Dalriads, are pretended Scots. For in thoſe times the few Scotiſh writers always followed and imitated the Engliſh, as few or no other manuſcripts then found their way into Scotland. Thus Fordun and Winton follow the Polycronicon in plan; and the Regiam Majeſtatem is a mere exſcript of Glanville. Geoffrey of Monmouth furniſhed Fordun with half his fables. William of Malmſbury, and Henry of Huntingdon, are alſo familiar to Fordun; who puts from the laſt the total deſtruction of the Piks, tho he blends it alſo with the later fables of Giraldus. And this very work and paſſage of Giraldus is referred to by Fordun, lib. I. c. 18. for the origin of the name *Scotia*.

But let the paſſage itſelf declare how worthy he was of belief. In his account of Iriſh hiſtory he ſhews the groſſeſt ignorance: and in this hint of Scotiſh, the whole is one blunder. The ſettlement of the ſix ſons of Mured, in the reign of Nell, father of Leogaire, or about the year 400, is unknown to every Iriſh and Scotiſh monument of hiſtory; to Beda, Nennius, &c. Beda directly confutes it, by marking Reuda as the firſt leader of the Old Scots from Ireland; and no one can heſitate to ſtamp it an arrant fiction. Giraldus calls that part of Britain, north of Forth and Clyde, a corner; tho it be ſix or eight times the ſize of all Wales, his country, put together. If he means Dalriada, or Argyleſhire, that is indeed a corner; but a corner nearly as large as Wales. There was not even a king of Ulſter till the eleventh century; as appears from Tighernac, and other ancient Iriſh writers. But it is clear that he wrote this in a total ignorance, both of the country, and of it's hiſtory: and if he be the author of the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*, it muſt have been written after this; and he profited, as that *Deſcriptio* ſays it's author did, by the advice of Andrew biſhop of Caithneſs, in both points; for he there, with as riſible exceſs, divides

divides this *corner* into ſeven kingdoms; and only ſays modeſtly, Kenneth *in Pictinia regnavit*, 'reigned in Pikland,' without one hint of conqueſt.

Meantime the fiction thrived in England. Roger of Cheſter wrote his Polychronicon about 1330; which is imputed to Higden the plagiary of it. In an excellent MS. of that work, containing paſſages not found in other MSS. and which bears the name of Roger of Cheſter, and is written about 1350, [e] it is ſaid that the Scots invited the chiefs of the Piks to an entertainment; and ſlew them by baſe treachery. It is added, *Sicque de duobus populis gens bellicoſior totaliter evanuit.* A ſtrange affair, that, becauſe it's chiefs were ſlain, a whole nation ſhould *totally vaniſh!* Well does O'Flaherty laugh at this total extinction; for it tranſcends any thing in Iriſh fable. Need we a ſtronger proof that this period of our hiſtory is the moſt obſcure of all? Is there ſo groſs a fable in the Roman or Pikiſh periods?

Fordun followed: and from him this fable paſſed to all our hiſtorians to this day. He, in ſpeaking of Kenneth's conqueſt of the Piks, *lib.* IV. *c.* 4. and almoſt uſing the words of Henry of Huntingdon, whom he quotes, ſays, *Sic quidem non ſolum reges et duces gentis illius deleti ſunt, verum etiam ſtirps et genus adeo, cum idiomatis ſui lingua, defeciſſe legitur, ut quicquid ex eis veterum reperitur in ſcriptis, fictum, fabula, aut apogryphum, a pleriſque credatur.* 'So indeed, not only the kings and chiefs of that nation were deſtroyed, but likewiſe the ſtem and progeny, language and idiom, ſo totally failed, as we read, that whatever is found concerning them in the writings of the ancients is believed by moſt to be feigned, fabulous, or apocryphal.' *Braviſſimo!* Does not this confirm the aphoriſm formerly

[e] In Bibl. Harl. No. 655.

given,

given, WHEN FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD? The names *Scot* and *Scotland* had totally turned the brains of Fordun, who was himſelf, as O'Flaherty juſtly obſerves, a Pik. Yet he ſpares no falſehood to deſtroy the honour of the Piks, and to aſſert that of the pretended Scots. Can human madneſs proceed to a greater height? What are human affairs, when one name, one word, can pervert the integrity, and common ſenſe, of the writers of a whole nation for five centuries? Fordun has exerted all his little powers of fiction to adorn the cataſtrophe of the Piks. Kenneth uſes a moſt ſagacious ſtratagem, to encourage his chiefs to this great conqueſt, by dreſſing a man with luminous ſkins of fiſh, who, with the voice of an angel, denounces vengeance on the Piks. But enough of this childiſh fable.

Happily more ancient and purer ſources remain, from which it is clear, that this very Kenneth was king of the Piks. That the name of Scots was not extended to the inhabitants of North Britain till about 1020, in the reign of Malcom II. whoſe predeceſſors are called kings of the Piks. That Kenneth, far from conquering or extirpating the Piks, was a monarch of their own royal ſtem; and, if he conquered any nation, it muſt have been the Old Scots of Dalriada. Theſe matters may appear ſtrange, as indeed truth muſt to thoſe accuſtomed to falſehood; but as truth is in it's nature directly oppoſite to falſehood, and it is certain that Kenneth did not conquer the Piks, but was their own proper ſovereign; a candid mind will naturally conclude, that the truth of this matter is the very reverſe of it's falſehood, in every point: and that of courſe Kenneth, king of the Piks, conquered the Dalriads. Were I to embrace this other extreme ſide of the queſtion, I would argue thus.

The

The name of Scotland not being given to North Britain till about 1020, as after ſhewn; that is near two dark centuries after Kenneth, it is out of the queſtion. The Iriſh churchmen, receiving more and more encouragement, as Chriſtianity advanced in Pikland, where learning was unknown among the natives, till a late period (the thirteenth century), might eaſily occaſion this perverſion of our hiſtory, by aſcribing to their countrymen the Old Scots of Dalriada, what was really due to the Piks. The later had preſerved the memory of their Scythic extraction, as appears from the *Chronicon Pictorum*, publiſhed by Innes; and as *Scot* was but another term for *Scythian*, as above ſhewn, the name with more propriety belonged to the Piks, than to the Dalriads. In the time of Adomnan and Beda, the later were alone called Scots of Britain; but this was before any due knowlege was had of the Piks, or of the Scythic origin of the firſt Scots. As more information was got, the name of Scythians, or Scots, was found to belong to both nations; and was with great propriety given to both. Thus the word *Scotti Britanniæ*, which, in Beda's time, implied only the Dalreudini; in the eleventh century included the Piks, nay chiefly denoted them, as they were indeed real Scots or Scythians, while the Dalreudini were more than half Celts, and ſpoke the Celtic tongue. But they who gave the generic name of Scots to the Piks did not reflect on the confuſion this novelty muſt occaſion; while, by retaining the old names, all would have been clear. In the twelfth century, as we learn from many Engliſh cotemporary writers, the name of Piks was reſtricted to the people of Galloway, who having been ſeparated from the Pikiſh kingdom by that of Stratclyde, lying between, had their own lords, and retained the Pikiſh name. Now it is clear that the Piks, againſt whom Alpin and his ſon Kenneth fought,

were

were thoſe of Galloway only. The tales of Fordun, invented by himſelf, deſerve no notice; and his falſehood is now too well known to meet with any. The Regiſter of the Priory of St. Andrew's, one of the oldeſt monuments of our hiſtory, ſays, *Alpin occiſus eſt in Gallewathia, poſtquam eam penitus deſtruxit, et devaſtavit. Et hinc tranſlatum eſt regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.* The Pikiſh kingdom was on the north and eaſt of Dalriada; and not in Galloway. This is the origin of the fable concerning the battles of Kenneth againſt the Piks. Kenneth was natural ſovereign of the Pikiſh kingdom; but wanted to ſubdue the Galwegians to it: and it happened afterward that the Galwegians were peculiarly termed Piks, after that name had ceaſed in the real Pikiſh kingdom. Thus the fable can be traced even to it's ſource: and the diſtinction between Piks and Scots became, in this darkeſt period of our hiſtory, totally different from what is commonly ſuppoſed.

That the language of the Scotti, the Iriſh, prevailed in Scotland after the time of Kenneth, there is not a ſhadow of proof. The extenſion of the Highlanders, and of their ſpeech, ſeem to belong to the times when the Norwegians drove them from the Hebudes, and weſtern coaſt. They alſo naturally ſpred into the north of Scotland, after the Norwegian power failed there, being the neareſt inhabitants; and adapted by nature and cuſtoms to mountainous and barren regions. Their ſpeech had indeed a great advantage over the Pikiſh, in being a written and cultivated language, ſince the time of St. Patrick; while Ninian and Columba, the apoſtles of the Piks, moſt unfortunately totally neglected to teach them to write their own language. But as there is not a ſhadow of proof that the Iriſh tongue ever was at all uſed in the Lowlands of Scotland, it is needleſs to inſiſt further upon this.

The

The queſtion then remains entire, whether the union of the Piks and Dalriads, falſely called Scots, was not effected by a complete conqueſt of the later, by the former, under Kenneth their own proper king? Tighernac, and Caradoc of Llancarvon who wrote a century after Tighernac, or about 1180, mark the death of Kenneth, ſimply as king of the Piks; juſt as they ſtate the death of Kenneth I. ſon of Luthrin, or of any other Pikiſh kings. The title of king of the Piks continues; that of king of Dalriada, or of the Old Britiſh Scots, is extinct. Would not plain ſenſe argue from this, that the Piks had conquered the Dalriads? The hiſtory of the later after their conqueſt by Unguſt, 740, becomes more and more obſcure, till it is totally extinguiſhed. That of the Piks is more and more known. The Iriſh writers would naturally favour the Dalriads; yet it is from them that theſe circumſtances fully appear. In common argument, *a probabili*, that the Piks vanquiſhed the Dalriads is rational: that the Dalriads ſhould conquer the Pikiſh kingdom, eſpecially at a time when the former were ſo reduced, and the later ſo powerful, is abſurd and impoſſible. The Danes ravage the Dalriads with impunity; no king, no army, appears againſt them. In Pikland there are great battles, and the Danes gain no footing. The Norwegians about 880 ſeize moſt of the territories of the Dalriads; and hold them for near four centuries. In the north of Pikland they effect a ſettlement; but the Pikiſh power gains as much on the ſouth, as it loſes on the north; and gains fertile plains, while it yields barren mountains. In ſhort, upon every principle of hiſtoric authority, and of argument, if the ſole queſtion were whether the Piks conquered the Dalriads, or the contrary, there is no room to heſitate in ſaying, that the truth is directly oppoſite to our Celtic fa-

bles, and that the Piks conquered the Dalriads. Nor would this Celtic perverſion of hiſtory want example in Welch, or in Iriſh hiſtory. Had not Gildas and Beda remained, Arthur's conqueſt of England might be ſtill believed; tho the poor fathers of the fable be confined to a few mountains. The victories of the Gael over the Firbolg, in Iriſh hiſtory, are of the ſame claſs; and theſe Celtic fablers make the former the Scotti, while the later are the Scotti. As it is to Highland ſenachies and Iriſh churchmen, that we owe the conqueſt of the Piks by the Dalriads, there is perfect analogy in the caſe, and every room to infer that the uſual perverſion of Celtic underſtanding has taken place, and that the truth is the direct reverſe.

But it may be ſaid there are two arguments, to be drawn from the old liſts of our kings againſt this account. 1. The ſucceſſion after Kenneth becomes hereditary. 2. The Pikiſh Brudis, Druſts, &c. ceaſe, and new names appear.

To the firſt of theſe arguments it is anſwered, that the Pikiſh ſucceſſion became hereditary before Kenneth; as Druſt IX. ſon of Conſtantin, and Uven ſon of Unguſt II. came to the crown after their fathers; as formerly explained in the Chapter of Pikiſh kings. And the ſucceſſion of theſe is abſolutely ſimilar to that after Kenneth, for firſt Unguſt II. brother of Conſtantin ſucceeds, then Druſt IX. ſon of Conſtantin.

To the ſecond it is anſwered, that as the names after Kenneth are not the uſual Pikiſh names, ſo neither are they the uſual Dalriadic. The names of Kenneth, and of Alpin his father, are Pikiſh, not Dalriadic. *Conad* Keir our writers call *Kenneth* Keir, but *Conad* is not *Kenneth*, as Iriſh antiquaries juſtly obſerve. But the 52d king of the Piks was *Kenneth* ſon of Luthrin, A. D. 617, and the 66th, *Kenneth*, ſon of Wirdech, A. D. 763, by Hoveden called *Cynoth*, as the

the Latin C is always to be pronounced K, as it was in the early, and in the middle ages[f]. Of the other ſeventeen kings down to Malcom III. there are two Donals, three Conſtantins, two Malcoms. Others are Ed, Grig, Indulf, Odo (called Duff-odo, or Black Odo, and hence by error Duff), Culen, Grim, Duncan, Macbeth, Lulach. That we are indebted for the hiſtory of this period to Iriſh churchmen, bards, and ſenachies, who had all the little learning then known in Pikland, is too certain; and hence Iriſh epithets. Yet theſe names are not Iriſh, tho, if ſome were, foreign cauſes might occaſion them. For the churchmen, who were Iriſh, might, by permiſſion of the parents, give Iriſh names. Some of the kings might be married to Iriſh ladies, and the mothers, or their relations, impoſe the names. Iriſh names might become faſhionable among the Piks, as the former were the learned people, and their language cultivated: ſo Greek names became common in Ruſſia, tho the Ruſſians be not Greeks. Laſtly, the Iriſh churchmen, and bards, might, as uſual in the Celtic language, change the names to a Celtic ſemblance. Theſe cauſes conſidered, there would be little reaſon to wonder that the Pikiſh kings of this period, after the Dalriads were united with the Piks, ſhould vary a little in their names. But there is no need of theſe arguments here; for, after all, the names are much more Pikiſh, than Iriſh or Dalriadic. *Donel* was father of Garnad, 57th king of the Piks, and the name Domnail, or Donald, is Gothic; as indeed moſt Iriſh names of kings

[f] Ruric and *Kinaf* were the Scandinavian founders of the Ruſſian empire: in Ruſſia *th* is pronounced *f*, as Feodor for Theodor, &c. ſo that *Kinath* is the real name. *Alpin* or *Elpin* is the name of a moneyer on Hardeknute's coins. *Elphin* was biſhop of Wincheſter in Edgar's reign. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont. Saxon names, beginning with *Ken*, are numerous, as *Kenulf*, *Kenelm*, *Kenred*, &c. The names of Kenneth, and his father, are purely Gothic.

are: Domald was one of the ancient kings of Sweden. The *Conſtantins* are Pikiſh: the firſt Conſtantin king of the Piks in 792 is well known. *Ed* ſeems the Pikiſh Wid. *Grig*, *Indulf*, *Odo*, *Culen*, *Grim*, are all Gothic names, direct, and without Celtic vitiation. Thus only four names remain, *Malcom*, *Duncan*, *Macbeth*, *Lulach*. The former is ſurely Pikiſh; Brudi, the well-known Pikiſh king, being ſon of *Maikon*: as for Celtic etymologies from Columba, &c. they are dreams. *Mal* is Gothic, *ſpeech*; *konr*, *a man*; ſo that the word ſeems to imply an *eloquent man*, or perhaps a leader who directs the army by his words of command. There is no Malcom in the Iriſh or Dalriadic liſts; and there is in the Pikiſh. *Duncan* is the *only* name to be found in Dalriadic ſtory, where is a Duncan Beg, king of Cantire. The Iriſh name is really Donchadh, pronounced Donca, ſometimes latinized Doncadius. Simeon of Durham, who wrote about 1164, calls our name Duncan, *Dunecanus*; and there is room to believe that this name is not the Iriſh Donchadh, tho the Highland ſenachies confounded them. *Dun* is Gothic, *a fort*[z]; *kan*, *poſſum*, *valeo*; and no Iriſh etymology can come ſo near; and there is no proof that the name is Iriſh. As for the two remaining, *Macbeth*, and *Lulach*, the former is commonly ſuppoſed no name at all, as it ſignifies only the ſon of Beth. The *Mac* now uſed was never anciently part of a fixt name, till ſurnames aroſe in the eleventh century; but they did not reach Scotland till after the time of Malcom III. Our old writers call this king *Macbeda*; and *Beth*, *Bed*, *Beda*, are well known Anglo-gothic names. The Highland ſenachies ſeem, in ſcorn of this uſurper, to have omitted his name, and to have called him the ſon of Beth, ſon of Finleg. Old

[z] It alſo means *clamor*, as our *din*. *Duncan* may therefore mean *ſtrong voice*, a neceſſary matter in a barbaric leader.

Engliſh

Engliſh writers call him *Macbetad*; and i queſtion if his name be not *Maheth*; or if the *mac* prefixt be not a fall of letters, not implying the Iriſh *mac*. The *mac* may be found in Gothic, nay in Latin names, as Macrinus, Macrobius; and i have heard of the later's being taken for a Scotiſh name. What ſeems to confirm that Macbeth does not mean ſon of Beth is, that his father was Finleg; and he is called *Macbeth, filius Finleg*, in our old liſts. Now the grandfather's name is never put in theſe liſts; and there ſeems no room to believe it the caſe here. In the Duan Macbeth is called abſolutely the ſon of Finleg; and his name not put at his own reign. As to Lulach, his name is not found in the Celtic; and, if it were, may be found in the Gothic. Thus, tho to grant ſome of theſe names Celtic would not injure the queſtion, there is no occaſion even for that conceſſion.

Upon the whole, as the Iriſh churchmen and bards had, after the union of the Piks and Dalriads, all the little learning of Pikland, and totally perverted it's hiſtory to their own fables; there is great room to believe, that, in ſpite of all theſe fables, the Piks really conquered the Dalriads, and that the royal line continued Pikiſh, as did by far the moſt numerous, but unhappily the unlearned, part of the people. As for the name of *Scots* and *Scotland*, if we even granted them to originate in Pikland from the Dalriads, this allowance would not imply either conqueſt, or ſuperiority in numbers. For the Angli, tho finally vanquiſhed by the Saxons, and always far inferior to them in number, yet gave name to England.

So much for the two extremities of this queſtion; namely, whether the Dalriads conquered the Piks, or the Piks the Dalriads. But neither of theſe extreme views ſeems true; and there are medial views next to be conſidered, which have a juſter claim to attention. Let us firſt conſider the moſt ancient authorities on the matter.

1. Nennius, as is well known from different chronological calculations in his work, wrote in 858. Samuel, who made additions to it, was his friend and cotemporary; and the authority of both is equal. An authority nearer the time cannot be expected. His words, ch. 5. are, *Poſt intervallum annorum multorum, non minus* DCCCC, *Picti venerunt, et occupaverunt inſulas quæ Orcades vocantur. Et poſtea, ex inſulis affinitimis, vaſtaverunt non modicas et multas regiones; occupaveruntque eas in ſiniſtrali plaga Britanniæ; et manent uſque in hodiernum diem. Ibi tertiam partem Britanniæ tenuerunt, et tenent uſque nunc.* "After an interval of many, not leſs than 900, years, the Piks came and ſeized the ilands called Orkneys. And afterward, from the neighbouring iles, wafted ſeveral not ſmall regions; and ſeized thoſe in the north part of Britain, and remain to this day. They held the THIRD part of Britain, and hold it now." No teſtimony can be more explicit than this. Had the Dalriads conquered the Piks, could ſo great an event have eſcaped the notice of Nennius, living at the very time? Far from this, he rather witneſſes that the Piks had vanquiſhed the Dalriads; for he mentions the former as lords of the northern THIRD of Britain, a term of diviſion almoſt too large for Scotland. In another place Nennius, ſpeaking of the Orkneys, ſays, they are beyond the Piks: ſo that the Piks retained all their poſſeſſions in the time of Nennius.

2. King Alfred reigned from 872 till 900. In his tranſlations of Beda and Oroſius, he uſes a paraphraſtic plan, and makes additions of his own. The Piks he frequently mentions by the names of *Pehtar, Pihtar, Pyhtar, Peohtar*; but drops not one hint of any alteration in their condition. This ſilence is ſurely important, if not concluſive; for ſo memorable an event as their conqueſt could not have eſcaped the king.

3. Aſſer

3. Aſſer wrote his life of Alfred about the ſame time; and he mentions the Danes as ravaging the Piks in 875; but ſays nothing of any new ſovereignty in Pikland.

4. The Saxon Chronicle was written in the tenth and eleventh century. It mentions the Piks in 875, as Aſſer; but has not a hint of any revolution in Pikland. Ethelwerd and Ingulphus, writers of the eleventh century, mention the Piks eſpecially, as warring under Conſtantin, their king, in 937.

5. Tighernac wrote about 1088; and has preſerved many particulars concerning the Piks and Dalriads. The kings of the former he chronicles minutely, and exactly; but is quite ſilent as to any revolution in Kenneth's time. On the contrary, he mentions the death of Kenneth, as 'king of the Piks.' Surely, as Innes juſtly obſerves, had he conquered the Piks, he would not have been called their king, but king of Pikland. But Tighernac marks his death in the very ſame words, which he uſes for all the other Pikiſh kings. Nay, Tighernac calls the ſucceſſors of Kenneth down to Donald, who died 899, kings of the Piks always. He ſays, '801, Donald M'Alpin, king of the Piks, died.' '875, Conſtantin M'Cinaoch, rex Pictorum moritur.' Donald the next he calls king of Albany.

6. An old Iriſh tranſlation of Nennius, quoted by Lynch, gives us a liſt of the kings of the Piks from Brudi, ſon of Meilocon 557; and goes on in conſtant ſucceſſion to Malcom III. 1056, and after; making Kenneth ſon of Alpin ſucceed the laſt Brudi, without one hint of any failure, or new line.

7. The Welch writers are as ignorant of any revolution in Pikland as the Engliſh and Iriſh; for Caradoc, who wrote about 1180, marks the death of Kenneth ſimply as 'king of the Piks.'

8. The Gaelic Duan gives no hint of any revolution in Kenneth's time.

Such are the genuine ancient authorities on this ſubject: and from them two concluſions follow. 1. That there was no conqueſt or remarkable revolution in Pikland, under Kenneth, ſon of Alpin; elſe it could not have eſcaped all writers of England, Ireland, and Wales, the three neareſt countries. 2. That theſe ancient authors clearly teſtify, on the contrary, that there was not, by marking the Piks as in their old power in Kenneth's time, and long after; nay by putting Kenneth and his ſucceſſors as really kings of the Piks. To oppoſe ſuch late writers as Henry of Huntingdon and Giraldus, to thoſe early teſtimonies, would be contrary to every rule of hiſtory.

Yet unhappily not one of theſe authorities ſheds any light on the nature of Kenneth's ſucceſſion. The Duan, and our old liſts, together with the regular inheritance after his time, ſeem to imply that there muſt have been ſome novelty. Perhaps prejudice may ſtill cling around me; but i muſt confeſs that i am not bold enough to ſay that there was no change under Kenneth. So much ſmoke raiſes a ſuſpicion of ſome fire. As a Greek grammarian wiſhed to raiſe the ghoſt of Homer, in order to learn the place of that poet's birth, i would deſire to evocate the ſhade of Kenneth, that i might enquire how he came to the Pikiſh throne. But let us uſe the means in our power to arrive at the higheſt probability, if not the truth of this event.

There are, ſo far as i recollect, four ways in which a crown may be gained. 1. By inheritance. 2. By conqueſt. 3. By election. 4. By uſurpation. The three later ways ſeem here out of the queſtion. That there was no conqueſt has been ſhewn above. Had Kenneth been elected, it is hard to account for his eſtabliſhing the inheritance in his race; and election, as above ſhewn, had certainly

tainly ceaſed in Pikland before Kenneth's time. For uſurpation we have no authority, nor even cauſe of ſuſpicion; Kenneth was the ſon of Alpin, a king; and i know no example of uſurpation ſo firm in the race of the uſurper, and void of competition: nor is there one hint in Tighernac, or other early authors, of any victory over the lawful king. There is therefore reaſon to infer that Kenneth became king of Pikland by inheritance.

Allowing this, only three queſtions can, in appearance, ariſe on the ſubject. 1. If Kenneth was originally and merely king of the Piks, and had no connexion with the Dalriads? 2. If he was of the old Dalriadic line of kings of the Scotiſh or Iriſh ſtem, and heir of Pikland by the female line? 3. If he was of a new Dalriadic line of Pikiſh extract, and claimed the Pikiſh throne by right of inheritance?

1. If Kenneth was merely and ſolely king of the Piks, it is hard, if not impoſſible, to account for the old liſts placing a remarkable revolution in his time. The Duan, and other pieces, put him in the Dalriadic ſeries: Tighernac, Caradoc, the Iriſh tranſlator of Nennius, &c. put him in the Pikiſh. Nothing is more certain in our hiſtory than that the kingdoms of Pikland and Dalriada were united in his perſon. With all due contempt for Celtic perverſion, it ſeems violent to offer ſuch outrage to all our old fragments of hiſtory, as to ſay that Kenneth was merely king of the Piks; and that no revolution happened in Pikland in his time.

2. That Kenneth was not of the Dalriadic, Old Scotiſh, or Iriſh line, has been ſhewn above. The poor falſifications, uſed to connect him with that line, ſufficiently prove, to a candid enquirer, that he did not belong to it. The Iriſh Annals, certainly not biaſſed againſt ſuch a matter, afford convincing proofs againſt the ſuppoſition. The

Gaelic

Gaelic Duan, written in the eleventh century, marks all the kings from Fergus and Loarn to Malcom III. 1056, as of the race of Erc. This only ſhews that the Highland ſenachies had uſed the common Celtic ſkill in fabricating genealogies; and that the elapſe of two dark centuries had encouraged their uſual perverſion of hiſtory. The Piks, a warlike and illiterate people, were taught by Iriſh churchmen to venerate their learning. The new name of Scots, impoſed before the Piks had any literature among them, and the name of Piks reſtricted to the inimical Galwegians, made the old Piks deſpiſe and aboliſh the memory of their own power. Perhaps the Piks had quite different genealogies, before the new name of Scots turned their own ſword againſt their own breaſt; and made them fight for the ſuperiority of the Old Scots, their nominal anceſtors. Such frenzy alſo occurred in French and Engliſh hiſtory; and prevails in it's higheſt rage at this day in the Scotiſh. But who is now ſo weak as to regard a Celtic genealogy as hiſtory? A Celtic ſenachy would build a genealogy of the Pope or the Great Mogul, up to Mileſius, nay to Adam and beyond, *ſtans pede in uno*. What can indeed be eaſier than to make a liſt of names? With other nations a lineal deſcent fails in a few centuries; but with the Celts it endures for ever! There cannot be a ſtronger proof of Celtic capacity than their fondneſs for genealogy; a ſcience unknown to, or deſpiſed by, all other nations[h];

[h] Except the Greenlanders, who, as Crantz informs, can all repeat their genealogies for ſeveral generations. In the curious MS. lives of Welch ſaints, Cotton lib. Veſp. A. XIV. of the 12th or 13th cent. is a diverting ſpecimen of genuine ancient Celtic genealogies. St. Cadoc is deſcended from Auguſtus, thus: Auguſtus *genuit* Octavianum, qui g. Tiberium, q. g. Gaium, q. g. Claudium, q. g. Veſpaſianum....Nero g. Trajanum, Trajanus g. Hadrianum, &c. The reader may reſt aſſured that the others are of the ſame ſtamp, tho not ſo eaſily convincible of falſehood.

and

and when protracted, of ſuch notorious uncertainty and falſehood, as to diſguſt every ſound mind. It is well known what toil and induſtry it has coſt men of real learning, to detail a genealogy of the firſt imperial and royal houſes in Europe, even up to the twelfth century: how then lend any faith to an ignorant Celtic ſenachy, utterly a ſtranger to truth and hiſtory? O'Flaherty has been forced to cut and mangle the Iriſh genealogies at pleaſure; becauſe the generations were too numerous; that is the genealogy was falſe, for a defect in one link deſtroys the whole chain at once. But to inſiſt on this would be to inſult the reader's good ſenſe, ſo let us leave Celtic genealogies to Celtic underſtandings. From Tighernac, and other authentic writers, we know that the Iriſh genealogy of our kings is falſe and abſurd, as has been ſhewn above; and that the name of Kenneth's grandfather is loſt beyond redemption. From Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulſter, we learn who were the lateſt kings of the race of Erc, both in Argyle and Lorn; and know to a certainty that Kenneth did not belong to that genealogy at all.

3. After long and mature conſideration of the preſent ſubject, and revolving it in every point of view, as it's radical importance to our hiſtory deſerved, i am convinced, that the affirmative of the third queſtion can alone ſolve every difficulty, and bear every weight of hiſtoric truth; namely, That Kenneth was of a new Dalriadic line of Pikiſh extract, and gained the Pikiſh crown by inheritance. To confirm this, the following cogent arguments ariſe. 1. In mere theory this opinion is the moſt probable, as it is a medial one between two extremes above conſidered; namely, that Kenneth was merely king of the Piks, and that he was of the old Dalriadic race. Now tho it be true that truth is one extreme, and falſehood

falſehood another; and a medial opinion may, abſtractly conſidered, be thought to be neither true nor falſe; yet in human teſtimony there is generally ſuch a mixture of falſehood in truth, and of truth in falſehood, that the medial point has always been conſidered as that of truth, wiſdom, and virtue. *Medio tutiſſimus ibis*, is a maxim applicable to hiſtory, as well as to life, and has been followed in doubtful points by moſt writers of wiſdom and moderation. 2. But to paſs from theory to facts we know, as above ſtated, that Unguſt, king of the Piks, totally conquered Dalriada, and put its princes in chains about the year 740. And we know that after this neither the houſe of Lorn, nor that of Argyle, held the ſceptre of Dalriada, but that a new houſe ſucceeded, inferrable to be Pikiſh by every reaſon. 3. Even ſuppoſing that Ed Fin was not of Pikiſh race, there are no leſs than eight other kings from Ed Fin to Alpin, whoſe genealogy we know nothing of; and, not to dwell on the others, it is certain that Alpin and Kenneth are Pikiſh regal names, and not Dalriadic: ſo that there is reaſon to infer that Kenneth and his father, at leaſt, were Pikiſh kings of Dalriada. 4. This plain account ſolves the various information we have concerning Kenneth; ſome ancient writers calling him king of the Piks, while others put him in the Dalriadic line. Allow him to have been originally king of the Dalriads; and all is eaſy. Alpin and he had, as is moſt likely, received the Dalriadic ſceptre in hereditary ſucceſſion from Ed Fin, Pikiſh monarch of Dalriada. The right which Kenneth had to the Pikiſh crown is indeed obſcure, for as to our modern tale of Ferguſia, daughter (or, as ſome more chronologically cook it, ſiſter) of Unguſt II. king of the Piks, being wedded to Achy, father of Alpin, it is a mere romance of that king of forgers, Hector Boyce. The very name *Ferguſia* ſpeaks this; and

and *that* Achy never exiſted, as fully ſhewn above. In 839 Uwen, or in Iriſh Eogan (pronounce Oan), ſon of Unguſt II. king of the Piks by inheritance, died. It would ſeem, that, on the death of Uwen, two competitors aroſe for the Pikiſh crown, Alpin the Dalriadic king, and Vered; but that the later carried it. That Vered dying in 842, Kenneth aſſerted his claim (his father Alpin being dead in 841), and, depoſing Brudi ſon of Vered, aſſumed the ſceptre. There was no national diſpute between the Dalriads and the Piks. Kenneth had no doubt a ſtrong party in Pikland; and the advantages of uniting the kingdoms muſt have been very apparent, even in a rude age. The Engliſh heptarchies had been partly united by Egbert, twenty years before this; and the new invaſions of the Danes called for the united force of Caledonia to oppoſe them. What was the claim of Alpin, and that of Vered, it is impoſſible to diſcover: but both were palpably hereditary; for the ſons of both ſucceeded in Pikland, now an hereditary kingdom. Had this been a national war, the Dalriads could have done nothing, declining for three centuries as they had been, and utterly vanquiſhed in 743. But they would naturally aſſiſt Kenneth, and the favour which he, and his nearer ſucceſſors, ſhewed them was natural. The conſtant hereditary form of their government, muſt have rendered them ſubjects more to be truſted by the kings of Pikland; in which ſtate that form of ſucceſſion was new, and not fixt on conſtant uſe, and the proſcription of ages. Kenneth, and his anceſtors, as kings of Dalriada, apparently uſed the Iriſh language; and the churchmen of Pikland were almoſt all Iriſh, ſo that the Iriſh may have been long the faſhionable language, as the French in England after the Norman conqueſt. The Iriſh was then indeed

far ſuperior to the Pikiſh, as being a written, and of courſe a more poliſhed and exact language.

This plain and eaſy account of the Union of the Piks and Dalriads, as it alone can reconcile all authorities, bears every mark of hiſtoric truth.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

The Kings from 843 *till* 1056.

THE chronology of this period is ſufficiently exact, and eaſily adjuſted by computing the number of years each king reigned, according to the old liſts and chronicles publiſhed by Innes, from the fixt date of the accceſſion of Kenneth to the Pikiſh throne, 843; or from the death of Macbeth, which, by unanimous conſent of the ancient hiſtorians, the Chronicle of Melroſe, &c. happened in 1054. Fordun dates the acceſſion of Kenneth 838; and has been blindly followed as uſual by Boyce, Buchanan, &c. and as this perverſion threw back the reign of Kenneth ſix years, they have been forced to add theſe ſix years to the reign of Grig, making him reign eighteen years; while, by our old liſts, he only reigned twelve. But theſe, and other ſmaller perverſions did not deſerve ſerious examination, as they are confuted by the chronology of Pikiſh kings formerly given, and by the following chronology, compiled with minute attention and care.

Tho the chronology of our kings during this period be as exact as that of any kingdom in Europe at the time, yet the hiſtory is faint and obſcure. That of Kenneth, and his eleven immediate ſucceſſors, appears to beſt advantage, being preſerved in the brief but valuable *Chronicon Pictorum*, publiſhed by Innes[a]. The other ſix kings,

[a] And in the Appendix to vol. I. of this work, to which volume it's greateſt number of kings belongs.

from

from Conſtantin IV. 992, to Malcom III. 1056, or for a ſpace of ſixty-four years, are in more obſcurity. A few faint rays are however to be found in the liſt N° IV. publiſhed by Innes; in that of the Regiſter of Saint Andrew's N° V.; in the *Chronicon Elegiacum*, publiſhed at the end of the Chronicle of Melroſe [b]; and in the Engliſh and Iſlandic writers. As for Fordun, Boyce, Buchanan, and their lateſt followers, they are to be conſidered as mere fablers, till the reign of Malcom III. 1056; and cannot be founded on, in the ſmalleſt particular before that period, being generally contradictory of our old monuments, and blending even their truth with ſuch fables as obſcure the light of hiſtory.

The Dalriadic ſeries, tho hitherto built upon, has, as formerly ſhewn in this work, no title to be regarded as that of the kings of North Britain. The Pikiſh ſeries has the ſole claim to that dignity. Upon the acceſſion of James VI. to the Engliſh throne, it would have been abſurd to conſider his anceſtors, the Scotiſh kings, as monarchs of England; or to drop the hiſtory of England for that of Scotland: and the caſe is the ſame here. The reader, upon recurring to the liſt of Pikiſh kings, will find that the reign of Kenneth was the ſeventy-ſeventh from the foundation of the Pikiſh monarchy. Kings of the ſame name are numbered in the Pikiſh ſeries; thus there were two Kenneths, kings of Pikland, before the Dalriadic Kenneth: and ſo in other names.

77. KENNETH III. A. C. 843, reigned 16 years in Pikland by all accounts. He ſeems to have been a prince of conſiderable talents for the age and country. He had ruled Dalriada two years, when he aſcended the Pikiſh throne (*Ch. Pict.*). In his ſeventh year, 849, he tranſported the reliques of St. Columba, hitherto kept in

[b] And in the App. to this vol.

Hyona,

Hyona, to a new church which he built in Pikland (*Ib.*). Invading the Engliſh territory ſix times, he burned Dunbar and Melroſe, which had been uſurped (*Ib.*) or ſeized by the Engliſh or Danes of Northumbria. But the Britons of Stratclyde burned Dulblaan; and the Danes waſted Pikland to Cluanan and Dunkeld [c] (*Ib.*) He died on the *feria tertia*, or third day of the week, Tueſday, the ides or thirteenth of February (*Ib.*), that is, in 860, after a reign of ſixteen years, and ſome months. Tueſday was alſo the 13th February in 854, or ſix years before; and Fordun, &c. place his death in that year. The Annals of Ulſter ſay 857; but as to our hiſtory they often antedate by three or four years; thus Brudi's death is put 583 inſtead of 587; and ſo in the reſt. That 860 was the real date is clear from the Pikiſh chronicle, ſo valuable for exact co-incidence with the Engliſh writers in other matters: and from the eclipſe of the ſun on the day of St. Cyriacus, 891, aftermentioned. Fordun's perverſion of all chronology concerning Selvac, &c. ſhews his dates put at random; and that Tueſday ſhould be the 13th of February in 854 is a mere chance: and the ſix years deficient were forced to be added to the reign of Grig, to make up the chronology, tho our old liſts give him but 11 or 12, not 18 years. Kenneth died in his palace at *Forthuir-tabacht* (*Ch. Pict.*) *Fortheviot* (*Ch. Eleg.*) now Forteviot near the river Ern, ſouth of Perth, the chief reſidence of the Pikiſh kings, after their recovery of Lothian in 684. Before that time, as appears from Adomnan, they reſided near Inverneſs.

78. DONAL I. brother of Kenneth III. A. C. 860, reigned 4 years by all accounts. In his

[c] Dulblaan is apparently Dumblain; Cluanan, Cluny, above Dunkeld.

In 912 'Maolmor Maclanirk, daughter to Cinaoh Mac Alpin, died.' *Ann. Ult.*

time the Gaël, or Dalriads, obtained a confirmation of the old laws aſſigned them by Ed Fin (*Chr. Pict*). The laws forged by Boyce, in aukward imitation of thoſe of the Twelve Tables, and imputed to Kenneth III. are too groſs an impoſition to deceive even the moſt ignorant. There is no authority whatever to be found in our old and genuine fragments of hiſtory, for Kenneth's having made any laws at all. Donal died in his palace of Belachoir [d] on the ides or 13th of April (*Ib.*) 864.

From the Regiſter of St. Andrew's we learn that our kings, from Kenneth III. down to Edgar, 1098, were buried in Hyona or Icolmkill. After that period Dunfermlin was the place of royal ſepulture.

79. CONSTANTIN II. ſon of Kenneth III. A. C. 864, reigned 16 years (*Chr. Pict*) 20 years (*Chr. N° II. Innes*), but 18 ſeems the real number; for 891 was the ninth year of Grig, as after ſhewn. In his third year 866, Olave, leader of the Danes and Norwegians in Ireland, ravaged Pikland, from the day of the new year till that of St. Patrick, or 17th March, and carried off plunder and hoſtages. (*Chr. Pict.*) The Annals of Ulſter, as uſual, antedate this event in 865. Some years after, Olave returning was ſlain in battle with Conſtantin (*Ib.*) The Iriſh Annals are ſilent as to the time and manner of Olave's death; but mention him in 870 as returning to Ireland, from a ſecond invaſion of Pikland, with 200 ſhips and great booty. Soon after, in another invaſion, the Piks were defeated at *Coach-cochlum* with great ſlaughter; and the Northern invaders remained a whole year in Pikland. (*Chr. Pict. Ann. Ult.* 874.) But Eyſtein, ſon of Olave, was killed

[d] Where? The Annals of Ulſter at 864 bear "Tuahal Mac Artguſa, Archbiſhop of Fortren (Pikland), and Abbot of Duncallen, *dormivit.*" Archbiſhop is an erroneous tranſlation for chief biſhop.

(*Ann.*

(*Ann. Ult.*) In 871, ſay 874 or 875, Artga, king of the Britons of Stratclyde, was killed by advice of Conſtantin III. king of the Piks (*Ib.*). Conſtantin died 882, being, by the Annals of Ulſter, the year after his laſt defeat by the Danes. Fordun ſays Conſtantin was ſlain by the Danes in a cave near Fifeneſs; but the Annals of Ulſter, and our beſt chronicle of the time (*Chr. Pict.*), are ſilent as to this.

This reign was the moſt ruinous that North Britain ever beheld, or was to behold. The Piks had long enjoyed peace, or at leaſt freedom from foreign invaſions; and a default in martial ſkill and proweſs was the natural conſequence. They were therefore unprepared for their Northern invaders, men inured to arms and perpetual war. After this reign the Piks changed the ſcene, and generally repelled the invaders with great ſlaughter. But during the reign of Conſtantin II. or from 864 till 882, the loſſes Pikland ſuſtained were not confined to booty and captives; but were great and permanent. For it is clear, from the moſt ancient and authentic monuments of Scandinavian hiſtory, that during this period the Norwegians ſeized the Orkneys and Hebudes, with preſent Sutherland, Caithneſs, and moſt of Roſsſhires, amounting in the whole to more than a fourth part of the Pikiſh kingdom. But of this in the next chapter[e].

80. ED, brother of Conſtantin II. A. C. 882 reigned 1 year by all accounts; and was ſlain by his own ſubjects. (*Chr. Pict. Ann. Ult.* &c.)

81. EOCHOD (or Achy) and GRIG reigned jointly, from 883 till 894, or 11 years. The

[e] See alſo Supplement, ſect. II. The tranſactions of the Norwegians may be found in the Orcades of Torfæus. Let the reader beware of conſulting the abſtract by Pope, at the end of Cordiner's Antiquities. It is even worſe than the uſual exertions of my countrymen in the Antiquarian line; and is totally inaccurate.

former was ſon of Ku, king of the Stratclyde Britons, who was ſon of Kenneth III. (*Chr. Pict*). The ſame venerable monument adds that Achy was the real king, tho ſome put Grig, who only governed in his name; and I ſuppoſe Achy was a minor. But it ſeems beſt to reconcile all accounts by making this a joint reign. Who Grig was is obſcure. The Regiſter of St. Andrew's ſays it was he who ſlew Ed: and he ſeems to have pretended to govern in the name of Achy to ſupport his uſurpation. Our old liſts, and other writers, ſay that Grig (or Gregory, as they chriſten him) was ſon of Dungal, brother of Alpin. But that ſeems dubious. The Annals of Ulſter are quite ſilent concerning Achy and Grig. The only thing known concerning this reign is, that in its ninth year, or 891, there was an eclipſe of the ſun on the day of St. Cyriacus, or 8th Auguſt: which really did happen that year and day[f]: and that after reigning eleven years Achy and Grig were expelled the kingdom (*Ch. Pict*). Innes fooliſhly trembles at this account of Gregory the Great, whom the Regiſter of St. Andrew's marks as the conqueror of England, and Ireland, in which ſilly ſtuff it is followed by our fablers! Strange that no Engliſh, nor Iriſh, hiſtorian ſhould even know the name of this tremendous whale! Seriouſly the condition of England and Ireland at this time, from 883 till 894, is too perfectly known for ſuch tales. The reign of Alfred is too bright to be obſcured by a cloud of childiſh fable. The Danes and Norwegians held too ſure footing in Ireland for Grig to interfere.

[f] "Ac in nono anno, ipſo die Cirici, eclipſis ſolis facta eſt." The day of Cyriacus, Largus, and Smaragdus, martyrs, is Aug. 8. That of Cyricus is June 16; and there was a great eclipſe of the ſun, June 16, 885, juſt ſix years before. (*L'Art de Verifier les dates*). So that the chief argument for Kenneth's death in 860, not 854, ariſes from the years aſſigned to the Pikiſh kings in the *Chron. Pict.*

terfere. And Tighernac, who wrote in 1088, did not even know of Grig's exiſtence.

82. DONAL II. ſon of Conſtantin II. A. C. 894, reigned 10 years; and died in his eleventh (*Chr. Eleg.*), whence, by other accounts, he reigned eleven years, but the chronology requires only ten. During this reign the Norwegians again waſted Pikland. A battle was fought between them and the Piks, in which victory fell to the later. Ivar, the Norwegian chief, fell. (*Chr. Pict. Ann. Ult.*) Donal is however ſaid to have fallen by the hands of the Norwegians near Forres. (*Chr. Pict.*)

83. CONSTANTIN III. ſon of Ed, A. C. 904, reigned 40 years by all accounts. This reign is remarkable for length, and for action. In his third year, 906, the Norwegians ravaged Dunkeld, and all Pikland (*Chr. Pict.*). The following year, 907, they were ſlaughtered at Fraithhemi. In his ſixth year, 909[g], Conſtantin the king, and Kellach the biſhop, *leges diſciplinaſque fidei, atque jura eccleſiarum evangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis, in colle credulitatis prope regalem civitatem Scoan devoverunt cuſtodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc nomen meruit, i. e. Collis credulitatis.* (Chr. Pict.) This paſſage is clear, ſave the words *pariter cum Scottis*. Innes, p. 588, tranſlates them, 'with the Scots:' but the arrangement ſeems to demand 'like the Scots;' and the word *pariter* implies this only. Certain it is however that, in this Chronicle, *Scotti* is uſed for the people of Scotland: *Hybernenſes* for the Iriſh. But the paſſage may have been tranſcribed from an older Chronicle, in which *Scotti* here implied the Iriſh. Yet if Conſtantin and Kellach alone took this vow, the public name of the hill ſeems too conſequential for the occaſion. I therefore incline to the opinion of Innes, that this was a national aſſembly, and that

[g] So the genuine Chronicle, App. to vol. I. Innes has blundered the paſſage.

pariter cum Scottis is a barbarous phraſe, to expreſs that the king and Kellach took this vow, at ſame time and on the ſame footing, with the national aſſembly. This Hill of Credulity was ſurely the Moothill near Scoon. In this reign died Donald, king of the Britons of Stratclyde; and Donald, ſon of Ed, was elected king (*Chr. Pict.*) It is clear from this, and the circumſtance of Ku, king of theſe Britons, being ſon of Kenneth III. as above-mentioned, that the people of Stratclyde, at this period, ſecured protection from the Piks, by chuſing their kings from the Pikiſh royal family. Nor is there a hint of any diſſention, till the reign of Culen, who was ſlain by theſe Britons (*Chr. Pict.*) The reign of Conſtantin III. was famous for two remarkable battles. The firſt happened in his eighteenth year (*Chr. Pict.*), or 921: the Annals of Ulſter, always three or four years antedated, place it in 917. It was at *Tinmore*, between Conſtantin and Reginald, and the former had the victory [h] (*Chr. Pict.*) The Annals of Ulſter give a long account of this memorable engagement. The Norwegians and Danes of Ireland, deſiring as would ſeem fully to poſſeſs North Britain, as they did Ireland, formed a vaſt army, and landed in North Britain. Conſtantin, foreſeeing the danger, had wiſely formed an alliance with the Northern Saxons, as the Annals of Ulſter call them, that is, the people of Northumbria, ſtill ſeparated from the Engliſh under their Daniſh kings; who naturally ſought aſſiſtance from North Britain to ſupport them againſt the kings of England, and were thus bound by reciprocal tyes. The enemy formed in four diviſions: the firſt commanded by God-

[h] Simeon of Durham, *Hiſt. S. Cuthberti*, col. 73. (Scr. X.) mentions another battle of Conſtantin againſt Regnald at Corebridge, in favour of Eldred, ſon of Eadulf *earl* of Northumbria, who had been driven out by Regnald a Norwegian, who came with a fleet and ſeized Northumbria. But that work often errs againſt chronology, and ſeems a late forgery.

fred; the two next by different earls and chiefs: the fourth and laſt by Reginald. Conſtantin defeated the three firſt with great ſlaughter: but Reginald attacking him in the rear, the battle became dubious, when night put an end to the engagement. The Danes returned to Ireland, without effecting any thing; ſo that the *Chr. Pict.* ſays not improperly that Conſtantin had the victory. This engagement was ſo great, that it is the only one particularly deſcribed in the Annals of Ulſter, which generally only ſay there was a battle in ſuch a place, between ſuch a man and ſuch another.

But the ſecond conflict of Conſtantin was yet greater; and the Saxon Annaliſt has even riſen to poetry on the occaſion. This was the famous battle of *Bruneburg* fought in the thirty-fourth year of Conſtantin (*Chr. Pict.*) that is 937, a computation exactly agreeing with the Saxon Chronicle, and Simeon of Durham. Athelſtan, king of England, having expelled Anlaff and Godfred, princes of Northumberland in 927 (*Ann. Sax.*), the former fled to Ireland; the later took refuge with Conſtantin. Conſtantin, ſolicited by Athelſtan to give up Godfred, but deteſting the treachery, adviſed him to leave his kingdom; which he did, and ſubſiſted by piracy for ſome years till he died. Athelſtan, reſenting Conſtantin's conduct, in 934 (*Ann. Sax. Sim. Dun.* &c.) attacked his dominions by ſea and land[i]. His army ravaged even to Dunfoeder and Wertermore[k]: his fleet to Caithneſs. Conſtantin, not expecting this ſudden invaſion, was unprepared for reſiſtance; but as to any ſubmiſſion or homage paid by him on this occaſion, the Saxon Annals and Simeon, that is, the oldeſt Engliſh writers, are mute; tho Hoveden, and

[i] Simeon vel Turgot de Dun. Eccl. inter Scr. X. et idem de Geſt. Angl. Gul. Malmſb. &c. &c.

[k] Places unknown; perhaps Wertermor ſh be Weſtermor, the Weſtern Sea, or Frith of Clyde.

William of Malmſbury, aſſert the matter *gratis*. But of theſe mock homages in next chapter. The Engliſh army and fleet after this revenge retired. Conſtantin, reſolving to wipe off this inſult, formed a powerful confederacy againſt Athelſtan, conſiſting of Anlaf king of Ireland, Conſtantin's ſon-in-law; the Norwegian prince of the Hebudes; and Eugenius, or Owen, king of Cumberland, ſtill a Cumraig monarchy; with Anlaf prince of Northumberland; and many petty Norwegian and Daniſh kinglets of Ireland. The Weſt of England was all in the hands of the Britons; but the allies by landing at Bruneburg, now, it is believed, Brugh on the Humber[1], evidently intended to re-eſtabliſh the kingdom of Northumbria firſt, and from thence to invade Athelſtan's territories. But that great prince, with uncommon prudence and ſucceſs, cruſhed the deſign at once. Tho the allies brought no leſs than ſix hundred and fifteen ſhips (*Sim.*) he was able to attack them on their landing; and after, as Milton juſtly obſerves, the greateſt and bloodieſt battle that this iland ever beheld, the allies were totally defeated. Five kinglets, and many celebrated chiefs, fell on the ſide of the allies. Conſtantin's ſon was alſo among the ſlain. He and Anlaf fled to their ſhips and eſcaped. The loſs on Athelſtan's ſide muſt alſo have been vaſt; tho carefully concealed by old Engliſh hiſtorians. Certain it is, that he was too much weakened to diſturb his neighbours again; and died in 941, after paſſing his laſt years in peace.

Conſtantin ſurvived this battle many years. In his extreme old age he retired to a monaſtery; and reſigned the kingdom to Malcom (*Chr. Pict.*) This happened in 944, and he died about 954.

[1] Simeon de Geſt. ſays, this battle was fought at *Wendune*. Anlof landed in the Humber, *Flo. Vig.* apparently on the ſouth ſide.

(*Ib.*)

(*Ib.*) The venerable chronicle laſt quoted mentions that one year after the battle of Bruneburg; or in 938, *mortuus eſt Dubican, fil. Indrechtaig*, MORMAIR *Oenguſa*: 'Dubican ſon of Indrechtaig, *Mormair* of Angus, died.' This ſingular title alſo occurs in the Annals of Ulſter, "A. D. 1032, Maolbryd *Murmor* of Mureve (Murray) burnt with 50 men about him:" and deſcribing the battle of 921, between the Norwegians and Conſtantin, *Murmors* are named as chiefs on Conſtantin's ſide. And 1014, Donel, a great *Murmor* of Scotland, is killed with king Brian Borowe. This title ſeems equivalent to *thane* or *iarl*; but i know not if it is any where elſe to be found.

84. MALCOM I. ſon of Donal II. A. C. 944, reigned 9 years, as our old liſts agree, ſave Chr. Pict. which bears eleven; but the chronology fixes nine. Proceeding with an army to Moray, he ſlew Kelac, i ſuppoſe a rebellious Murmor. In his ſeventh year, 950, he waſted England to the river Teiſe, and ſeized great prey of captives and cattle * (*Chr. Pict.*) The author relates that ſome ſaid Conſtantin led the army himſelf; others that he only inſtigated Malcom. This invaſion ſeems irreconcileable with what we learn from the Saxon Annals; namely, that in 945 Edmund king of England conquering Cumberland from the Britons, gave it to Malcom, on condition of homage for it, and defending the North of England againſt the Danes. But the fact is, that after this we find no wars between our kings and thoſe of England till the time of Ethelred, A. D. 1000. So that it ſeems clear that Edmund conciliated the alliance of Malcom, and that the Danes, tho allied with Conſtantin, were ever after regarded as a common enemy by our kings, and thoſe of England. The above

* The Ulſter Annals at 951 mark "A battle upon Scots (Albanich?) Welch and Saxons by Gentiles," i. e. Danes or Norwegians.

invaſion,

invaſion, as the author of the *Chr. Pict.* concludes, was not done by Malcom, but by Conſtantin's influence. Yet i take it to have been made upon the Danes in Northumberland, after Malcom had taken poſſeſſion of Cumberland; and not upon '*Angli*,' as the above chronicle bears. Malcom was ſlain by the people of Moray, perhaps in revenge of Kelac's death. (*Chr. Pict.*)

85. INDULF, ſon of Conſtantin III. A. C. 953, reigned 8 years. '*In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum eſt; ac relictum eſt Scottis uſque in hodiernum diem.*' (*Chr. Pict.*) 'In his time the town of Eden was vacated, and left to the Scots to this day.' This noted paſſage has been quoted by Camden. If Edinburgh be meant, it is likely that Athelſtan, in his invaſion 934, had ſeized and garriſoned it. But of this in next chapter. The above chronicle informs us, that ſome Sumerlid Pirates were ſlain in Buchan. This name of Sumerlids is frequent in the thirteenth century, and is given to the Norwegians of Argyle and the Hebudes. *Sumerliod* means *ſummer-people*; and perhaps aroſe from theſe pirates always appearing in ſummer. This name ſhews that the Iriſh language was never that of Scotland, being a Pikiſh or Gothic, and yet common, appellation.

86. ODO, ſon of Malcom I. A. C. 961, reigned 4 years. By the Celtic part of his ſubjects he was ſurnamed DUFF[m], or The Black; which tho a mere epithet has paſt for his name. The Duan ſtyles him *Dubh Oda*, or Odo the Black. His reign was conſtantly diſturbed by Culen, ſon of Indulf, whoſe name the author of the *Chr. Pict.* taking to be Iriſh, has tranſlated *Caniculus* (*Cuilen* Gaelic, *A Whelp*). Odo vanquiſhed Culen in a war on Drumcrup, perhaps Duncrub in

[m] In Scandinavian *Duf-va* is *Columba*: *Dufwen*, *Languidus*. Ihre. But there is room to believe *Duff* a Celtic epithet.

Perth-

Perthſhire, now the ſeat of Lord Rollo. In that battle fell Duchad, Abbot of Dunkeld; and Dubdou *ſatrapas*, or Murmor of Athol (*Chr. Pict.*) The Annals of Ulſter ſeem to refer to this engagement, as happening the year before Odo's death, 'A. 964; battle between Scotſmen about Etir, were many ſlain about Donoch, abbot of Duncalten.' Next year, or 965, Odo was ſlain by his people (*Ann. Ult.*) Theſe Annals begin about this time to date right, omitting the antedate of four years, common before. The Regiſter of St. Andrew's ſays, Duff was ſlain in Fores, and his body hid under the bridge of Kinlos; and the ſun did not appear till it was found. That Regiſter has many fables.

87. CULEN, ſon of Indulf, A. C. 965, reigned 5 years. The *Chr. Pict.* gives only private events in this reign [n]. Marcan, ſon of Breodalaig was ſlain in the church of St. Michael [o]: (where?) Leot and Sluagadach departed to Rome, now beginning to be a common pilgrimage. Maelbrig the Biſhop, a term of eminence given to the Biſhop of St. Andrew's, died: and Kellach, ſon of Ferdulaig, ſucceeded. Maelbrig, ſon of Dubican, died: I ſuppoſe Melbrig, the Scotiſh iarl of Scandinavian hiſtory [p]. Culen, and his brother Achy, were ſlain by the Britons (*Chr. Pict.*) of Stratclyde in battle (*Ann. Ult.* 970.) The Regiſter of St. Andrew's, which the *Chron. Eleg.* follows, is again fabulous concerning his death.

[n] Ann. Ult. ad 970. call him Culen Illuile. In the "Accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland, 1329, 1330, 1331, with other curious papers," Edin. 1771, 4*to.* publiſhed by a reſpectable lover of Scotiſh antiquities, we find a charter, 1227, of Lands in Perthſhire, 'virtute gladii parvi, quem Culenus rex olim ſymbolice dedit Gilleſpic Moir.....pro ſuo ſingulari ſervitio.' It was a little ſilver ſword, about two inches and a half long; and after 1743 was produced in the Exchequer.

[o] Not Kirkmichal in Annandale?

[p] Torf. Orc. p. 25. May not Leot, be Liot earl of Orkney?

88. KEN-

88. KENNETH IV. ſon of Malcom I. A. C. 970, reigned 22 years (*Innes*, N° II.). Others ſay 24, againſt chronology. He inſtantly entered on war againſt Stratclyde; but the *Chron. Pict.* is here ſo obſcure that it is uncertain with what ſucceſs. His army ſeems at firſt to have been defeated; and Kenneth fortified the banks of Forth (*Ib.*) Yet in his firſt year he ravaged Saxonia, or England, and took priſoner the king's ſon[q] (*Ib.*) Edgar was then king of England, and his ſons Edward the Martyr, and Ethelred, followed him in the ſucceſſion. But i am convinced that Northumberland was the part ravaged, and ſome prince of it taken priſoner. Matthew of Weſtminſter, a late Engliſh writer, ſays, that Edgar gave Lothian to Kenneth; of which ſee next chapter. Kenneth ſeems at laſt to have totally vanquiſhed the Britons of Stratclyde; for after his time, as before ſhewn, we find no mention of their kingdom. The *Chr. Pict.* cloſes with telling us, that Kenneth gave Brechen to the church: 'Hic eſt qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne domino.' This cloſe palpably marks that chronicle not to have been written in Kenneth's time; but it was certainly written in the eleventh century. The Ulſter Annals at 994 mention Kenneth's death *per dolum*, or by treachery.

So much for the Twelve kings commemorated in the Pikiſh Chronicle. The remaining Six are in greater obſcurity; but happily a few rays gleam from the Engliſh and Icelandic writers.

[q] Innes has again miſprinted the *Chron. Pict.* See App. to vol. I. Both ſentences ſeem to relate to one expedition into England: Stanmore and Dereham mark its extent. But it was apparently againſt the Danes of Northumbria, and not againſt the Engliſh.

89. CON-

89. CONSTANTIN IV. ſon of Culen, A. C. 992, reigned only 1 year, and ſome months. He was ſlain at *Rathveramoen*, by Kenneth, a ſon of Malcom I. (*Reg. Sti. And.*) The *Chron. Eleg.* ſays, at the head of the river Amond.

90. KENNETH V. ſurnamed GRIM*, ſon of Odo or Duff, A. C. 993, reigned 8 years. In the year 1000, Ethelred king of England waſted Cumberland (*Sim. Dun.*) Grim was ſlain by Malcom, ſon of Kenneth IV. in *Moeghanard* (*Reg. S. And.*) The *Chron. Eleg.* tranſlates this *Campus Bardorum.*

91. MALCOM II. ſon of Kenneth IV. A. C. 1001, reigned 30 years. Of this long and remarkable reign almoſt every incident is loſt. The *Reg. St. And.* calls him *rex victorioſiſſimus*, but i ſuppoſe his victories were like thoſe of Grig. In Engliſh hiſtory Malcom is only known by the war of Carrum, 1018[r], between him and Uchtred, the Earl of Northumberland, a title ſucceeding to the regal, and with regal power. Eugenius Calvus, or Owen the Bald, kinglet of Lothian, aſſiſted Malcom. Hoveden, and other Engliſh hiſtorians, by their ſilence concerning its event, ſeem to imply it to have been an indeciſive engagement. If we credit Icelandic Sagas, which are often romantic, Sigurd the Groſs, Earl of Orkney, married the daughter of Malcom II. and had five ſons by her; of whom four Sumarlid, Einar, Bruſi, and Thorfin, were Earls of Orkney. (*Orkneyinga Saga, Totf. Orc.*) This Sigurd was ſlain in the famous battle of Clontarf,

* The *Reg. St. And.* followed by our hiſtorians, erroneouſly terms this king, Grim ſon of Kenneth ſon of Duff. But from a more ancient chronicle, written in the reign of William; (Innes, No. IV.) and from the Annals of Ulſter; it is clear that *Grim* was only an epithet of Kenneth, and not his ſon. Grim is a common Daniſh name.

[r] Carrum, now Carham, is near Werk Caſtle. Hutchiſon's Northumberland. 'Carrum ab Anglis Werk dicitur.' *R. Hagust.* The Annals of Ulſter at 1005 mention a great battle between the Engliſh and Scots, wherein the later were defeated.

near Dublin, 23 April, 1014, fighting againſt Brian Borowe, king of Dublin. An event which gave riſe to the celebrated Icelandic poem, ſo finely tranſlated by Mr. Gray, in his Fatal Siſters. Upon Sigurd's death, Malcom gave his grandſon Thorfin inveſtiture of the earldom of Caithneſs and Sutherland (*Torf. p.* 45), and appointed counſellors to aſſiſt him in the government (*Ork. Saga, p.* 5.) Thorfin was indeed but five years old at the time (*Ib. p.* 29.) He refuſed the accuſtomed homage to the kings of Norway; and died in 1064, (*Ib.*)

The wars of Malcom II. with the Danes are mentioned by our writers; but i know not if there be any ground for them at all. The hiſtory of Denmark and Norway is, at this period, very clear; but it is ſilent as to any deſcents on Scotland. Indeed the fables of Boyce and Buchanan are ſelf-confuted; for they repreſent Swein, the Daniſh king of England, as carrying on theſe wars; and yet the ſeat is always in Buchan and Moray. Fordun, tho he mentions one battle againſt the Norwegians, is quite ſilent as to thoſe wars; and ſo is Winton. Major, in 1521, knew nothing of them. That infamous forger Boyce, 1526, firſt ſtarted this game; and, ſtruck with the obeliſques he ſaw in the north of Scotland, gives them and victories to Malcom II. Sigurd and Thorfin, who poſſeſſed the north of Scotland, were in ſtrict amity with Malcom. Swein and Canute the Daniſh kings, 985—1035, were wholly occupied with England, and far from wiſhing to excite a new enemy. Saint Olave, king of Norway 1014—1030, carried on no ſuch wars. Einar, earl of a part of the Orkneys, ravaged piratically the coaſts of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, about 1018; as did Kalf, ſon of Arna, about 1026[*]; but the concatenation of

[*] See Snorro, the Orneyinga Saga, or Mr. Johnſon's Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ, Hafn. 1786, 4to.

names ſhews that they keeped on the weſt: and indeed would not think of landing in Moray, and putting themſelves between Malcom, and his ally, the earl of Caithneſs. Beſides, they were pirates beneath ſerious war. In an old Iſlandic poem, Canute is ſaid to have received homage from two kings of Fife[t]; but the fiction confutes itſelf. In ſhort there is not a ſhadow of authority for thoſe Daniſh wars of Malcom II.

The pretended laws of Malcom II. form another groſs fable: and able writers have fully ſhewn them a forgery. The ſtory of the diviſion of all the lands in Scotland at the Moothill is notoriouſly falſe. If the feudal ſyſtem was uſed before in Scotland, as is moſt probable, the idea is abſurd. If not, no power, but that of conqueſt, could force the people to ſuch a conceſſion. The king was only lord of his own eſtate, of that part alloted for his maintenance: the other ſubjects held their property as abſolutely as he did. But it is now vain to confute ſo idle a ſtory. The foundation of the ſee of Murtlach, afterward removed to Aberdeen, is aſcribed to Malcom II. but Ruddiman who argues this becauſe Malcom conquered the Norwegians at Murtlach, according to our fables, only builds on the mire of falſehood [u].

The Saxon Annals, at the year 1031, inform us that Canute, king of England and Denmark, went to Scotland; and Malcom became ſubject to him, with two other kings, Malbeth and Jehmarc. Of this in the next chapter. The Ulſter Annals

[t] Johnſon, ibid.

[u] Fordun IV. 44. ſays, Malcom II. founded a biſhopric 'apud Murthilach, non procul a loco quo, ſuperatis Norvagenſibus, victoriam obtinuit.' But a writer of the 14th century, is no authority for this. Hector Boyce, in his Lives of the Biſhops of Aberdeen, gives us three biſhops of Murtlac from 1010 to 1124! See Ruddiman's Introduction to the Diplomata Scotiæ.

at

at 1033 (ſay 1030), mention that the ſon of Macboete Mac Cinaoh was killed by Malcom Mac Cinaoh. The laſt is ſurely Malcom II. whoſe death is marked at 1034[v].

Malcom II. died a natural death at Glammis: *mortuus in Glamis*, ſays the *Reg. St. And.* The *Chronicon Elegiacum* thus:

In vico Glammis rapuit mors libera regem;
Sub pede proſtratis hoſtibus ipſe perit.

The *mors libera* cannot imply a violent death: the laſt line refers to his former victories, as the Chron. Eleg. ſays he was *miles victorioſus*. The fables of Fordun and his followers, concerning Malcom's dying in a conſpiracy, have not a ſhadow of foundation. The *Reg. St. And.* carefully marks *interfectus*, if a king was ſlain: and no fewer than ſix kings before Malcom II. and three after him, are thus marked; ſo that it is cruel to murder Malcom in his old age.

92. DUNCAN, A. C. 1031, reigned 6 years. This king was the ſon of Bethoc[w], a daughter of Malcom II. by Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld. *Donchath Mac Crini abbatis de Dunkeld*, Reg. St. And. Fordun, not knowing the dignity of an abbot in theſe times, and that the abbot of Hyona was really archbiſhop of the north of Ireland and of Pikland, as Beda ſhews: and perhaps affronted to find our kings ſprung of an abbot, creates a new dignity for Crinan. He calls him *Crynyn abthanus de Dul, ac inſularum ſeneſcallus*: "Crynyn Abthane of Dul, and ſteward of the iles!" No iles were then ſubject to Scotland. To ſupport this

[v] In the ſame Annals at 1020 we find "Finlegh Mac Roaric king of Scotland *a ſuis occiſus*;" and at 976 "Aulaiv Mac Aulaiv king of Scotland killed by Cinaoh Mac Donal." Scotland in theſe paſſages is ſurly *Scotia*, 'Ireland.'

[w] Ex dono Radulfi fil. Dunegani et uxoris ejus *Bethoc*: occurs in a charter to the Canons of Jedburgh by king William, engraven at Edin. 1771, which is only quoted to ſhew that this name was not peculiar to Malcom's daughter.

nonſenſe

nonſenſe he brings more nonſenſe; and tells us *Abba* is father, and *thana* is *reſpondens* vel *numerans*; and that the Abthane was a chamberlain, who managed the king's rents and treaſury! Even Buchanan is miſled by this puerile ſtuff, *for the honour of Scotland!* I know of no proof that the title of thane was ever known in Scotland, till Malcom III. introduced Saxon names. The word means a ſervant, a ſoldier, an officer, but is only found in England as a title of honour. In Denmark the *herſes* were equivalent to Engliſh thanes. In Scotland Murmor was the term, as above-mentioned. But who ever heard of an Abthane? And who knows not that Dul, a village, could not give a title, which was in that age territorial; an earl or abthane, if you will, being always governor of the province whoſe title he bore? It is needleſs to dwell on this ſilly tale. Both the *Regiſtrum St. And.* and the *Chronicon Elegiacum*, as preſerved in the original of the Chronicle of Melroſe in the Cotton Library, inform us that Crinan was ABBAS, an abbot. The church now getting rich, its great benefices were ſought after by men of the higheſt rank; and ſons and brothers of kings were biſhops and abbots. Some abbacies were ſuperior to biſhoprics in wealth; and mitred abbots equal to biſhops in dignity. The marriage of churchmen was eſteemed as proper as that of others, in many kingdoms not yet infected with Roman ſuperſtition and intrigue. It is unlikely that Malcom ſhould give his daughter in marriage unworthily. Crinan [x] was perhaps his miniſter of ſtate, as uſual for churchmen in that period, for they poſſeſſed all the learning of the times.

[x] The Annals of Ulſter at 1040 call Duncan *Mac Crinan*, or ſon of Crinan. At 1045 is 'A battle between the Scots themſelves, where fell *Cronan*, Abbot of Duncaillen.' It ſeems Crinan outlived his ſon; and died in attempting to revenge him. The Cronan of 1045 is ſurely the Crinan of 1040.

But it is very likely that the marriage took place before Malcom came to the throne. The French hiſtory, after Charlemagne, has many ſuch inſtances. Alfred the Great was the ſon of Ethelwulf who was a prieſt before he was crowned; and Alfred himſelf was bred up to the church, a circumſtance to which we owe that learning which perfected his tranſcendant character. The ſecular power and ſpirit of the clergy, in the middle ages, are well known. Even till the council of Rheims, 1148, monks might marry; and it coſt many a ſtruggle before the later popiſh ſyſtem took effect. The abbots were eſteemed anterior in dignity to nobles, for the charters run *Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus*, &c. From St. Bernard's life of Malachy, *cap.* 7. it appears that the Archbiſhops of Armagh had ſucceeded hereditarily, for fifteen generations. In Charlemagne's time fourteen monaſteries of his empire furniſhed their proportion of ſoldiers; and the abbots were the uſual leaders. The chief of the republic of Genoa till 1339 was an abbot, *Abbas Populi*. In 982 we find the biſhop of Augſburg, and the abbot of Fulda, killed in the ſame battle. An abbot of Fontenelle aſſembled troops, and oppoſed Charles Martel. Charlemagne, in a letter to Fraſtada, one of his wives, mentions a biſhop who fought by his ſide. In the time of Louis Debonnaire we find the abbots of Corbie and St. Denis raiſing troops. Hugh, ſon of Charlemagne, was abbot of St. Quentin. The abbots of Fulda, St. Gal, Kempten, Corbie, in Germany, were all great princes. In modern times the Cardinals Guiſe, Retz, Richelieu, de la Valette, Sourdis, were all military men. Peter the Great of Ruſſia was grandſon of the patriarch Feder Romanow, who cauſed his ſon Michael to be made Czar. In 757 we find a bull granted by the Pope to the abbot of St. Denis, allowing him to have a particular biſhop in his monaſtery. In 977 John XIII. allowed Diederic

Diederic abbot of St. Vincent at Metz to wear pontifical ornaments. In the tenth century the emperor Otho made even dukes and counts vaſſals to the biſhops and abbots of Germany. In Beda's time the monaſteries were often private property, belonging to a family; and the ſame men were abbots and captains. (*Epiſt. ad Egbert.* edit. Ware, 73---79.) The abbots appeared in the national council of England (Sax. Chr. 694. Ingulf. 855, M. Paris, 1210). At the time of the Reformation the mitred abbots, in the Engliſh parliament, were more numerous than the biſhops. In Spain it is well known what power biſhop Oppa, the ſon of king Witiza, had at the time of the Mooriſh invaſion, 710. But, not to enlarge, the reader who wiſhes to ſee the power of the dignified clergy in the dark ages, is referred to the hiſtorians of the times, and to the antiquaries of all countries in Chriſtendom.

As the monks were all laymen till a late period, in Britain and Ireland till the eleventh century, it is no wonder that the abbots were laymen. Du Cange mentions the *Abba-Comites*, who were often both earls and abbots [y]; and always laymen. The ſon of Malcom III. was abbot of Dunkeld, and earl of Fife [z]. As the third race of France deſcends from Arnulf biſhop of Metz, it is not ſurprizing that a race of Scotiſh kings is the progeny of an abbot of Dunkeld. There might

[y] Abba-Comites, 1. Comites et nobiles laici, quibus datæ erant a regibus abbatiæ et eccleſiæ, jure beneficii ſui, ut aiunt, in commendam. 2. Abbates qui ſimul erant comites. *Du Cange in voce. Et videantur verba*, Abbas Cardinalis, Abbas Comes, Abbas Miles, Abbas Sæcularis.

Giraldus Camb. Itin. Camb. II. 4. ſays, 'Notandum autem quod hæc eccleſia, ſicut et aliæ per Hiberniam et Walliam plures, Abbatem Laicum habet. Uſus enim inolevit, et prava conſuetudo, ut viri in parochia potentes,' &c. The paſſage is long, and may be conſulted by thoſe who have curioſity.

[z] Regiſt. St. And. and Sir J. Dalrymple's Collections, p. 225.

be *Ab-thanes* as well as *Abba-Comites*; but we muſt abide by the old teſtimonies, and infer Crinan to have been Abbot of Dunkeld. Had Fordun, like many others, had a little more learning, he needed not recourſe to lyes *for the honour of Scotland*. Certain it is that Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, was the anceſtor of our kings down to the acceſſion of Baliol: and our royal houſes are of ALPIN: of CRINAN: of BALIOL: of BRUCE: of STUART. Duncan's claim was indeed quite new. By the form of ſucceſſion before, a brother, or brother's ſon, of Malcom, had a prior right. But there appear to have been none ſuch living. Macbeth's title we know nothing of with certainty.

The Orkneyinga Saga, and Torfæus copying it, give us a king *Karl* or *Kalius* at this period. The name is Daniſh; and no ſuch king ever ruled in Scotland. The Saga and Torfæus tell us that Thorfin vanquiſhed this Kalius, and purſued the victory even down to Fife. But this fable needs only to be redd to be rejected. And ſuch groſs fictions ſhew what might be expected, that thoſe Icelandic ſagas, compiled from old romantic poems, are mere romances, and claim little hiſtoric faith. The marriage of Sigurd to Malcom's daughter is therefore left to the reader's diſcretion. From Simeon of Durham we learn that, in 1035, Duncan beſieged Durham without ſucceſs; andreturning home was ſlain by his people a ſhort time after; that is, in 1037, by our chronology: whereas if we date his reign four years later, as uſual, the expreſſion of Simeon is erroneous. Duncan was ſlain by Macbeth, ſon of Finleg, in *Bothgouanan*, *Reg. St. And.* near Elgin, ſays the *Chron. Eleg.*

93. MACBETH, A. C. 1037, reigned 17 years. He was ſon of Finleg[a], but further of his deſcent we

[a] *Finva, invenire*; *legn, merces*. Ihre. In David the Firſt's time there was a Macbeth biſhop of Roſmarkin: he is a witneſs

we know not. *Finnleikr Scota Jarl* is mentioned in Olave Trygguefon's Saga, about the year 990, as fighting againſt Sigurd, before he married Malcom's daughter, This 'Finleik the Scotiſh earl' may have been our Finleg; but in ſagas one knows not what to truſt. Torfæus *Orc. p.* 27, calls him *Finnleicus Scotorum comes.* It would appear from this and the mention of Malbrig, 965, by the ſame title, that there was a powerful family then in Scotland, only ſecond to the royal. Our late writers ſay that Macbeth's mother was Doaca, a daughter of Malcom II. and that his father was thane of Angus; but this is mere fable without foundation. From certain authority, the Chartulary of Dunfermlin, we know that Macbeth's own wife was *Gruoch filia Bodhe*, 'Gruoch, the daughter of Bodhe,' called by Winton *Gruok* [b]; and a charter by her is there mentioned. Lulac, ſucceſſor of Macbeth, is in the Chronicle (Innes, N° IV.) called *nepos filii Boide.* Winton ſays that Macbeth was ſiſter's ſon of Duncan; and calls Duncan his *eme*, or uncle.

Macbeth ſeems to have been an able and beneficent prince. The *Chron. Eleg.* repreſents fertile ſeaſons as attendants of his reign, which Winton confirms. If a king makes fertile ſeaſons, it muſt be by promoting agriculture, and diffuſing among his people the bleſſings of peace. Had he paid more attention to his own intereſts, and leſs to thoſe of his ſubjects, the crown might have remained in his family. But neglecting the practice of war, he fell a martyr to his own virtues. The claim of Duncan to the crown was ſo new, that Macbeth can hardly be called an uſurper.

neſs to two charters in Spottiſwoode's Monaſticon Scoticanum, which I have peruſed in MS. by the favour of the author.

[b] A Scandinavian name, *Groa.* Torf. Norv. II. 204, mentions Groa wife of Dungad, earl of Caithneſs, about 944. In his Gronlandia Ant. p. 121, the ſame name occurs. It is alſo a common name in Icelands Landnama. *Macbeth* Mac Torfin witneſſes a charter of David I. Dalr. Coll. 388.

Simeon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden, tell us, at the year 1050, *Rex Scotiæ Macbetad Romæ argentum ſpargendo diſtribuit.* Sir David Dalrymple, in his Annals, ridicules thoſe who thence infer that Macbeth went to Rome himſelf; and ſays, the paſſage only implies that he remitted money to Rome. But the plain ſenſe of the words refuſes that interpretation; and that Macbeth went to Rome were ſurely no wonder, conſidering how very common the practice was about this time. Thorfin, earl of Orkney, went to Rome about 1060, to obtain remiſſion of his crimes. *Torf. Orc.* p. 65. About 1105 Haco, earl of Orkney, went to Rome and Jeruſalem, *ib.* p. 90. In 854 Kongen, king of Powis, went to Rome. *Caradoc*, p. 29, ed. 1697. In 926 Howel Dha performed the ſame journey. *Ib.* Canute, king of England, viſited Rome about 1033. Eric, king of Denmark, travelled on foot to Rome about 1098, and to Jeruſalem 1102. *Mallet Hiſt. de Dan.* Ingi, king of Norway, went to Jeruſalem in the twelfth century. *Torf. Norv.* vol. III. p. 420. Garcias, king of Navarre, went to Rome about 1030, as the Spaniſh hiſtorians ſhew. Examples from Iriſh hiſtory may alſo be adduced; but theſe may ſuffice to ſhew the cuſtom very common: and ſuch being the caſe, there is no reaſon to wreſt the plain ſenſe of the words concerning Macbeth. His reign was perfectly tranquil; and his ſubjects enjoying proſperity and peace, there was no reaſon againſt his going to Rome: a pilgrimage now frequent, in ſpite of the crimes of Theodora and Marozia, who in the preceding century had commanded Rome, and degraded its Popes, their lovers, and baſtards, in the eyes of nations. Winton confirms this acceptation, when ſpeaking of Macbeth, VI. 29, he ſays,

> All his tyme was gret plenté,
> Habundande bathe on lande and ſe:

He

He was in juſtice richt lauchful,
And til his legis al awfulle.
Quhen Pape was Leo the Nynt in Rome;
As pilgryme to the court he come;
And in his alms he ſew ſilver
Til al pur folk, that had myſter.
In al tyme oyſit he to wyrk
Profetabilly for haly kyrk.

Leo the ninth aſcended the papal chair in 1049. Winton ſurely had not ſeen Simeon or Roger, but relates the circumſtance of Macbeth's pilgrimage, as he does his amiable character, from ſome domeſtic monument, preſerved in ſpite of the zeal of our writers for Malcom III. and his deſcendants. But to gratify theſe, many childiſh fables were given concerning Macbeth, repreſenting him as the ſon of a devil, connected with witches, &c. which Winton likewiſe details; ſo that the above praiſe is moſt impartial, and bears the ſignature of truth; as the calumnies on Macbeth are ſo wild, as to ſhew that groſs falſehood alone could calumniate him. Large quantities of the coin of Canute have been found in Scotland; but ſcarce any of elder kings; and it is probable that Canute's coin found this new path in Macbeth's time. The recourſe of Malcom III. to a foreign force in order to aſſert his right to the crown, ſhews that Macbeth's ſubjects were well ſatisfied, as his long reign proves of itſelf.

Roger Hoveden, at the year 1052, ſays, that Oſbern, ſurnamed *Pentecoſt*, and Hugh, his companion, ſurrendered their caſtles, and, by permiſſion of earl Leofric, paſſing through his earldom to Scotland, were received by Macbeth king of Scotland. Leofric was earl of Mercia, and this affair happened during the commotions between Edward king of England, and the famous earl Godwin. Oſbern and Hugh were leaders of the Normans, who had come to aſſiſt Edward againſt Godwin,

and who, with their leaders, retired into Scotland, when Edward was forced to disband them [c].

From the Saxon Annals, Simeon of Durham, Roger Hoveden, William of Malmsbury, and in short all the English historians of the period, it is certain that in the year 1054, Siward, earl of Northumbria, went with Malcom, heir of Scotland, against Macbeth, and the battle ensued in which Macbeth was slain. They therefore who place this event in 1057, err against the clearest chronology, of one of the most known events in ancient English history. By the consent of all the same English writers, and many unpublished chronicles in the Cotton and Harleian libraries, Siward, earl of Northumbria, died in 1055. So that the matter admits of no doubt. The chronicle of Malrose perfectly agrees with the English accounts, and rightly dates the accession of Malcom III. in 1056. Osbern, eldest son of Siward, fell in the battle: and Brompton relates that Siward was forced instantly to return to Northumbria, to suppress a rebellion, where he died of a disease next year. This Siward possessed all the power of an ancient king of Northumbria [d]; and was of such valour and fame, that ancient writers almost wander into poetry when speaking of him. He, Leofric, earl of Mercia, and Godwin, earl of Kent, were powerful as kings; and, had they not balanced each other, the throne of Edward, so much shaken by Godwin, must have fallen. Much fable has attended the death of Macbeth; but all we know with certainty is, that it happened at Lunfanan, Aberdeen-shire (*Reg. St. And.*). The

[c] The Annals of Ulster, at 1045, have "A battle between the Scots themselves, where fell Cronan, Abbot of Duncaillen." This was sure y Crinan, who thus survived his son the king.

[d] See a long and curious account of this gigantic earl in Brompton, sub A. 1054; or in Langebek Scr. Rer. Dan.

In the battle between Siward and Macbeth, 3000 Scots and 1500 Saxons were slain. *Ann. Ult.* ad 1054.

old

old Engliſh writers, in their uſual ſtyle of uſurpation toward Scotland, ſay, that Siward, by Edward's command, ſlew Macbeth, and placed Malcom on the throne. But this was not ſo eaſily done. Siward was dead before Malcom aſcended the throne; and there is room to doubt if Edward at all interfered, Malcom being kinſman of Siward, as ſhall preſently be explained.

94. LULAC, A.C. 1054, reigned four months and a few days, as our old liſts, publiſhed by Innes, bear. All we know concerning his deſcent is from one of theſe liſts, which ſays that he was *nepos filii Boide*, 'grandſon of the ſon of Boide.' Macbeth's queen was daughter of Bodhe. Fordun calls him *conſobrinus*, or couſin-german of Macbeth; a mother's ſiſter's ſon, or father's ſiſter's ſon. But, from the liſt, he muſt have been the grandſon of Macbeth's queen's brother[e]. That brother muſt have been twenty or thirty years older than Gruoch his ſiſter. Lulac is ſurnamed *Fatuus*, or the fool, in one of thoſe liſts, and his relation to Macbeth was almoſt none. Yet he keeped the throne four months againſt Malcom, now left by Siward to manage his own buſineſs. Siward's army certainly followed him back to Northumberland, to ſuppreſs the rebellion there: and to the imbecillity and weak claim of Lulac was Malcom totally indebted for the throne. The chiefs and people of Scotland muſt, of free conſent, have preferred his title to that of Lulac; which was far worſe, and reduced to nothing by the incapacity of its holder. The time employed ſhews that deliberation was uſed before Malcom's right was fully acknowleged; and he was not appointed king till the year 1056, after a deliberative interſtice of an year, or an year and a half. In 1055, and 1056, Edward

[e] In the Annals of Ulſter he is called Lulach Mac Gillcomgain.

of

of England was too much occupied with the war againſt Griffin and Algar, to attend to foreign matters: and there is no room to ſuſpect that he interfered in Malcom's ſucceſſion; ſo that the old Engliſh writers are as unlucky as uſual in their uſurpations upon Scotland. To the conſent and approbation of the Scotiſh chiefs and people, Malcom was ſolely indebted for his dignity, due indeed to his heriditary right. Lulac was ſlain at Eſſeg in Strathbogy by Malcom's adherents. *Reg. St. And. Chron. Eleg.* Both Macbeth and he were buried at Hyona, as well as the legal race. *Ib.*

95. MALCOM III. 1056. After this our hiſtory is clear: but ſome matters concerning this reign require notice. Sir David Dalrymple, following Fordun, ſays Malcom began his reign on the day of St. Mark, or 25 April, 1057. But Fordun ſays he was crowned on that day (tho from Icelandic writers it appears that no king of Scotland was crowned, even in the thirteenth century [f]), and he might be anointed, and proclaimed king the year before, even by Fordun's account. But the fact is, that Fordun, by an erroneous chronology, as above ſhewn in many places, begins the reign of Macbeth in 1040, and extends his ſeventeen years to 1057: whereas, not to repeat other errors, we know to a certainty that Macbeth was ſlain in 1054. This part of the chronicle of Melroſe, written in the twelfth century, which i have conſulted in the original in the Cotton Library, dates the acceſſion of Malcom, M.LVI. as plain as poſſible. And no man will prefer the teſtimony of Fordun, a moſt weak and fabulous writer, who wrote two whole centuries after, and whoſe work was interpolated, and not publiſhed till 1440, to the cotemporary veracity of the chronicle of Melroſe. But another argument annuls all doubt. For Malcom III. was

[f] Torf. Norv. IV. 289, &c.

cer-

certainly ſlain near Alwick, 6 June, 1093. Now by ALL our old liſts he reigned 37 years, and ſome months. So that his reign muſt of courſe have begun in 1056. As to Fordun's date, it is but one of the many forgeries of that weak writer: and to ſet his authority againſt ſix or ſeven, more ancient, would be the heighth of abſurdity.

Another point is, that Malcom III. is commonly reputed ſon of Duncan, king of Scotland; but there is room to ſuſpect that he was his grandſon. Florence of Worceſter [z] and Roger Hoveden, who wrote in the twelfth century, ſay Malcom III. was ſon of the king of Cumbria. Duncan was ſlain in 1037. Malcom is then repreſented as a man who fled to England for protection. Put his age 20: when he died he was 76. A great age to go to battle at! and yet his great age has totally eſcaped our writers. Nay, David I. youngeſt ſon of Malcom III. aſcended the throne in 1124, and died 1153. David I. could not be more than 70 when he died; and, if ſo much, was born in 1083. and Malcom III. was aged 66, when he begot him. All this is ſtrange and ſuſpicious. But if we allow Malcom the grandſon of Duncan, all is well: and the authority of the above writers reconciled. Duncan, grandſon of Malcom II. was put in poſſeſſion of Cumberland by him, before his death. *Wil. Malmſ.* Malcom II. was upward of eighty when he died, as Fordun ſays. His grandſon Duncan may have eaſily been between thirty and forty when he aſcended the throne, and may have aſſigned Cumberland as uſual to a ſon of his, alſo named Duncan, and arrived at man's eſtate. When Duncan the father was ſlain, this Duncan, called king of Cumbria by Florence and Hoveden, was unmoleſted by Macbeth; who had no immediate heir, and was content

[z] Malcolmum regis Cumbrorum filium----regem conſtituit (Siwardus) *ſub A.* 1054.

with

with his other poſſeſſions. This Duncan of Cumbria, from weakneſs, ſicklineſs, or becauſe of no equal aid, died without being able to aſſert his claim to Scotland. But his ſon Malcom, ſurely not above 24 years of age when he aſcended the throne, had his right aſſiſted by Siward his relation, who by degrees had acquired great power. Malcom III. is repreſented as a young man on his coming to the crown, and on his marriage with Margaret. Moreover Duncan, father of Malcom, was married to a daughter (more likely to a ſiſter) of Siward, as all agree; and this could hardly be Gruoch, who, as Winton ſays, became wife of Macbeth after Duncan's death. The Duan alſo implies that Duncan, father of Malcom III. was not Duncan king of Scotland, for it gives them different epithets, calling the king *Donnchadh ghlain gaoith*, 'Doncha the Sweet-breathed;' and Malcom *Mac Donnchaidh datha drechvi*, 'ſon of Doncha the Agreeable.' The two Duncans were eaſily confounded in genealogies: but it is believed the reader will ſee grounds to infer that Malcom III. was ſon of Duncan king of Cumbria, ſon of Duncan king of Scotland.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

Extent of the united territories during this period, from 843 *till* 1056.

THIS ſubject falls into two parts: I. The loſs of Caithneſs, the Orkneys, and Hebudes. II. The acquiſitions on the ſouth.

The firſt part properly belongs to our conſideration of the Norwegians in Scotland, (Supplement, Section II.) where it is ſhewn that the loſs of all the above mentioned poſſeſſions happened about the year 880.

The ſecond part, concerning the ſouthern acquiſitions, is one of the moſt intereſting articles of early Scotiſh hiſtory; and muſt be conſidered here.

In Part III. ch. 9. it has been ſhewn that, in 685, the Piks recovered LOTHIAN, or all the ſouth eaſt part of Scotland from the Forth to the Tweed, after it had been held by the Angli of Northumbria for about a century. No trace can be found in any old Engliſh writer that the Angli ever regained Lothian; and Beda expreſſly ſays that when he wrote, or in 731, the Piks maintained the acquiſition. But the Angli retained the ſouth of Galloway; where Candida Caſa was ſtill theirs in Beda's time, as was Melroſe on the eaſt. It would ſeem from Beda that Cuningham, on the weſt of Galloway, alſo belonged to Northumbria in his time; and his continuator ſays that, in 750, Edbert king of Northumbria added *Campum Cyri*, which appears to be Kyle, to his dominions. Stratclyde remained a petty kingdom till about

970,

970, when conquered by the Piks: but in 756 it paid homage to Edbert the Northumbrian, and Unguſt the Pikiſh king.

The later part of the hiſtory of Northumbria is obſcure: but certain it is that domeſtic broils, and the arrival of the Danes at the beginning of the ninth century, muſt have effectually prevented any enlargement of the Northumbrian territory, in the Anglic times. The Daniſh period of Northumbrian hiſtory remains to be conſidered; and is unhappily yet more obſcure than the Anglic. But there is not a ſhadow of proof that the Daniſh kingdom of Northumbria 860—953 ever reached beyond the Tweed; far leſs that the earldom of Northumbria, 953 till 12th cent. exceeded that boundary. It, on the contrary, is evident from all ſuch teſtimonies as remain, that York was the ſeat of the Daniſh kings, and earls of Northumbria; and the parts on the north bank of the Humber their prime domain. Aſſer and others ſay, the Danes, 875, ſettled on the Tine, and thence waſted the Piks and Stratclyde Welſh. Richard of Hexham, who wrote about 1180 in Northumbria, expreſſly ſays, that Northumbria reached from Humber to Tweed; and that Deira extended from Humber to Teiſe, Bernicia from Teiſe to Tweed. Roger of Cheſter tells that Kenneth, aſcending the Pikiſh throne, acquired all the territory down to the Tweed.

After the failure of the Anglic monarchy of Northumbria, not a trace can be found that either Angli or Danes held any poſſeſſion in the ſouth of preſent Scotland. The Piks of Galloway threw off the Anglic yoke, on the failure of that monarchy; and before 840 we find them mentioned as an independent people. After 685 the Angli loſt all the country north of Tweed: and, far from recovering any part, they ſoon after loſt all the territory between Tweed and the Cheviot hills, and Solway frith. Kenneth III. as above ſtated, burned

burned Dunbar and Melroſe, *uſurpata*, which had been 'uſurped' by the Angli. This word ſhews that Lothian, or the ſouth-eaſt of Scotland, between Forth and Tweed, was regarded as a poſſeſſion of the Pikiſh crown; and a ſettlement, or two, of the Angli as uſurpations. In 934 Athelſtan waſted Scotland even to Dunfeodar and Wertermore. Theſe names unhappily cannot be adjuſted.

Goodal, in the beſt chapter of his work[a], has ſhewn that Uſher, Carte, Innes, and others, have fallen into groſs errors, by miſtaking *Scottiſwath* for *Scottiſwatre*. The former, as Fordun undeſignedly tells us in two places, is Solway frith: the later is perfectly known to be the frith of Forth. Indeed *wath*, or *wade*, implies a ford[b]: while *watre* means a ſmall ſea, or limb of the ſea. This error abridged the dominions of Scotland of all the tract between Solway frith and Forth: and is of ancient ſtanding, for Giraldus in his *Deſcriptio Albaniæ* falls into it; and taking *Scottiſwath* for *Scottiſwatre*, makes the Forth the boundary between England and Scotland in his time; which is ſo notoriouſly falſe as to deſerve no notice. The ſame *Scottiſwath* is alſo called *Myreford* by old Engliſh writers. The Solway ſands were paſſable at low water, and were the path by which William the Conqueror entered Scotland, as did Edward I. and others after him. The *Abernith* where William met our Malcom was at the mouth of the river Nith, as Goodal fully ſhews; and not at Abernethy on the Tay, which was called *Abernethan*, not *Abernith*. Theſe watry ſands of Solway were termed *Scottiſwath*, or the Scotiſh ford, after Cumberland had been yielded to Scotland; and were alſo very properly termed *Myreford*, or miry ford. But ſuch is the power of chance that this

[a] Introd. ad Fordun.

[b] In German *Twat, brevia ſeu vada.* Jun. Batavia, p. 127.

laſt

laſt term has alſo given riſe to a blunder; and as *d* and *th* are often interchanged in Gothic dialects, *Mireford* ſometimes appears *Mireforth*; and has been interpreted to apply to the river Forth. John of Wallingford mentions the *Caſtrum Puellarum* as at the northern extremity of Northumbria. This name our writers apply to Edinburgh. It is a mere tranſlation of the name of *Dumfries: Dun-Fres*; *Dun*, caſtellum, urbs; *Fru*, *Fre*, virgo nobilis, *Icelandic*. This was the name given by the Piks, while the Cumri of Cumbria called the ſame place *Abernith*, as it ſtands at the mouth of the Nith.

It is no wonder that theſe erratic coincidences puzzled, and miſled, even early Engliſh writers, who generally lived far from Northumbria, and were utter ſtrangers to it. Richard of Hexham, a Northumbrian, therefore deſerves more credit than them all put together; and he marks the Tweed as the northern boundary of Northumbria.

Lothian, or the ſouth-eaſt of Scotland, therefore never belonged to the Engliſh after the year 685; but was always a Pikiſh poſſeſſion. Old Engliſh writers agree as to Cumberland being given up by Edmund to Malcom in 945; but as to *Lothene* they differ widely. Some ſay Edgar gave it to Kenneth about 975; but they are late writers. Simeon of Durham, an early writer, ſays, Eadulf Cudel gave it up to the Scots, in terror, about 1020. But before judging of this the reader muſt diſcuſs what country is meant by *Lothene*: for names vary much; and there is proof that this Lothene was not preſent Lothian; nor *Loudon*, formerly the name of a tract between Lanerkſhire and Airſhire.

The Saxon Chronicle, 1091, ſays, 'King Malcom departed with his army out of Scotland into Lothene in England, and there remained.' Florence of Worceſter, relating the ſame, calls the place *Provincia Loidis*. In the continuation of the Saxon

Saxon Chronicle, 1125, a 'J. biſhop of Lothene' is mentioned[c]. John of Wallingford places Louthian with Deira, not with Bernicia; and ſays there were diſputes concerning it, between the Engliſh and Scotiſh, even in his time. In 1147 Malcom IV. was forced to ſurrender to Henry II. 'the city of Carlile, Newcaſtle, and the county of Lodon.' Theſe inſtances ſurely cannot apply to preſent Lothian, nor Loudon. There is great reaſon to believe that the preſent county of Northumberland was anciently called Lothene, or Loden, before the great name of Northumbria, which anciently included all England north of the Humber, was reſtricted to that petty county. The circumſtances of Lothene's being joined to Newcaſtle, and having a biſhop, as they are proofs againſt Lothene's implying Lothian, remote from Newcaſtle, and having no biſhop till 1633, when Charles I. founded the ſee of Edinburgh; ſo they ſtrongly imply that Lothene was no other than preſent Northumberland. Lindisfarne was a biſhopric. Mr. Hume, who is by no means diſpoſed to flatter Scotiſh prejudices, ſhews that there muſt have been a Lothen in England; becauſe, '1. The Saxon Chronicle, p. 197, ſays, that Malcom Kenmor met William Rufus in Lodene in England. 2. It is agreed by all hiſtorians, that Henry II. only reconquered from Scotland the northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland. See Newbriggs, p. 383; Wykes, p. 30; Hemingford, p. 492. Yet the ſame country is called by other hiſtorians *Loidis*, *comitatus Lodonenſis*, or ſome ſuch name. See M. Paris, p. 68; M. Weſt. p. 247. Annal. Waverl. p. 159; and Diceto, p. 531. 3. This laſt mentioned author, when he ſpeaks of Lothian in Scotland, calls it

[c] Probably a *titular* biſhop, as not unuſual in the middle ages. The biſhops of the Orkneys, mentioned by old Engliſh hiſtorians as in England, were of the ſame claſs.

Loheneis, p. 574, though he had called the Engliſh territory Loidis.' *Hiſt. vol.* II. *notes.* Indeed thoſe old Engliſh writers who inform us that Malcom gave up the *comitatus Lodonenſis* [d] to Henry II. afford full proof that Lothian in Scotland is not meant; for it is perfectly known that this country was never given up, whereas preſent Northumberland actually was. There is therefore ground to infer that the whole country, from the Tine and Newcaſtle up to the Forth, was anciently called *Lothene*; that name being thus as extenſive as that of Galloway, which once extended from Clyde to Solway. But as the name of Galloway gradually diminiſhed, and paſt ſouth; ſo that of Lothian, like that of Northumberland, gradually diminiſhed, and paſſed north: the former being a Scotiſh term, the later an Engliſh; and, as ſociety advanced, and ſmaller diviſions aroſe, the vague term gradually paſſed to the extremities. Ptolemy and Richard mark the Ottadeni, or old inhabitants of Lothian, as reaching from Bodotria, or the Forth down to the river Tine, and wall of Gallio. Thus the country, as poſſeſſed by one people, might well receive one name. But the Saxon Chronicle, by the ſpecial and remarkable term, 'Lothene *on England*,' Lothian *in England*, alſo implies that there was, 'Lothene *on Pihtland*,' Lothian in Pikland. Elſe why this peculiar adjunct *in England*, for there is no example in that work, or any other monument of Engliſh hiſtory,

[d] It is probable that this Comitatus refers to power, not to territory. Malcom gave up the juriſdiction of the Juſticiarius Laodoniæ, ſo far as it extended to the northern counties of England, when ſubject to Scotland. "Comitatus; Comitis dignitas, juriſdictio, territorium. Apud Anglos locus publicus, in quo Vicecomes uniuſcujuſque provinciæ .... juriſdictionem ſuam exercet.—Conventus Juridicus in Comitatu, vulgo Aſſiſia.—Territorium urbis: juriſdictio loci alicujus ſuis finibus circumſcripta.—Dominium, *Seigneurie.*—Comitatus pro ipſa quæ dominii jure penſitatur præſtatione interdum ſumitur.—Facultas, commeatus." *Du Cange* in voce.

where

where the name of a country is put, with the adjunct that it was in England; a ridiculous information, if not a neceſſary diſtinction. The preſent name of Northumberland is quite a late one, and that county itſelf is omitted in Domeſday book, with Cumberland and Weſtmoreland[e]; all then not belonging to England, but to Scotland. Old Northumberland was chiefly Yorkſhire, being the country immediately north of the Humber. This was called Deira; while preſent Durham, bounded by the Teis on the ſouth, formed the chief part of Bernicia, as appears from the beſt authority, that of Simeon of Durham. The tract from the Tine to the Forth, or between the walls, was in Roman times a vaſt march, and regarded as one uniform territory; ſo that its having after but one name was a matter of courſe. But after the Piks had ſeized all down to the Tweed, its general name fell into two diviſions, Pikiſh and Anglic, Engliſh Lothian and Pikiſh Lothian; as we ſay French Netherlands, Auſtrian Netherlands, Dutch Netherlands. Beda calls Pikiſh Lothian the *provincia Pictorum*, of which Trumwin was biſhop; and the name of Pentland hills, or Pikland hills, alſo marks it peculiarly a Pikiſh poſſeſſion. When a matter is univerſally known in their own times, writers never explain it for the ſake of poſterity; and it is well known what obſcurity this practice throws on parts even of Greek and Roman hiſtory. Thus the old Engliſh writers thought it needleſs to explain the difference between the Engliſh and Pikiſh Lothian; when all the readers of their own days muſt have ſeen at once which was meant. The break in Engliſh hiſtory alſo occaſions obſcurity, for William of Malmſbury obſerves that, from Beda's time to his, that is, from the eighth till

[e] The counties omitted in Domeſday are Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland; Durham, which ſeems to have been church-land, the *patrimonium Sancti Cuthberti*; and Lancaſhire is put under Yorkſhire and Cheſhire.

the twelfth century, no general writer had ariſen; and this period is unfortunately the moſt obſcure, and on which we want moſt light, as the paſſage from ancient to modern times. To proceed: in 1018 an *Eugenius Calvus rex Lutinenſium* is mentioned, as aſſiſting Malcom II. at the battle of Carrum. This is the only time that a king of this people is mentioned; and it is difficult to conceive the meaning of this ſingular inſtance. He ſeems a titular king, whom Malcom ſupported againſt the earl of Northumberland, in his claim for the Engliſh Lothen, or preſent Northumberland; but his title was loſt with the battle of Carrum, and we read no more of him. Let me only obſerve further that, by all accounts of the old Engliſh writers, Cumberland was given up to Scotland long before Lothene was; and it is impoſſible to conceive that, when Cumberland was given up, the Scots were not alſo poſſeſſed of the adjacent territory on the north. All accounts imply that Cumberland was then contiguous to the Scotiſh dominions: and Galloway was an independent country till the twelfth century[f]. It follows that the Scots, when they acquired Cumberland, were poſſeſſed of the ſouth-eaſt part of preſent Scotland down to Solway frith. The Lothian, afterward given up, muſt of courſe have been the *Lothene on England*, or preſent Northumberland.

But other circumſtances remain to be conſidered. It was rather unfair in the Scotiſh writers, who aſſert Lothian as a part of Scotland, to conceal the teſtimony of the *Regiam Majeſtatem* on this ſubject; as, at firſt glance, it ſeems to favour the Engliſh claim. For certain it is that this work excludes Laodonia and Galwegia, as Sir James Dalrymple[g] obſerves, as not parts of Scot-

[f] See Dalrymple's Annals. Mat. Paris, 1250, ſays, "Britannia quæ complectitur Scociam, Galeweiam, et Walliam." Gough's Topog. I. 62.

[g] Collections, p. 141, 218.

land.

land. In ch. 8. it mentions, as two diſtricts, the *Citra Mare Scoticum*, and the *Ultra in Laodonia*. And, even in the reign of David II. 1330—1370, there was a *Juſticiarius ex parte Boreali*, and a *Juſticiarius Laodoniæ* [h]. Lothian being thus put as diſtinct from Scotland, it may be ſaid that it muſt of courſe have been regarded as part of England.

It is anſwered that, by the ſame rule, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, muſt be regarded as part of Scotland, becauſe omitted in Domeſday book. Caithneſs and Sutherland are omitted in the *Regiam Majeſtatem*, becauſe ſubject to the Norwegians: as for the ſame cauſe are the Orkneys, Hebudes, Argyle, and Lorn. It mentions the chief towns of the following ſhires, for law-proceedings; namely, Gowrie, Stormont, Athol, Fife, Strathern, Angus, Mar, Buchan, Roſs, and Moray; then adds, *Hæc ſunt loca capitalia Scotiæ Comitatuum, per* TOTUM REGNUM. The *Deſcriptio Albaniæ* confirms this extent of Scotland *proper*, in the twelfth century. But tho the Orkneys, Caithneſs, Sutherland, are omitted, becauſe ſubject to the Norwegian earls of Orkney; and the Hebudes, Argyle, and Lorn, becauſe ſubject to the Norwegian kings, or lords of the Iles; and Galloway, as having its own princes: it follows not that Lothian is omitted as ſubject to England. In the next chapter it is ſhewn that the term *Scotia* was at firſt yet more confined in North Britain; and it did not extend to Lothian till a late period. But tho the *Mare Scoticum*, or Frith of Forth, divided Lothian from Scotland *proper*, yet it was ever after the year 685 regarded as ſubject to the Pikiſh or Scotiſh monarchs.

[h] Ibid. from an ancient charter. The *Regiam Majeſtatem* is no doubt an Engliſh work: but the paſſages concerning Scotland have been inſerted at an early period.

So much for a Lothian in England: and i hope the reader will do me the juſtice to believe that, had not there been proofs that the Lothian given up to Scotland, was not preſent Lothian, i would, with the utmoſt pleaſure, have fought for truth againſt the prejudices of my countrymen. But, upon full examination, the prejudice here appears to be on the other ſide, and to reſt with theſe weak writers, Carte, and others, who have hitherto condeſcended to treat Engliſh hiſtory. When Engliſh talents, ſo long waſted on foreign affairs, are applied to Engliſh hiſtory, this point, with many others, may be ſtript of prejudice; and appear in the light that ability lends to truth. It is a matter of the mereſt curioſity, and of no more importance than Stephen's holding his crown of the Pope; ſo that he muſt be weak indeed who blends prejudice with it on either ſide. For my own part, i have peculiarly guarded myſelf againſt prejudice in favour of Scotland, tho i am alſo by no means prejudiced againſt that country: but had i not met with the above obſtacles, i ſhould ſurely have inferred that the Scotiſh Lothian was the only one known to, or meant by, old Engliſh hiſtorians.

As to the Scotiſh Lothian, it is alſo known by that name to Engliſh writers. Roger Hoveden mentions *Dunbar cum adjacentibus terris in Lodoneis*, 'Dunbar with the adjacent lands in Lothian.' Its people are the *Lodonenſes*, who make ſo great a figure in the famous War of the Standard, 1138. It is very remarkable that the old hiſtorians of this war mention as in the army of David king of Scotland, along with Cumbrenſes, Nordanumbrenſes, Galweienſes, Laodunenſes, and ſuch large names, the *Tevidalenſes*, or men of Teviotdale. This noted tract is very ſmall, but lying between the Engliſh and Scotiſh Lothian, its people, before the Engliſh Lothian was given up to the Scots, had from conſtant border-war acquired great ſkill in arms, which they retained to a late period. It

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is therefore no wonder that they are thus eminently diſtinguiſhed, and ſpecially named; tho they formed a part, and a very ſmall one, of the Lodonenſes.

Beſides Lothene in England, or preſent Northumberland[1], the Scotiſh monarchy alſo, during this period, acquired CUMBERLAND. This acquiſition preceded that of Lothene in time, but the train of circumſtances required to elucidate the later induced me to conſider it firſt, eſpecially as this of Cumberland is clear and poſitive. Innes and Carte have indeed confuſed this plain fact, by miſtaking the two kingdoms of Stratclyde and Cumbria, for one and the ſame. But as this error has been fully detected in the ſecond part of this work, it is needleſs to inſiſt on a matter ſo clear from all the old Engliſh writers, as that the Cumberland given up to Scotland, was preſent Cumberland with Weſtmoreland. In the Doomſday Book both theſe counties are omitted, as well as preſent Northumberland; being not ſubject to England, but to Scotland. As for the kingdom of Stratclyde, whoſe capital was Dumbarton, it was palpably ſubdued by the Scots about 970, after which it is never mentioned, as formerly explained at great length. Both Cumberland and Lothene were reſtored by Malcom IV. to Henry II. but it is perfectly known that Scotland had, after that reddition, the very ſame bounds as now; as the old Engliſh hiſtorians in paſſages innumerable fully evince. This fact is ſo broad and clear, as to render all further arguments on the ſubject unneceſſary.

It is proper to add a few words on the pretended homage paid by the kings of Scotland to thoſe of England during this period. The ſitua-

[1] Preſent Northumberland was ſurely in the hands of the Scots at the time they took poſſeſſion of Cumberland. When Duncan, 1035, entered England, Durham was the firſt town beſieged. *Simeon Dun.*

tion of theſe two kingdoms in the ſame iland was ſuch as naturally to ſuggeſt to the writers of the larger and more powerful an idea of inferiority and dependance in the ſmaller, which had no neighbour to ſupport it. As there was alſo no other field of glory for England but Scotland, the wars with France being all poſterior to the Norman Conqueſt, thoſe writers who wiſhed to adorn any ſaintly king with hiſtoric fame, generally drew upon the Scotiſh bank. This practice appears ſo early as the reign of ſaint Oſwald king of Northumberland, about the year 640, who is termed *Imperator totius Britanniæ*, even by a Dalriadic writer Cuminius; who, ſenſible of the inſignificance of the Dalreudini in Britain, adds Pikland *gratis* to Oſwald's empire. This riſible title of a king of Northumberland, during the heptarchy, the other ſix kingdoms of which, not to ſpeak of Pikland, certainly never acknowleged any ſuch claim, only ſerves to ſhew the ſpirit of theſe pious authors; who ſeem to have thought that all human truth was to be ſacrificed to ſainthood, a matter of faith. For as reaſon alone is the judge and guardian of truth, and in thoſe ages faith, or blind credulity, was conſidered as above human reaſon, it neceſſarily followed that the more falſe any miracle or tale was, yet if it concerned a ſaint, there was the more merit in believing it. *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt.* The ſource of theſe mock honours of Saint Oſwald is therefore ſo palpable, that it becomes needleſs to remark, that if the other kings in Britain acknowleged his ſuperiority, it muſt have been in his ſaintly character, for he fought not one battle againſt the Piks; or any of the heptarchic kings, except that againſt Penda king of Mercia, in which Oſwald was ſlain. There is however reaſon to conclude, as mentioned Part III. ch. 9, that Oſwi, king of Northumbria, 658, actually vanquiſhed the Piks, and

and that they paid tribute to the Northumbrian kings till 685, when Brudi IV. conquered and ſlew Egfrid.

Such is the only claim of the kingdom of Northumbria upon Pikland: and it deſerved mention here, before proceeding to the period, eſpecially under view, from 843 till 1056. The kingdom of Northumbria, which alone could pretend any ſuch miracle as to Pikland, ſoon after declined before the Pikiſh power, and became at laſt a prey to the Danes about 843. The Daniſh kings of Northumbria till 953, and the earls after, certainly were not ſaints; and accordingly we find no claim of theirs upon the homage of North Britain. Let us therefore paſs to thoſe of the kings of England.

Old Engliſh writers preſerve no leſs than ſix ſuch. 1. That of Edward the Elder, ſon of Alfred the Great, in 924. 2. That of Althelſtan 934. 3. That of Edred 950. 4. That of Edgar 974. 5. That of Canute 1031. 6. That of Edward the Confeſſor 1054.

1. The Saxon Chronicle ſays, that, in 924, Edward the Elder went to *Bedecanwillan* in Pikland, where he built a ſtrong town on the borders; and the king of Scots honoured him as ſovereign, together with the whole Scotiſh nation. Edward was certainly a great and victorious monarch, and ſubjected Northumbria for a time: but Conſtantin III. king of Pikland, was certainly not a monarch capable of gratuitous conceſſions, as his after conduct to Athelſtan evinces. As he was himſelf harraſſed by the Danes, and had vanquiſhed Reginald in 923, or juſt the year before this ſuppoſed homage, it might be that he met Edward to form a league againſt the common enemy. The *Chron. Pictorum*, tho particular concerning this king's reign, is quite mute as to this interview; and the circumſtance, that *all the Scots* joined

joined in the homage, ſeems ſufficient to ſtamp it as a mere glorious fable.

2. That Athelſtan ravaged Scotland in 934 is certain; and it is poſſible that Conſtantin paid him ſome ſubmiſſion, but as to homage for his kingdom we have only the evidence on one ſide; and certainly no juſt man would judge, upon hearing only one party. Nay the Engliſh writers ſeem to confute themſelves, for they ſay that in 945, eleven years after this homage, Edmund gave Cumberland to Malcom I. on condition of aſſiſting him in his wars; whereas, had Scotland been under homage to England, its king was ſurely bound to aſſiſt England in war, without ſo large a preſent.

3. Edred ravaged Northumberland 950, but as to the gratuitous ſubmiſſion of the Scots it is hard to believe. Even Northumbria was not yet ſubject to England, but furniſhed its kings full employment. It is ſurely then moſt improbable that, with ſuch a ſcreen between them, the Scots ſhould be ſuch cowards. Their oppoſite conduct, in the clear part of Engliſh hiſtory, ſhews the impoſſibility of ſuch eternal daſtardly ſubmiſſion. If we credit Engliſh writers, no king of England could make war on Northumbria, but the Scotiſh king paid gratuitous homage. Who can believe this? The jeſt is carried ſo far, and repeated ſo often, that it becomes ſtale. How comes it that not one king of Scotland was ever cited to appear in England, before his liege lord, to whom appeals lay? But as to this inſtance, and the three following, the ceſſion of Cumberland to Scotland in 945 by Engliſh accounts reſtricts the homage paid, to be for Cumberland, not for the kingdom. The kings of England paid homage to France, for their poſſeſſions in France; but what ſhould be ſaid to a French writer, who would pretend that homage to be for England?

4. Edgar

4. Edgar founded no leſs than 48 religious houſes: and the tales of eccleſiaſtic writers, concerning him, are therefore much to be ſuſpected of panegyric. The ſtory of his being rowed in a barge on the Dee, by eight tributary kings, is a palpable monkiſh legend; and may perhaps be ſtill found to be borrowed from a ſimilar circumſtance in ſome old romance. From the Saxon Chronicle it is clear that ſix petty kings met Edgar, to make an alliance, not to pay homage. This will lead any man of candour to ſuſpect that when a king of Scotland entered into a league with England, the monkiſh writers, ſtrangers to human affairs, always dreamed of ſubmiſſion and homage. The reign of Edgar was quite peaceable; and, ſtripped of monkiſh panegyric to their patron, was that of a ſlothful and debauched prince, ſunk in pleaſures, and in the moſt contemptible ſlavery to the clergy. The charter of Oſwald's law, in which Edgar aſſerts his having conquered all even to Norway, with a great part of Ireland, is a groſs and notorious inſtance of monkiſh flattery; who, in gratitude for their charters, thus ſet that weak prince's ſeal to the moſt abſurd falſehoods. The Iriſh, Scotiſh, Northern writers hardly even mark Edgar's exiſtance as king of England. The *Chronicon Pictorum* repreſents Kenneth as invading England, inſtead of paying homage. The Annals of Tighernach, and of Ulſter, barely mark Edgar's death. The *Orkneyinga Saga* knew nothing of him. The power of the Danes had been quite broken before 953, when their kingdom in Northumbria ceaſed. Edred and Edwi, predeceſſors of Edgar, were equally free from Daniſh invaſion, ſo that Edgar's ability is not to be weighed by this circumſtance. He was indeed the very firſt monarch of all England; and it is no wonder that his amity was courted by the other kings in Britain.

5. Canute

5. Canute in 1031, according to the Saxon Chronicle, went to Scotland; and Malcom king of Scots, and two other kings, Mælbæth and Jehmarc, became ſubject to him. But William of Malmſbury ſays, that Malcom only permitted Duncan, his grandſon and heir, who was poſſeſſed of Cumberland, to pay homage for that province. This plain account ſufficiently refutes the uſurpative ſtyle of the Saxon Chronicle.

6. Some old Engliſh writers ſay, that in 1054 Siward, earl of Northumbria, put Malcom on the throne of Scotland, by command of Edward king of England. This is falſe, becauſe Siward died before Malcom came to the throne.

This ſingular uſurpative ſtyle concerning Scotland, is peculiar to the old Engliſh writers, who ſeem thus to avenge the conqueſts of their own country, by Sweyn, by Canute, by William I. upon poor Scotland. From Beda's time 731, till William of Malmſbury 1150, or at leaſt till the end of the eleventh century, hardly one Engliſh writer aroſe [k]. When writers re-appeared in England, they were ſtung with the degradation of their countrymen, under their Daniſh and Norman conquerors; and naturally wiſhed to relieve their minds, by ſwelling the glory of the old Engliſh kings. Scotland was the only country over which any probable claim could be forged; and they have not ſpared it. Camden juſtly obſerves, that the Saxon Annals never mention any battles loſt by the Engliſh. Brompton ſays, Hardeknute held Scotland in conſtant and peaceable ſubjection [l]. The Saxon Chronicle aſſerts that William I. *ſubdued* Scotland: and that Henry I. 1107 gave leave to Alexander king of Scotland to reign. The notorious falſehood of theſe inſtances

[k] A foreign writer, Guy of Amiens, "en 1058, ecrivit la guerre d'Angleterre en vers." Hiſt. de Picardie I. 276.

[l] Iſte rex Hardeknoutus, per totum tempus quo regnavit, regni Scotiæ ſubjectionem pacifice habebat. *Scr.* X. col. 934.

renders

renders the reſt ſtill more ſuſpicious, if it does not ſtamp them utterly falſe. How is all this? Scotland was always ſubdued, always to ſubdue; always making homage to England, always making war on England! always ſubject, yet not a trace of it, but ſingle ſentences of Engliſh writers, without ſo much as one permanent fact! Surely human affairs proceed not thus; but if a kingdom be ſubject to another, fixt and laſting marks always appear. The forged charters of Harding, and others, concerning Scotiſh homage, have been fully expoſed by Rymer and other Engliſh antiquaries. But does not the need of ſuch forgeries prove invincibly that the claim itſelf was all one forgery? As for the gifts of Cumberland, and Lothene or preſent Northumberland, there is room to ſuſpect them as fabulous as the homage; and to queſtion if any homage was paid for them till the time of Canute. They ſeem acquiſitions by conqueſt: and examples of ſuch gifts are not found in the hiſtory of any other country. But as Henry I. gave leave to Alexander to reign, ſuch it is likely were thoſe gifts. In the hiſtory of Denmark the claim of the Emperor of Germany to the homage of that kingdom occurs; and one Daniſh king was taken priſoner, and forced to pay it. But Germany being ſurrounded with inferior ſtates, its writers had many affairs to attend; and do not harp upon this ſtring always: while poor Scotland was the only country over which Engliſh writers could extend their claim. Hence the ſtyle of old Engliſh writers concerning Scotland is quite peculiar, and full of a bitter uſurpation, unknown to any other ancient writers, whoſe works have ever fallen in my way. Such mock claims are indeed found. Wormius [m] ſays, Frotho, ſon of Harding, king of Denmark, ſubdued Germany and Britain. Torfæus repreſents the Anglo-ſaxon kings

[m] Series Reg. Dan. p. 17.

as

as tributary to the Daniſh kings of Northumberland. Regnar Lodbrog ſubdued Ireland, Pikland, and the Orkneys, and gave them to his friends Siguard and Rathbart [n]. Geoffrey of Monmouth ſays, Arthur conquered France, Germany, Norway, &c. &c. &c. Fordun's Gregory the Great conquered Ireland, and moſt of England. And of the ſame kind are the Engliſh claims over Scotland.

[n] Saxo Gram. Rami Nori regnum, &c.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Origin of the name SCOTLAND.

THAT the name *Scotia*, or *Scotland*, originally belonged to Ireland, and continued to belong to that country, alone, till a late period, begins now to be acknowleged even by the fierceſt Scotiſh writers. This fact clearly appears from the following numerous authorities, while that the names *Scoti*, *Scotia*, were ever applied to the preſent Scots and Scotland, before the reign of Malcom II. or beginning of the eleventh century, not *one* authority can be produced.

1. The firſt mention of the name *Piks* is by Eumenius the panegyriſt, who ſays, as fully quoted Part III. ch. I. that, before the time of Julius Cæſar, Britain, that is, the part of Britain ſouth of Forth and Clyde, or Roman Britain, was only invaded by the Piks and Iriſh, *Pictis modo et Hibernis*. This was written in the year 296; and the name of Scots was ſtill unknown. For as the Britons, before they knew the indigenal appellation of the Piks, termed them Caledonians; ſo before they knew the indigenal name of that ſuperior people in Ireland, whoſe warlike ſpirit burſt upon them, they called them *Hiberni*, or Iriſh, from the name of the iland. So in later times the pirates of Scandinavia were all called Normans, before the indigenal names of Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, came to be known. But the name of Scots is firſt mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus at the year 360, and not as belonging to moſt ancient times, as Eumenius mentions that of *Picti*; but as preſent and immediate under

under that year: *In Britanniis cum Scotorum Pictorumque, gentium ferarum, excurſus*, &c. Thus, on the very firſt mention of the name *Scotti*, it is joined with that of *Picti*, juſt as *Hiberni* had been ſixty-four years before by Eumenius. This, compared with the ſubſequent authorities, affords a clear inference, that, from the very firſt, *Hiberni* and *Scoti* were ſynonymous; that Ireland was *Scotia*, and the Iriſh *Scoti*. Indeed it is riſible to ſee ſome of our infatuated writers ſuppoſe, that ſuch a ſmall country as Scotland could ſuffice for two grand nations, the Piks and Scots; while England had but one the Britanni, Gaul but Galli, Spain only Hiſpani! Do theſe weak men imagine that the noble iland of Ireland, a country ſuperior in ſize, and far more in fertility and population to Scotland, was quite inviſible to the Romans: or that by another miracle the inhabitants of a country ſo very near to Britain, never invaded this iland? Do open your eyes, gentlemen! or at leaſt do not imagine, that, becauſe ye are blind, others muſt be ſo. At 364 Ammianus mentions *Picti, Saxoneſque; et Scotti et Attacotti*. At 368, *Picti, Attacotti*, and *Scotti*. The former paſſage no more implies the Scots to have been ſettled in Britain, than the Saxons. And the Attacotti, or, as ſhewn above, thoſe Scots who ſettled in Pikland, are ſpecially diſtinguiſhed from the Scotti proper, or thoſe of Ireland.

2. Ethicus the Coſmographer, or whoever wrote the work in his name, belongs to the ſame period; and ſays, *Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus colitur*, 'Ireland is inhabited by the nations of Scots.'

3. Claudian alſo, about 390, has this line:

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne:

'Icy Ireland weeped the ſlaughtered heaps of Scots.' And again, *totam cum Scotus Iernen movit*,

vit, [x] 'when the Scot moves all Ireland.' No reader need be told that *Ierne* is the Greek name of Ireland; and all interpreters, Barthius, Geſner, &c. agree in this [a]. Thoſe among us who have dreamed of Strath-*Erne*, a valley in Scotland, only ſhew that national prejudice, like that overweening ſelf-love from which it really ſprings, is a ſpecies of madneſs. A ſchool-boy would be whipped for ſuch an interpretation; and foreigners may perhaps ſuſpect that i am in jeſt with my Scotiſh valley known to Claudian: but alas it is too true!

Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuiſſe, et non potuiſſe refelli.

4. In the next century Oroſius has, *Hibernia inſula inter Britannium et Hiſpaniam.....a Scotorum gentibus colitur.* 'Ireland an iland between Britain and Spain.....is inhabited by the Scotiſh nations.' The letters of St. Patrick, publiſhed by Uſher, alſo clearly mark the Scoti in Ireland only. The Scots, to whom Patrick was ſent, are perfectly known to have been the Iriſh.

5. In the ſixth century Cogitoſus, author of the life of St. Brigid, as quoted by Uſher [b], ſufficiently evinces in different places the Scots to be Iriſh. Gildas marks the Piks as invading the Britons *ab aquilone*, 'from the north:' the Scots *a circio*, 'from the north weſt.' For they always paſſed from the north of Ireland, to join the Piks; but no part of preſent Scotland is on the north-weſt of Roman Britain, laterly extending to the Clyde.

6. In the ſeventh age Iſidorus is moſt explicit, *Scotia eadem et Hibernia, proxima Britanniæ inſula*; 'Scotia the ſame as Ireland, an iland very near

[a] Claudian errs in ſuppoſing Ireland a very cold country, *glacialis*. He only judged from its northern ſituation.

[b] It may be found in Meſſingham or Colgan. The former's edition i have compared.

Britain.' Adomnan, in his life of Columba, confirms the ſame thro-out; for Columba ſails from Scotia to Britain and Hyona, and from thence to Scotia, &c. &c. &c.

7. In the next Beda, ſpeaking of Hibernia, or Ireland, ſays, *hæc Scotorum patria eſt*, 'this is the native country of the Scots.' And in paſſages innumerable his *Scotia* is always Ireland, and his *Scoti* the Iriſh. Speaking of the Dalreudini, and their king Aidan, he calls them *Scotti qui ſunt in Britannia*, 'the Scots in Britain:' as a ſpecial mark of diſtinction from the *Scotti* or Iriſh, a term he puts ſometimes abſolutely. The Geographus Ravennas ſays, *Hibernia quæ, ut dictum eſt, et Scotia appellatur.*

8. In the ninth century, Eginhart, in his life of Charlemagne, ſays *Norwegi Hiberniam, Scotorum inſulam, aggreſſi, a Scotis in fugam converſi ſunt*; 'The Norwegians invading Ireland, the iland of the Scots, are put to flight by the Scots.' It is certain therefore that the Iriſh alone are the Scots of Eginhart; and that the correſpondence he mentions between Charlemagne and the *reges Scotorum*, kings of the Scots, refers ſolely to Ireland. That emperor procured learned men from Ireland; but did not probably know even the exiſtence of the Dalreudini, or Britiſh Scots. In the ſame age Rabanus Maurus, biſhop of Mentz, ſays in his Martyrology, *Natale Kiliani martyris, et duorum ſociorum ejus, qui ab Hibernia, Scotorum inſula, venientes*, &c. Walafrid Strabo, in his life of St. Gallus, alſo repeatedly ſhews Ireland to be the Scotia. The monk of Saint Gall, in his hiſtory of Charlemagne, alſo ſays of the famous Clemens and Albinus, founders of the Univerſity of Paris, *Contigit duos Scotos de Hibernia, cum mercatoribus Britannis, ad littus Galliæ devenire, viros et in ſæcularibus, et in ſacris ſcripturis, incomparabiliter eruditos.* 'It happened that two Scots of Ireland came to the French coaſt, with Britiſh merchants; thoſe

thoſe men were incomparably ſkilled both in ſæcular and ſacred letters.' King Alfred's *Scotland* is always Ireland.

9. In the tenth century Notkerus Balbulus, in his Martyrology, ſpeaking of Columba, V. *Id. Jun.* has *In Scotia, inſula Hibernia, depoſitio S. Columbæ*, 'In Scotia, the iland Ireland, the placing of the relics of St. Columba, &c.[c].

10. In the eleventh century Marianus Scotus, at the year 686, has *Sanctus Kilianus Scotus de Hibernia inſulâ*, &c. 'Saint Kilian a Scot of Ireland.' Hermannus Contractus, in his Chronicle, at the year 812, *Claſſis Danorum Hiberniam invadens a Scotis victa eſt*; 'A fleet of Danes invading Ireland, is vanquiſhed by the Scots.' Rhegino ſpeaking of the ſame ſays, *Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis* DCCCXII. *Claſſis Nortmannorum Hiberniam inſulam aggreſſa, commiſſoque cum Scotis prælio, multi ex eis interfecti, ceteri fuga lapſi ſunt.* A writer of this century publiſhed by Du Cheſne ſays, at the year 846, *Scothi a Northmannis, per annos plurimos, tributarii efficiuntur*; 'The Scots are rendered tributary to the Norwegians, for many years[d].' This paſſage, it is believed, our hotteſt writers will not chuſe to apply to the preſent Scots; but to the conqueſt of the Iriſh by the Danes and Norwegians at this time. The ſame hiſtorian, at the year 848, *Scothi ſuper Northmannos irruentes, auxilio Dei victores, eos e ſuis finibus propellunt. Unde rex Scotborum ad Karolum, pacis et amicitiæ gratia, legatos cum muneribus mittit, viam ſibi petendi Romam con-*

[c] See many more examples of this century in Uſher, Ant. Brit. Eccl. p. 382. where alſo, and in the Latin epiſtle of Lynch to Bullay, (at the end of Ogygia Vindicated,) numerous other authorities may be found of the other centuries; no fact in the hiſtory of the middle ages being ſo amply authenticated as this.

[d] Aimoinus, a writer of the tenth century, has the ſame: and Torf. *Orc.* p. 9. hence argues, that the Scots could not be in poſſeſſion of the Orkneys! The Scandinavian writers often confound Old Scotland, or Ireland, with North Britain.

tedi depoſcens. This was Melachlin king of Ireland, as Ware juſtly remarks, who in that year obtained a victory over the Danes; but they ſoon returned, ſo that the tribute continued for many years, in ſpite of this victory. The Annals of Ulſter date this victory 847.

Nay, in the twelfth century, St. Bernard in his life of St. Malachy, calls Ireland *Scotia*, and the Iriſh *Scotti*. For he calls Malachy *Hibernus*; and after ſays *ab ulteriori Scotia uſque cucurrit ille ad mortem.* And, telling the averſion of the Iriſh to Malachy's building a chapel of ſtone at Benchor, when wood had alone been uſed before, he makes them ſay, *Scoti ſumus, non Galli.* Giraldus Cambrenſis alſo, ſpeaking of the Iriſh, ſays *Dicti ſunt et Gaideli, dicti ſunt et Scoti.*

But that preſent Scotland was ſo called, before the eleventh century, there is not *one* authority whatever.

What do thoſe weak and ignorant bigots, who have fought on the contrary ſide, produce? Nothing: except the moſt ſhameful ſubterfuge, and falſehood; and the moſt impudent railing. Fighting, as their blindneſs perſuades them, for the honour of their country, they are the bittereſt enemies of their country. Fable i have found in the writings of other countries; but oppoſition to the moſt open and clear truths, i am ſorry to ſay, i never found, ſave in the writings of Scotiſh antiquiſts. Their productions are indeed ſo poor that they never reach foreign notice; but only humour ſickly brains at home: elſe i ſhould tremble for the fame of my country, which has produced men capable of open enmity to truth and reaſon. This is not patriotiſm, but the mere madneſs of ſelf-love; tho if even patriotiſm were ever oppoſite to truth and reaſon, every man of ſenſe and integrity would daſh it on the ground, before their altars.

Iriſh

Iriſh writers are certainly prejudiced on the one ſide; but it is the right one: and Scotiſh writers on the other; but it is the wrong. Foreigners however muſt be impartial, and they uniformly give it againſt the Scotiſh. Bozius an Italian; Molanus, Miræus, Caniſius, Gretſerus, Germans; Sirmond a Frenchman; nay, Major and Buchanan, Scotiſhmen too learned for ſuch ignorant prejudices; gave it againſt us, even at the beginning of the controverſy. It is perfectly known that the Engliſh writers have been uniformly on the Iriſh ſide: and in ſpite of the inſinuation of an author[e] who judges of others by himſelf, i do believe that theſe Engliſh writers are moſt impartial, and would have fought for us had we been under the banner of truth. Of late the learned editors of the ancient French hiſtorians are clear againſt us: and in their map for the epoch of Charlemagne mark Ireland as SCOTIA. D'Anville, the greateſt of modern geographers, is of the ſame mind; and as he obſerves, 'Les Caledoniens ne ſont point a deſtinguer des Picti,' 'the Caledonians are not to be diſtinguiſhed from the Piks;' ſo he ſays we find Ireland called Scotia about the fall of the weſtern empire. And in his geography of the middle ages, he puts Ireland as SCOTIA; and ſays it bore that name long before it paſſed to preſent Scotland. The moſt learned Schoepflin, a German, has alſo a Diſſertation to ſhew this; and eſpecially marks that Ireland is the Scotia of Eginhart, and other writers of Charlemagne's time[f]. A diſpute indeed, alike diſgraceful to the learning and veracity of our antiquiſts, and ſupported on their ſide only by chicanery, and railing; and on the other by nu-

[e] Mr. J. Macpherſon, who in his Introduction to the Hiſt. &c. ſays, the Engliſh only wiſhed to favour the weakeſt ſide.

[f] Comment. Hiſt. *Baſ.* 1741, 4to. 392. Add Suhm. ap. Gunlaugs Saga, p. 264. Voltaire, Hiſt. Gen. and Eccard de Orig. Germ. who ſays, p. 37. "medii ævi ſcriptores, quando Scotos nominant, Hibernos intelligere."

merous and clear teſtimonies, required no penetration, but only a free mind to ſettle. This fanaticiſm of our ſcriblers for a name, is only a woful proof of the moſt illiterate and vulgar prejudice. Of the great nations of antiquity the conduct, on this ſubject, was juſt the reverſe: and to him who conſiders the vaſt NOTΣ, the mental vigour of the Greek and Roman writers, it will not be difficult to decide on which ſide the defect of ſcience and underſtanding lies. The Greeks gloried in having many appellations *Pelaſgi*, *Hellenes*, *Achaii*, *Danai*, &c. &c. nay laterly adopted the Roman term *Græci*, without repining. The Romans termed themſelves *Quirites*, *Latini*, &c.

But let us examine the origin of this mighty Abraxas, of this term *Scoti*, which has turned the brains of our antiquiſts, and made our hiſtory a maſs of fable. Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this redoubtable ſhibboleth was confined to the part of preſent Scotland, north of Forth and Clyde. On the ſouth of theſe rivers the Piks retained their old name; and poſſeſſed the moſt fertile quarter of Scotland. Theſe facts are clear from all the writers on the War of the Standard, 1138. The *Galweienſes vel Picti* reached from Solway to the frith of Clyde. And in Scotiſh Lothian from Tweed to Forth was the prime reſidence of the ſouthern Piks; whence that country is termed *Pictorum Provincia*, by Beda: and what ſome writers on the war of the Standard aſcribe to the Piks, the honour of leading the Scotiſh army, Brompton gives to the *Lodonenſes*. Roger of Cheſter ſays, Edinburgh is *in terra Pictorum*, 'in Pikland;' and the modern name of a range of hills in preſent Lothian, *Pentland hills*, marks the Pikiſh poſſeſſion, as clearly is Pentland frith or Pictland frith, ſtill ſo called in the time of James V. Sir David Dalrymple alſo juſtly remarks that, in 1216, the name of Scotti is mentioned as very confined.

Indeed,

Indeed, even on the north of Forth and Clyde, the Norwegians held Caithneſs, Sutherland, the Orkneys, and Hebudes; amounting to another quarter of preſent Scotland. So that only half of preſent Scotland was inhabited by people called Scoti, even in the thirteenth century. Nay even of that half the *Moravienſes*, or inhabitants of the large province of Moray, bounded by Spey and Lochaber, and Athole, on the eaſt and ſouth, and by the Norwegian dominions on the north, were not *Scoti*, but *Picti*, down to the thirteenth century, as appears from Fordun and others. And the people of ancient Argyle, or the kingdom of Dalriada, were not *Scoti*, but *Gadeli*, as the *Chronicon Pictorum*, and the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*, ſhew.

Thus it is certain, from cotemporary records, that in the thirteenth century the name *Scoti* only belonged to the inhabitants of five provinces of Scotland, *Buchan*, *Angus*, *Athole*, *Strathern*, *Fife*: or, in other words, only extended from the Spey and Kinnaird's Head north, to the Forth ſouth; and from Braidalbin weſt, to the Britiſh or German ocean eaſt. When the reader reflects how it after paſſed, without conqueſt, to the reſt of Scotland, it is believed he will be apt to ſuſpect the ſame true of its firſt appearance, and that it was as arbitrary firſt as laſt.

To trace its firſt appearance, we muſt recur to the different inhabitants of that tract, where it began; namely, the Dalreudini and Piks.

The people who came from Ireland and ſettled in Argyle, called themſelves *Dalreudini*, as Beda expreſſly tells us. This fact is alſo clear from Tighernac, and other ancient Iriſh writers, who term them *Dalriadi*, and their country *Dalriada*. Thoſe modern highlanders, who ſay they never gave themſelves this name, becauſe they have not done ſo lately, only ſhew what a ſtrange affair a Celtic underſtanding is. The people of Middleſex have not called themſelves Saxons, but Eng-

liſh, for theſe eight centuries; and yet nothing is more certain than that they called themſelves Saxons down to the tenth century. Theſe people indigenally, and vulgarly, called *Dalriadach*, were alſo termed *Scoti Britanniæ*, *Scoti in Britannia*, by ſuch of their own writers, and others, as uſed Latin; as for inſtance Adomnan uſes the firſt expreſſion, Beda the later. Indigenally the Dalriadi alſo termed themſelves *Gaelach*, as their Iriſh anceſtors did, being a generic name of the Celts. Thus they are ſpecially termed *Gaedeli* in the *Chronicon Pictorum*, and in the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*; and the old name of *Ard Gael* belongs to their chief ſettlement from its moſt ancient date. But by no other names were they known, either among themſelves, or by others, in ancient times. The modern name they give themſelves, of *Albanach*, anciently belonged to the Piks, as ſhall preſently be ſhewn; and was aſſumed by the Dalreudini, after their union with the Piks, as the Burgundians, &c. ſince their coaleſcence with France are called French; and as the Scots call themſelves Britons, ſince their union with England.

The Piks, as is clear from the writings of king Alfred, the Saxon Chronicle, Witichind, &c. called themſelves *Pihtar*, *Pehtar*, *Peohtar* (pronounce this laſt, as in Icelandic, *Peuhtar*) and in modern language of Scotland, and the north of England, *Pehts*; by later Icelandic writers they are termed *Pets*. The Romans unluckily Latinized this name *Picti*. The Cumraig Britons termed them *Phichtiaid*. The Iriſh, who are fond of patronymics, called them, after their firſt king, Cruthen, by the name of *Cruitnich*. Their country they termed *Tir Cruitnich*, The Land of the Cruitnich, and from the royal reſidence *Fortrin*, as the Welch called the king of England king of London. The Icelanders called it *Petland*; the Engliſh *Peohtlond*; natives *Pehtland*.

But there can be no queſtion that *Albani* was an appellation alſo belonging to the Piks, and in every pro-

probability indigenal. *Alban* was as would ſe do the name which the Piks gave to Britain, or at leaſt to their part of it; for I can never find it applied to preſent England, either in ancient or modern times; and they who upon this occaſion dream of the Greek name Albion, ſhould be referred to Swift's etymologies. Adomnan indeed tranſlates *Drum Alban*, *Dorſum Britanniæ*; but it is certain that all Iriſh and Welch writers confine the name of *Alban* to the north of Britain. At the ſame time it is very probable that *Alban* was the name given by the Cumri to Britain, in general, as *Bret-tan* was by the Belgæ; and that the Piks finding their country ſo called by its firſt inhabitants, retained the appellation. Thus as they were not only Piks, by a peculiar and proper appellation, but alſo Britons as inhabitants of Britain, ſo they were *Albani*, as dwelling in *Alban*. At the ſame time we muſt reflect that this name *Albani* is common to highlanders, in many countries peopled by Scythæ or Goths; as the Albani on Caucaſus, thoſe of Macedon, and Italy. This circumſtance leads to ſuſpect, that the name is really Gothic[g]; and was given by the Piks to their own mountainous country. It is poſſible alſo that the Belgæ of Ireland, fronting the mountains of Wales, called Britain *Alban*; and that from them the Greek mariners, coming from the ſouth, and firſt touching at Ireland, might receive it. However this be, there is no ground whatever to infer that the name of *Albani* was ever, in ancient times, aſſumed by the Dalreudini, or preſent Celtic highlanders. Adomnan tells us, that *Drum Alban*, or *Dorſum Britanniæ*, as he tranſlates it, lay between the Scots in Britain and the Piks. If

[g] Torfæus Hiſt. Norv. I. 264. mentions *Mor Alban* in Scandinavia. In German any high hills are called *Alben*, or *Alps*. Eccard. Orig. Germ. "*Albe* pro monte, qui cano jugo conſpicuus eſt, ſive alto, vox eſt in ſuperiore Germania uſitatiſſima." *Id.* See alſo Huetiana, p. 201.

Alban

Alban be thus tranſlated Britain, or if confined to North Britain, it is equally clear that the Dalreudini who held ſo ſmall a corner, had no claim to the ſtyle of *Albanach* by eminence. On the contrary, as that appellation is always found among Gothic nations, there is room to infer that *Alban* and *Albani* were indigenal terms among the Piks, who gave them to their territory, and to themſelves from ſituation in it. So the Dalreudini afterward called themſelves *Albanach*, from their ſituation in Pikland, tho originally *Gael*. There is no room to deny that the Piks might have a peculiar, and alſo a territorial appellation, as well as the Dalreudini, Cumri, or other nations in Britain, and in all other countries. The Belgæ and Franks were thus *Galli*: the Celtiberi, Suevi, &c. *Hiſpani*. Tighernac palpably implies *Albain* to be ſynonymous with Pikland; for at 894 he calls Donal king of *Albain*, as he does his ſucceſſors; tho all his predeceſſors he terms kings of the Piks. The Duan alſo puts the Cumri as firſt poſſeſſors of *Albain*, and then the Piks. It certainly follows from this that the Piks, as inhabitants of *Alban*, were *Albani*; and from Tighernac it is clear that king of the Piks, and king of Albain, were terms as perfectly ſynonymous as king of the Scots and king of Scotland. Theſe matters conſidered, it will appear as ridiculous to infer that, becauſe our highlanders now term themſelves Albanach, they were the ancient Albanach; as to infer that becauſe the people of Bretagne now call themſelves French, they were the original Franci.

Theſe arguments admit of ſtrong reinforcement. It is allowed by all that *Albani* and *Scotti* are ſynonymous, in writers of the eleventh[h], twelfth, and thirteenth

[h] Scotland is called Albania by a Welch writer, about the year 1070. See Uſher's Epiſt. Hib. Sylloge. Geofrey of Monmouth, 1150, always calls Scotland Albania, and ſays it was ſo called when the Piks came from Scythia to it. After men-

thirteenth centuries. Roger Hoveden, 1190, deſcribing the war of the Standard 1138, ſays *Exclamavitque ſimul exercitus Scottorum inſigne patriæ; et aſcendit clamor uſque in cœlum, Albani! Albani!* The Duan, and the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*, fully confirm this. Yet, however it may ſurprize the reader, it is evident from writers of that time, that the *Gadeli*, or *Gael* of *Dalriada*, or Argyle, are not the Scots of thoſe times, but eſpecially diſtinguiſhed from them. The *Chronicon Pictorum* calls the eaſtern inhabitants of Scotland uniformly *Scoti*; but the weſtern *Gaedeli*, by a ſpecial diſtinct name. The *Deſcriptio Albaniæ* ſays, *Montes qui dividunt Scociam ab Arregaithel*, 'the mountains which divide Scotland from Argyle:' and it after ſpeaks of Argyle as poſſeſſed by the *Gaeli*, or *Hibernenſes*, quite a different people from the Scots. And it ſhall preſently be ſhewn, that the Scots of the eleventh century, and of this day, are quite a different people from the Britiſh Scots of Adomnan and Beda. It therefore follows that, as our highlanders were not the Scots of the eleventh and ſucceeding centuries, ſo neither were they the Albani. This fact is alſo evident from the names of places in ancient Buchan, Angus, Athole, Strathern, Fife, or all that region which firſt bore the modern name of *Scotia*, for they are Gothic, not Gaelic. And that name *Scotia* came in place of *Albania*[i], as the *Deſcriptio*

mentioning the Pikiſh arrival, he ſays, 'Sed hoc hactenus, cum non propoſuerim hiſtoriam eorum, SIVE Scottorum, tractare, qui ex illis, et Hibernienſibus originem duxerunt.' This paſſage ſhews that in Geofrey's time, the annihilation of the Piks was unknown, and that the modern Scots were conſidered as Piks.

Caledonii, Picti, Albani, Scoti, were ſynonymous; as were Attacotti, Dalriadi, Gadeli, Hibernenſes; and Belgæ, Angli, Saxones, Loegrii. The Welch term *Loegr*, for the Saxons, ſeems from *Lloeg*, *merces*, as they were at firſt mercenaries. See Gildas, Beda, Davis Dict. Kymb.

[i] The author of the *Geſta Stephani R. Ang.* a cotemporary, publiſhed by Du Cheſne, (Rer. Norm. Sc.) ſays; 'Eſt autem Scotia,

Descriptio Albaniæ testifies; so that neither the country, nor its inhabitants, received their names from our highland Albanach, who use the Celtic tongue only. For the real *Alban* was in the east, and possessed by the Piks. The Welch fables, concerning Camber, Locrine, and Albanact, also infer the Piks to have been the Albani, as the Saxons were the Locrini, or *Loegr*. The Elegiac Chronicle of our kings, written in the 13th century, also marks Pikland as Albania:

Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kenedus.

whereas,

Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis.

Thus we find Albany opposed to Argyle; and the former synonymous with Pikland, as the *Descriptio Albaniæ* says it was first called *Albania*, then *Pictavia*. Upon the whole it appears that the Piks called their country *Alban*, and themselves *Albanr*, or Albani; either, 1. from its mountains, as the other Gothic Albani in Asia, Macedon, Italy. 2. Or from their finding it so called by the Cumri, the old inhabitants whom they expelled: or adopting it from their Cumraig neighbours on the south. 3. Or lastly, as taught to assume this name by their Irish and Cumraig churchmen, their only literati.

Scotia, quæ et Albania dicitur, regio locis paluſtribus circumsepta; silvarum fertilium, lactis, et armentorum, copiosa; portubus salubribus, insulis opulentis, circumcincta; sed incolas barbaros habens, et impuros; nec nimio frigore fractos, nec aspera fame detritos; citis pedibus, lenique armaturæ confidentes: anxium amare mortis exitum pro nihilo ducentes inter suos domesticos; sed inter sibi extraneos omnes crudelitate excedentes.'

Baldred Bisset, in his memoir to the Pope on Scotish history, 1301, says, "in ejusdemque locum Albaniæ succesſit nomen novum Scotiæ:" and after; "Ergadiam adjacentem ipsi Albaniæ." Fordun. II. 195, 196. so that Argyle was not even regarded as in Albany or Pikland.

The

The names *Scoti*, and *Scotia*, Scot and Scotland, claim next and laſt conſideration. Tho the Dalreudini were, as above-mentioned, termed by writers in Latin *Scoti in Britannia*, and *Scoti Britanniæ*, yet thoſe inhabitants of Argyle were ſo few and inſignificant, that only Adomnan and Beda mark them by that appellation. From the reign of Aidan, 605, they gradually diminiſhed, as fully ſhewn above, in power and fame; and after being vanquiſhed by Unguſt 739, they became almoſt unknown in hiſtory till this day. The ridiculous fables concerning their conqueſt of the Piks have been amply expoſed before; and nothing is more certain than that, after Beda 731, they are known to no writer by the name of Scoti or Scots. As for the modern Scots, who are quite a different people of different language (the Gothic), there is no fact more certain in human hiſtory than that they did not bear that name, till about the year 1020.

It has been ſhewn above, from numerous teſtimonies invincible, even by thoſe who ſet all regard for truth at defiance, that Ireland was called *Scotia*, and its ruling people Scoti, from the firſt appearance of theſe names, down to the eleventh century. But that preſent Scotland was called *Scotia*, or its people *Scoti*, before the eleventh century, not ſo much as *one* ſingle authority can be produced. The people of North Britain appear by the name of Caledonians or Piks, from the time of Tacitus down to the tenth century. Tacitus, Ptolemy, Dion Caſſius, Eumenius, Claudian, Gildas, Adomnan, Beda, Nennius, Aſſer, Tighernac, form a chain of indiſſoluble authorities on this matter: and as their teſtimonies have been ſeparately quoted in this work, they need not be here repeated[k]. Nennius, in 858, deſcribes

[k] If the laws of the Conqueror, publiſhed by Selden (Specil. ad Eadmer.) be genuine, the Piks were, even about 1080,

deſcribes the Piks as quite in the ſame power and ſituation as Beda found them. King Alfred, in his paraphraſes of Beda, Oroſius, &c. would have noted any change had any occurred ſince Beda's time. Aſſer, who wrote his life of Alfred in the beginning of the tenth century, tells us that the Danes, 875, preyed on the Piks and Stratclyde-Welh, from their camp in Northumberland. Not one writer before the eleventh century affords the ſmalleſt hint of any change in Pikland. The Saxon Chronicle, written in the eleventh or twelfth century, ſometimes calls Ireland *Scotland*, and ſometimes gives North Britain the ſame appellation of Scotland; but laterly. In it is preſerved a poem on the victory of Athelſtan over our Conſtantin 937, and in every appearance written inſtantly after the event; but there is not a trace in that poem of the names *Scot*, *Scotland*, being applied to North Britain. On the contrary it conſtantly gives them to Ireland. Anlaf, or Olave the Red, king of the Scandinavians in Ireland, and thence called *Scota konungr*, 'king of Scots,' in the Icelandic accounts, was the chief party at the battle of Brunenburg. Both Iriſh and Icelandic accounts agree perfectly in this; and it is remarkable that none of theſe accounts make the leaſt mention of our Conſtantin upon this occaſion. He ſeems merely to have lent his own preſence; for the Piks, his ſubjects, had no ſkill in ſea-affairs; and Olave's fleet was, in every appearance, wholly filled with Scandinavians and Scots of Ireland. The Saxon poem of courſe ſpeaks of *Flottan an Sceotta*, 'the Scottiſh mariners;' and dwells almoſt entirely on the Scots or Iriſh, and *Nordmans*, or Scandinavians. Conſtan-

1080, regarded as a powerful people. Ingulfus, at the year 948, mentions them as fighting under Conſtantin. In 985 the *Clerici Pictorum* occur (Acta Edithæ apud Sur.) Radulf Abp. of Canterbury in the 12th ceutury calls the biſhop of Candida Caſa, *epiſcopus Pictorum*. Scr. X. col. 1746.

tin,

tin, it terms *Nord Conſtantinus*, 'the Northern Conſtantin;' but never calls him Scotiſh, or his men Scots. The poem alſo ſays,

Guma Norderna
Ofer ſcyld ſcoten.

'The Northern men under their ſhields with ſpears.' This expreſſion ſeems to apply to Conſtantin's ſubjects, as he is himſelf called *Nord*; and in all other places the Scandinavians are called *Nordmanna*, not *Norderna*. The North Britons were alſo remarkable for ſpears, even from their earlieſt hiſtory. But this is ſubmitted to the reader. Certain it is from this poem, and from the Icelandic accounts, that the name of *Scots* at this period, 937, belonged ſolely to the Iriſh; and they who are the moſt bigotted on the other ſide will not inſiſt that in 846 we Scots were ſubjected to the Norwegians, as Du Cheſne's hiſtorian ſays; or that in 937 Olave was our king, as the Icelandic writers bear. In the other Icelandic poems, and traditions, relating to events preceding the eleventh century, the names *Skota land* and *Skotland* generally belong to Ireland. Thus in Ragnar's death-ſong *Skotland* is Ireland; and in the Ranſom of Egil, Eric, a Daniſh king of Northumbria, is called 'Commander of the Scotiſh fleet,' becauſe he had commanded that of the Scandinavians in Ireland. Saxo Grammaticus fabulouſly ſays Ragnar Lodbrog ſubdued *Scotia* and *Petia*; that is, Ireland, and Pikland or preſent Scotland. But there not being an Icelandic or Scandinavian piece extant preceding the eleventh century, ſave a few poems and traditions, it is no wonder that Scotland generally appears in ſuch late writers, as now accepted; and that many of theſe writers confound Ireland with Scotland.

There being thus not *one* authority for the preſent Scots being known by that name, till the eleventh

eleventh century, none but mere dreamers and romancers can aſſert the contrary, in deſpite of plain truth and reaſon, and every rule of hiſtory. But that the name of Scots was uſed in its preſent acceptation in the eleventh century is certain; and they who would make it yet later err on the other ſide. Turgot, confeſſor of queen Margaret, wrote her life in the end of the eleventh century, and calls her huſband Malcom III. king of Scots. The Saxon Chronicle, apparently written under William Rufus, alſo accepts Scots as now, toward the end of the work; and applies that name, as uſual, to the people after ſo called, even before its preſent application. Macbeth is called *rex Scotorum* in a charter, if genuine [l]. So is indeed a Malcom, but doubtful if the Second, in the charter of Murtlach, whoſe very exiſtence is however dubious. Marianus Scotus, who wrote about 1070 calls Ireland *Scotia*; but at 1034 calls the preſent Scots, *Scoti*. On the whole the reign of Malcom II. 1001 till 1031, is the proper æra of this new name; and taking the middle of his reign, it appeared about 1016. In 1150 Ireland and Scotland were known by their preſent names even in Egypt [m].

Having thus adjuſted the real date of this name, it remains to trace its origin. Two queſtions only ariſe on this ſubject.

1. If the later Scots, or thoſe of North Britain after 1016, received their name from the *Scoti Britanniæ*, of Adomnan and Beda?

2. If, on the contrary, the later Scoti were quite a different people; and the name proceeded from another cauſe?

The firſt queſtion muſt be anſwered in the negative; for the Scots of the eleventh century were as different a people from thoſe of Adomnan

[l] Ruddiman Introd. ad Dipl. Scotiæ.
[m] Geogr. Nub. Climat. 7. part. 2.

and

and Beda, as the Hungarians are from the Huns, or the Marcomanni of Tacitus from the Marcomanni of Rabanus Maurus. The old Scots uſed the Celtic tongue, and came from Ireland to Dalriada or Argyle. The later Scots uſed the Gothic tongue, and came from Scandinavia, being the very ſame people before called Piks. There was certainly no revolution in North Britain in the time of Malcom II. and yet the name firſt appears then. The name was at firſt confined to the middle of the eaſtern part of Scotland, as above ſhewn: and as it ſpred over the reſt without revolution, ſo it is certain it began without revolution. Had it proceeded from Kenneth's bearing the Pikiſh ſceptre, it would have begun then: but, on the contrary, he, and his ſucceſſors, are called kings of the Piks; then kings of Albany, 894; then kings of the Scots, 1016. Giraldus, or whoever wrote the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*, had his information from Andrew biſhop of Caithneſs, and was certainly well informed as to it's then ſtate, 1180. He tells us Albany was called Scotia, CORRUPTE, 'corruptly.' Had the old Scots vanquiſhed the Piks, as fabled, the name was proper, not corrupt. The ſame writer affords clear evidence that the old Scots of Beda did not impart their name to the later Scots; but had on the contrary loſt their own, and were not regarded as Scots, when the later name began. For he ſays, *Montes qui dividunt Scociam ab Arregaithel*, 'the mountains which divide Scotland from Argyle:' and he tells us the people of Argyle were *Hybernenſes*, whereas he gives no hint that the later *Scotti* were ſo: but, on the contrary, his ſpecial mention that the people of Argyle were *Hibernenſes*, or Iriſh, ſufficiently implies that the later Scoti were not, any more than the Moravienſes, Lodonenſes, Galweienſes, who were all afterward called Scots. So alſo in the *Chron. Pictorum* the Dalreudini, or Scots of Beda, are called *Gadeli*, as a ſpecial diſ-

tinction from the *Scoti*, the name there given to the eaſtern people or Piks. This ſhews the radical miſtake of our fabuliſts, who confound the old Scoti with the later; as Olahus, and other Hungarian fabuliſts, take the Huns for the Hungarians. Moreover the old Engliſh writers on the war of the ſtandard, 1138, mention the *Scoti* along with the Galweienſes, Lodonenſes, &c. Theſe Scots were certainly not Highlanders, a people always deſpiſed as mere ſavages by our monarchs; but the people from Forth to Moray, as Sir David Dalrymple obſerves in his Annals. Their offenſive arms were ſpears, the known weapons of the Lowland Scots, in later times. The Highlanders are called *Hibernenſes*, 1180; and ſo Barbour, 1375, calls them *Eriſchry*, 'Iriſh;' and our other writers to this day term their language *Erſe*, or Iriſh. Even in 1180, or the century after the firſt appearance of the later name of Scots, the Highlanders, or old Scots of Beda, are ſpecially diſtinguiſhed as a different people from the later Scots; ſo that it is clear that the later Scots were not ſo called, becauſe the ſame identic people with the old Scots of Britain, or even incorporated with them; ſeeing that the old Scots actually were not called Scots when this name was firſt given to the later Scots, but, on the contrary, were termed Iriſh, as a ſufficient diſtinction from the later Scots, who were not Iriſh. This plain account may occaſion a ſmile at the Scotiſh and Iriſh antiquiſts, who have fought ſo long about what none of them underſtood: for as the Scots of Ireland did not proceed from Britain, ſo the preſent Scots did not come from Ireland. This diſcovery was as unexpected by me, as the failure of the Dalriadic line a century before Kenneth; and as i have on a former occaſion expreſſed the contrary of both theſe points[n], before i had

[n] Eſſay on the Origin of Scotiſh Poetry, prefixt to Ancient Scotiſh Poems from the Maitland Collection. London, 1786.

fully

fully examined them, i hope every reader will acquit me of all prejudice. Indeed the matter is ſo unimportant, that i can hardly conceive how any prejudice can ariſe upon it.

The ſecond queſtion is of courſe anſwered in the affirmative, namely, that the later, and preſent Scots, are quite a different people from the *Scoti Britanniæ* of Adomnan and Beda: and their name proceeded not from any conqueſt, or coaleſcence with the old *Scoti*, but from ſome other cauſe. This cauſe in fact marked them not as the *ſame*, but as a *different* people, as above ſhewn. The name began in North Britain, on the eaſt, between Forth and Moray; while the old Scots of Argyle were regarded as *Hibernenſes* not as *Scoti*. And the country, where the name firſt began, had been ever regarded as the prime ſeat of the Piks, who continued its poſſeſſors as the names, and language, and people of that tract, always were, and are, Gothic. But how came this new name of Scots to be given to a central part of the Piks, around the king's reſidence? It is anſwered, juſt as the name of Scots originally aroſe in Ireland. The whole little learning of Pikland lay among the Iriſh clergy; for Ireland, as it ſupplied England, and even France, with many clergy, ſo it ſupplied almoſt all the clergy of Pikland. Hyona was indeed the ſupreme cathedral of Pikland, as Beda tells, and all know: and Hyona was furniſhed with abbots, &c. from Ireland. The Piks, a northern Gothic nation, deſpiſed holineſs, and the learning then in vogue, as long as their anceſtors of Scandinavia; and there is not one Pikiſh ſaint or writer on record. This clearly evidences that their clergy, or only literati, muſt have been Iriſh. And there is every reaſon to believe that the name *Scoti* was given them by their Iriſh clergy, for one of theſe two reaſons, or both. 1. The Dalreudini, tho originally mixt with Goths, yet from intermarriages in Ireland,

and conſtant intercourſe with that kingdom, became almoſt quite Celtic; or at leaſt certainly uſed the Celtic tongue from the beginning. In that tongue the Scythians or Goths were called Scots, as fully explained above; and as the Celts call themſelves by generic names, ſo they naturally gave a generic name to the Piks, who were Scythians or Scots. And thus, as the wild Iriſh were at firſt termed *Hibernenſes*, and their Gothic conquerors *Scoti*, ſo the wild Highlanders, and their Gothic neighbours, fell into the very ſame diſtinctions of *Hibernenſes* and *Scoti*. 2. But it ſeems more probable that the Iriſh churchmen did not receive this novelty from the vulgar, but gave riſe to it themſelves. For diſcovering from Beda, and others, that the Piks were Scythæ, and from Nennius, and Iriſh chronicles, that the name Scythæ was ſynonymous with Scoti, they would naturally give their favorite term to the Piks, as real Scythæ or Scoti. Other cauſes might concur. *Picti* was but an odd name for a people; and the practice of ſtaining the body was conſidered as Pagan, and the very memory of it to be aboliſhed. The real word from which this was latinized, *Pihtar*, or *Pehtar*, never occurred as ſuch; but the ſecond meaning *painted* was odious in every view. *Pehts* was a harſh word to latinize; tho, had Witichind fallen in the way of theſe people, perhaps REX PEHITORUM might have remained, to the laſting clearneſs of our hiſtory. But *Albani* was lyable to none of theſe objections; yet having never been uſed by Roman writers, as applicable to the Scots, it obtained no notice. Perſonal vanity might alſo induce the Iriſh clergy to give their beloved name *Scoti* to their Pikiſh laity. But it was certainly the very worſt name that could have been given, as it belonged to a neighbouring country; and the confuſion it has introduced into our hiſtory is eternal and irremediable. The new Scots were

were however more properly ſo, than the old, as they preſerved their Scythic or Gothic language: and the name was ſo far curious as in Ireland, and Scotland, it formed an extreme weſtern bound for the Scythic ſettlements in Europe, as Ancient Scythia on the Euxine did the extreme eaſtern bound of theſe ſettlements. That the name of Scots was given to the Piks, becauſe it was obſerved that the later were really Scythæ, as the former were originally, is not merely a plauſible conjecture, but actually reſts upon an ancient and valuable monument of our hiſtory. For the *Chronicon Regum Pictorum*, whoſe perfect concordance with all the beſt, and moſt ancient, Engliſh and Iriſh writers, renders it the moſt valuable of all our hiſtoric fragments, as fully ſhewn before, has a preface ſhewing the identity of the Piks, Scythæ, Scoti. This Chronicle is certainly one of our moſt ancient monuments, and written in or before the eleventh century; for, after that time, the new name *Scoti* had ſuch a pernicious effect, that the hiſtory of the Piks became a ſacrifice to that of the old *Scoti*, who had no concern with the new *Scoti*. The preface to it ſeems fully to evidence the reaſons that led to change the name of *Picti* for *Scoti*. It tells that the *Picti* were ſo called from ſtaining their bodies; in which, as in other points, it gives the very words of Iſidorus, whoſe etymologies are ſo riſible. The author never reflected that *Pihtar*, the vulgar name for the Piks, could only be latinized *Picti*, and that the meaning of the later word was foreign to the queſtion: and that Iſidorus never heard of the indigenal name, but gave at random an etymology, indeed plauſible if compared with his others, for his work in this view is a perpetual fund of laughter. The preface then ſays the *Scoti* are ſo called "quaſi Sciti, quia a Scythia regione venerunt." Then the arrival of the Britons is noted, in the words of Nennius, as is that of the Scots or

Scythæ in Ireland. It is added, *Gentes Scitiæ albo crine naſcuntur, ab aſſiduis nivibus; et ipſius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani; de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti et Picti.* 'The nations of Scythia are born with white hair, becauſe of the perpetual ſnow; and the colour of their hair gave the name of Albani (White) to the nation, from which the Scots and Piks drew their origin.' This curious paſſage ſhews that the Piks were called *Albani*; and that they and the Scots were reputed of common origin as Scythæ. The Chronicle then remarks on the Aſiatic Albani, and the Gothi, Gethæ, or Scythæ, and Daci, and gives a long account of Ancient Scythia on the Euxine, chiefly in the words of Iſidorus. This preface is very curious, as it ſhews the then ſtate of learning in Pikland. Iſidorus was the favorite author there, as in Ireland, where the etymology of *Ibernia* from *Iberia* was firſt diſcovered from him; and all the Mileſian fables built upon that baſis. Perhaps the perverſion both of Iriſh, and of Scotiſh, ancient hiſtory ſprings ſolely from one fooliſh book, the *Origines* of Iſidorus. Such are human affairs! I ſuſpect that Iſidorus is the ſole father of the new name of Scoti given to the Piks; and that the following ſentence ruined the hiſtory of Pikland; *Scoti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum ſtigmate annotantur.* Orig. lib. IX. p. 120, edit. Paris, 1601, fol. 'The Scots are ſo called in their own language, from painting their bodies, becauſe they are marked in various figures with iron needles and ink [b].' After this who could doubt that *Scoti* and *Picti* were but different names for the ſame people? And is it a wonder that the Iriſh prieſts gave their favorite name *Scoti* to the Piks?

[b] With this very paſſage the *Chron. Pictorum* begins, only for *Scoti* is put *Picti*.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

Manners and Antiquities of this Period from 843 *till* 1056.

WHAT is ſaid in the former volume, concerning the manners and antiquities of the Piks, may be alſo generally referred to this period. The manners even of the Lowlanders continued very barbarous, as might be expected among a people ſhut up, in a corner of a remote iland, from the advantages of intercourſe with ſouthern and civilized nations. The meek temper of Chriſtianity, while it perhaps too much emolliated the manners of ſouthern nations, had the moſt beneficial effects upon the ferocity of the northern. But nothing can more ſtrongly mark the poverty of Scotland, than the fewneſs of her epiſcopal ſees, and great churches, preceding the reign of David I. 1124. Abernethy, Dunkeld, and St. Andrews, were founded before 843, as formerly narrated; and it ſeems remarkable that we find no valid authority for any other religious foundation preceding the year 1056[a]. Had any ſuch taken place, our old liſts could never have been totally ſilent on the ſubject.

The manners of the North Britons, at this period, can only be ſtudied in thoſe of the Scandinavians, to be found in different Icelandic authors; and which we may ſafely regard as parallel to thoſe of their brethren in Pikland. But

[a] The Chron. Pict. mentions that Kenneth IV. gave Brechen to the church. Does this imply that a church was founded there, or that he gave it to a church already founded, as Dunkeld, &c.?

ſo much has been ſaid upon this ſubject in the former volume, that i ſhall not enlarge upon it here, but ſhall content myſelf with adding a few remarks upon ſuch ancient monuments in Scotland, as ſeem peculiar to this period.

Of theſe the buildings vulgarly called Piks Houſes form a remarkable inſtance. They are of a conic form, and of two kinds. *Firſt*, the ſmall, which conſiſt of a hall, or large apartment in the middle, with places for beds on the ſides, as uſual among the Icelanders and other Goths [b]. At about the height of twelve feet the wall converges into a conic arch, with a hole in the center, to emit the ſmoke. *Secondly*, the large, which have walls thirty or forty feet high as yet remaining, but converge not to a point at the top, tho parts of the wall ſeem ſtill of the original height.

The firſt are infallibly the moſt ancient, and are now only found in the northern extremities of Scotland, where there was no temptation to uſe their ſtones for fences, or other civilized purpoſes. A good deſcription and print of ſuch may be found in Mr. Pennant's third volume. The walls are of prodigious thickneſs, piled with dry ſtones, but with conſiderable art. I am almoſt tempted to think that Arthur's Oven, a Roman work, furniſhed our rude anceſtors with a hint for ſuch buildings, being a ſimilar fabric with a hole in the roof, but of far ſuperior art and neatneſs. Theſe caſtles, tho rude and ſmall, were certainly only uſed by the chiefs, or the rich, while the common people had wooden or turf huts. They, as well as the next, are ſeldom found on hills; but are generally in glens, and by the ſides of waters.

The ſecond, or large caſtles, are of a conſtruction quite ſingular. The walls, as they yet remain, are often from thirty to forty feet high;

[b] See Gunlang's Saga, and the plates in it.

and

and the central area of as great diameter. There are two walls; the inner of which riſes erect; the outer, generally at the bottom four or five feet diſtant from the other, gradually verges inward, till it joins. The outer wall has no windows, or holes at all, except a ſmall door. The inner has windows, ſometimes large, with ſtone ſhelves running acroſs, ſometimes very ſmall. Between the walls is a rude ſtaircaſe, running to the top; and two or three galleries five or ſix feet high paſs above each other all around, between the walls, except where interrupted by the rude ſtaircaſe. The middle ſpace formed one great round hall, open at the top; and there is no mark of any floors; as indeed, even in later times, halls were often thirty to forty feet high[c]. Theſe large caſtles are more common than the ſmall, and are even numerous in the north of Scotland, and in the Hebudes and Orkneys. Particularly in the vale of Glenelg, near Bernera, on the weſt of Inverneſs-ſhire, there are no leſs than four. Dun Dornadilla is a remarkable one in that moſt unknown corner of Scotland, the North Weſt extremity, around the Cape called *Hvarf* by the Norwegians, and now corruptly *Wrath*. It ſeems to have received its name from a female poſſeſſor[d]; as for king Dornadilla, he is a non-exiſtence, and of the family of Gargantua. Perhaps indeed the parſon of the pariſh, after Boyce's fables appeared, told the people that this muſt have been a reſidence of Dornadilla the great hunter; and they preſerve this information by pious tradition. But it is fooliſh to reaſon upon traditional names, or any thing belonging to tradition; elſe we might conclude Arthur's Oven to be juſtly ſo called.

[c] See Gordon's Itin. Sept. Pennant's Tour. Archæologia, vols. V. VI. Cordiner's Antiquities.

[d] Dornagilla, a common female name.

Mr.

Mr. King regards theſe edifices as the rudimental forms of Gothic caſtles. They evidently belong to this period of our hiſtory; and were followed by the ſquare tower, ſuch as the caſtle of Oldwick. The Norman lords, who acquired poſſeſſions in Scotland, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, muſt have introduced the complete Norman caſtle. In the North of Scotland, and the Orkneys, theſe conic edifices are called Piks Houſes. In the Hebudes the ſame kind of forts, in all reſpects, are called Daniſh; and in Scotland the vulgar aſcribe many antiquities to the *Pehts*, in which they had no ſhare. Nothing can indeed be founded on tradition, which is always uncertain, if not always falſe; and it is even beneath a ſevere writer once to mention it. There is one circumſtance, which ſtrongly indicates theſe forts Norwegian; namely, that they extend over the Orkneys, Hebudes, Caithneſs, Sutherland, and Roſs, and are found in no other part of Scotland. That is, they are found exactly in thoſe very parts which were held by the Norwegians. A local invention might take place among the Norwegians in Scotland; and not extend to their other poſſeſſions. But, at the ſame time, it muſt be reflected, that not many of theſe forts exiſt even in the north of Scotland, excluding the Orkneys and Hebudes. And if any are found in the eaſt and ſouth, where the Grampians, and other hills, afford glens enough for their erection and preſervation, the claim of the Piks muſt come in. In the Appendix to Mr. Pennant's third volume, p. 453, is mention of the foundations of ſeveral ſuch circular buildings exiſting in one ſpot near Perth. But certainly ſome muſt be found as entire in the eaſt and ſouth as in the north, if really Pikiſh works. As the caſe ſtands I muſt ſay that they appear to me Norwegian, upon the model of the ſmaller ſort, which

ſeem

ſeem Pikiſh, and far more ancient, as above mentioned [f].

A great ſingularity attending theſe edifices is, that in Glenelg, on the weſtern extremity of Inverneſs-ſhire, oppoſite to the Ile of Skey, were no leſs than four of them, within the extent of one mile. If we ſuppoſe them forts of defence garriſoned againſt an enemy, or reſidences of chiefs, this proximity is alike puzzling; and contrary to the practice of all ages and countries. If garriſons, they could neither have been placed ſo

[f] At Sualſberg near Drontheim, Norway, there is one of theſe conic edifices. Pennant, II. 437. The caſtle of Ymſborg, Weſtrogothia ſeems another. Dahlberg, Suecia Ant. et Hod. tom. III. But i queſtion if there be any reſemblance but in figure: the double walls, galleries, ſhelves, &c. being wanting.

Much has been lately ſaid, and written, concerning ſome vitrified forts diſcovered in Scotland. Some believed that Oſſian was the builder; and ſome that the infernal monarch had baked them with his own fire. At length a letter appeared in the Edin. Mag. Sept. 1787, written, as i am informed, by George Dempſter, Eſq. whoſe name implies every praiſe of a patriot and a man, which diſcovered that theſe vitrified forts belong to the thirteenth century. The authority is Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonſtown, in his hiſtory of the Sutherland Family, folio MS. p. 5, of the Geographical Deſcription of Sutherland: "Dun Creigh was built with a ſtrange kynd of morter, by one Paull Macktyre. This I doe take to be a kynd of ore; howſoever this is moſt certaine that ther hath not been ſeen ane harder kynd of morter." Again, p. 19, of the Genealogie of the Earls of Sutherland: "Paull Macktyre was a man of great power and poſſeſſions" (between 1275 and 1297, as appears from dates inſerted). "In his time he poſſeſſed the lands of Creigh in Sutherland; and built a houſe called Down Creigh, with ſuch a kynd of hard morter, that at this day it cannot be known wherof it was maid. As he was building this houſe and fortreſſe, he had intelligence that his onlie ſon was ſlain in Catteynes, in company with one Murthow Rea, ane outlaw, and valiant captane, in theſe dayes; which made him deſiſt from further building, when he had almoſt finiſhed the ſame. There are many things fabulouslie reported of this Paull Macktyre, amongſt the vulgure people, which I doe omit to relate." Sir Rob. Sibbald's MSS, Ad. Lib. have in his *Vera Sutherlandiæ Deſcriptio*, "Varia ſunt hîc caſtella .... Down Crigh a quodam Paulo Mactiro extructum fuit."

near, nor have ſtood in glens, the very worſt ſituation. Antiquaries and commentators generally paſs over difficult paſſages, without even a hint; and it is therefore no wonder that no writer on the ſubject has attempted to explain this. But from the proximity, and ſheltered ſituation of ſome of theſe edifices, ſuch would appear winter retreats of the richer claſs of inhabitants, with their retainers. For we are not to ſuppoſe that among the Piks, or Norwegians, Gothic nations, not ſplit into breeds or clans, the caſe was the ſame as among the Celts, whoſe chiefs were kings, and the clan beggars and ſlaves, without property or poſſeſſion. Among the ancient Germans arable land belonged to the tribe, and not to individuals, as we learn from Tacitus. And paſture-ground, as the Highlands of Scotland, muſt have been common to the ſociety of the diſtrict; but individuals were wealthy in proportion to their herds and flocks. That unique work *Iſlands Landnamabok*, or The Book of Icelandic Origins, being the only one containing a full and minute diſplay of the ſettlement of a barbaric colony, throws great light on the ſtate of property among the Norwegians, in the ninth century. Individuals had numerous flocks of ſheep and of ſwine, wandering on the mountains, while their few horſes and cattle were carefully kept near home, and ſhut up at night in turf ſtables adjoining to the houſe. Many were rich in this primitive wealth; and the poor were free and induſtrious, and had their voice in the national council, when the wealthy did not forget that they were men. The rich pretended not to be tyrants, but lived in concord and ſubjection to the laws. It alſo appears from that work, that the numerous ſtoremen, or rich, had ſummer reſidences [s], and winter reſidences: the former on

[s] *Sumer ſeter*, p. 126, 131, &c.

the

the hills; the later in ſheltered glens, and ſometimes ſo near each other, as to form little towns. Friendſhip, family connections, and mutual defence and intercourſe, naturally occaſioned ſuch inſtances. The mountainous lands being free paſture, there was no room for an eſtate with a caſtle, as in later times of fixt and hereditary property. When the ſtate of ſociety therefore is conſidered, the propinquity of theſe caſtles will not be matter of ſurprize: and it is obſervable that they are called *Duns* in the Highlands, the Gothic word for a *Town*, the later being a ſlight alteration of it, as in the Gothic D and T are often interchanged. In Scotland a farm-houſe with out-houſes, or two or three ſtanding near each other, are called *towns* by the common people to this day.

At Dunrobin, a ſeat of the earls of Sutherland, one of theſe Pik's houſes, as vulgarly called, has ſeveral ſmall ones of the ſame form communicating with the large [h]. Theſe were apparently for more numerous ſervants and flocks, belonging to the owner. Caſtle Troddan, Glenelg, has a ruinous building fronting the door, and opening toward it, ſurely for flocks or herds; for the door of the large ones is ſo ſmall, that a horſe or cow could not enter; ſo that adjacent receptacles were neceſſary for them. This ſmallneſs of the door is an uſual practice among barbaric nations; perhaps meant for more warmth and ſecurity; or perhaps merely an erroneous cuſtom, for in moſt arts the beſt plan, tho quite obvious, is ſeldom lighted on at firſt.

Theſe buildings are intereſting as ſpecimens of the moſt ancient Gothic caſtles. Mr. King has conſidered them in this view; and obſerves that Coninſburg caſtle, Yorkſhire, the oldeſt in England, is a mere improvement of a Pikiſh *dun*.

[h] Archæolog. Vol. V. Williams, p. 64.

But

But as Yorkſhire was in antient Northumbria, the great ſeat of the Danes, i take Coninſburg to be Daniſh, and not Saxon, as Mr. King infers.

Another claſs of monuments, ſome of which are perhaps as ancient as this period from 843 till 1056, are the engraven obeliſques. Saxo tells us, that Regnar Lodbrog, about 840, erected ſuch ſtones in honour of his victories[i]; and thoſe in Scotland are ſometimes aſcribed to the Danes. During the diſaſtrous reign of Conſtantin II. 864—882, the Danes indeed ravaged in the very vitals of Pikland. In 867 Olave waſted Pikland from New Year's Day till 17th March. About 878 the Danes remained a whole year in Pikland. Theſe events are preſerved in the *Chron. Pictorum*, one of the moſt valuable records of our genuine hiſtory. But theſe invaders came merely for ſpoil, as appears from Tighernac; and it is not to be ſuppoſed that they would be at the trouble and expence of erecting ſuch artificial monuments of their rapine. In England, and eſpecially in Northumberland, theſe ſpoilers remained fixt, and yet have left no ſuch monuments. I therefore conclude with Mr. Pennant, that theſe remains belong to the Piks, the inhabitants of the country. But when Mr. Pennant ſays, III. 168, that no ſuch ſtones are found in Scandinavia, without Runic inſcriptions, he goes too far; for in the edition of Saxo by Stephanius, p. 173, three ſtones, Nos. 4, 5, 6, are ſimilar to the Pikiſh, and without inſcriptions: not to name

i Regnerus ſaxis rerum geſtarum apices præ ſe ferentibus, hiſdemque ſuperne locatis, æternum victoriæ ſuæ monumentum affixit. Saxo IX. Such ſtones were called *Bautaſtene*. Steph. 15. The oldeſt *certain* Runic inſcriptions in Scandinavia ſeem of Gormo, king of Denmark, A. D. 910. Ib. p. 203, 204. As for the *apices* of Regner they ſeem *ſymbols*. Wormius was often impoſed on, and his work is full of falſe inſcriptions. A runic forgery of Halpap, *Hialmari Hiſtoria*, impoſed on Peringſkiold and Hickes, both of whom publiſhed it with great pomp and expence.

other

other inſtances, tho the Northern antiquaries have ſeldom thought thoſe without inſcriptions worth publiſhing. And indeed the want of letters among the Piks cannot be enough regretted on every occaſion of their hiſtory. It muſt alſo be added, that if theſe ſtones had been memorials of enemies, the inhabitants would have eagerly deſtroyed ſuch trophies of their ſhame.

In Scandinavia ſuch ſtones are found of as late erection as the fifteenth century; which is evidenced by their dates, and there is room to infer that thoſe in Scotland are far later than is generally imagined. Upon looking into Mr. Cordiner's Antiquities, it will be found that the figures on theſe obeliſques are of the ſame ſtyle and kind with thoſe on ſome tomb-ſtone, which he produces, remaining in and near churches known to have been founded in the twelfth century; and which tomb-ſtones have, like the obeliſques, no inſcriptions. The obeliſque near Forres is the moſt remarkable, and has been publiſhed by Mr. Cordiner with laudable care. Perhaps it was erected by Malcom IV. upon his victories over the Moravians. The common Scotiſh dreſs appears, from it, to have been a tunic with ſkirts, girded round the waiſt. Trouſers or breeches were a luxury among the barbaric Goths, and only uſed by the chiefs; and it appears, from Mr. Strutt's plates, that even among the common people in England, breeches were not uſed till after the eleventh century. The dreſs of the common Saxons is quite the ſame with that of the Scots on the obeliſques at Forres. The want of inſcriptions on thoſe monuments is one proof, among many, of the ſlow progreſs of letters in Scotland.

As national councils and courts of juſtice were held in the open air till late times, there is room to infer that ſome of the ſtone circles, fooliſhly called Druidic temples, belong to this period.

PART

PART VI.

Eccleſiaſtic and Literary Hiſtory.

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CHAPTER I.

Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory.

THE grand intention of this work may be regarded as already fulfilled, in the forgoing pages; which, it is hoped, place our ancient hiſtory upon the perpetual baſis of ancient authorities, or, in other words, of hiſtoric truth. What ſhall be here added in this laſt Part, and in the Supplement, is rather illuſtrative, than eſſential; and ſhall therefore be more briefly treated, than thoſe radical points, upon which the very exiſtence of our hiſtory depends.

In this chapter on our ancient Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory, it is only propoſed, in the firſt place, to offer a few remarks on the converſion of the people of North Britain to chriſtianity; and laſtly, to hint at the few events, which can be recovered, in chronologic order.

Baronius expreſſes great wonder that the converſion of the Scots in Britain ſhould be totally omitted by Beda, and by other ancient writers. But when the ſimple light of truth is diſcovered, it throws uniform ſplendor all around it; and to him who has attended to the forgoing pages, this wonder will totally ceaſe. Beda's Scots in Britain were but the inhabitants of Argyle, a petty diſtrict, and were converted to chriſtianity during their exile in Ireland, from 446 till 503. Their converſion was beneath notice. That of the inhabitants of North Britain, the Piks, after 1016 called Scots, is ſufficiently illuſtrated by Beda, as its importance required.

But our ignorant dreamers, in a paroxyſm of ſelf-love for the Scotiſh name, and confounding Beda's Scots in Britain with quite a different people, the later and preſent Scots, contend that Palladius was ſent to the Scots in Britain, as Patrick was to the Iriſh. I queſtion if the very exiſtence of the Scots in Britain, that great people in Argyle, was in the leaſt known to the Pope who ſent Palladius. The Scots of Ireland, ſince the hereſy of Pelagius, had been well known, and attracted particular attention: but the occaſion requires a few hints on the converſion of the Iriſh.

Chriſtianity had made ſome progreſs in Ireland, before the miſſion of Palladius and Patrick, 430 and 432. Nothing can evince this more clearly than the hereſy of Pelagius, which as Uſher ſhews, from collation of the beſt authorities, broke out in 405. Tho Pelagius was a Briton, yet his apoſtle Celeſtius, condemned in the Synod of Carthage 412, was a *Scotus*, or Iriſhman. Hence St. Jerome,

rome, who lived at this time, calls the hereſy of Pelagius *pultis Scotorum*, 'Scotiſh potage;' and rails at it as peculiarly Scotiſh, that is Iriſh. Some Counſels alſo admoniſh againſt the *pultis Scotorum*. The reader has ſeen above, from the conſent of all antiquity, that the name *Scoti* belonged to the Iriſh alone, till the eleventh century; at which time, by a caprice of chance, it paſſed to the Piks or preſent Scots. That Celeſtius was an Iriſhman follows of courſe; and he became ſo illuſtrious a propagator of this hereſy that, as Auguſtin informs, it's followers were in his time called Celeſtians, not Pelagians. The *pultis Scotorum*, and ſimilar expreſſions, indicate that this hereſy was not confined to one *Scotus*, Celeſtius; but that he had many followers of his own country. At any rate it would be abſurd to think that Celeſtius was the only *Scotus*, who was a chriſtian; and it is on the contrary fair to conclude that, by means of intercourſe with Britain, chriſtianity had made ſome progreſs in Ireland, in the fourth century. But as Gildas teſtifies that even in his time the Britons were much addicted to paganiſm, ſuch ſeems to have been the caſe in Ireland, down to St. Patrick's time at leaſt. And chriſtianity was not received by the kings, till St. Patrick's time, ſo that it was liable to total expulſion, till in his hands it became regal and univerſal. He is therefore deſervedly eſteemed the apoſtle of Ireland.

The Pelagian or Celeſtian hereſy had excited great ferment in chriſtendom; and it is no wonder that it drew much attention of the biſhop of Rome, now aſpiring to pre-eminent power, toward the *Scoti* or Iriſh, after whoſe name it was ſpecially called. Accordingly Pope Celeſtinus in 429 ſent Germanus, a Gallic biſhop, to purge Britain of this hereſy; and in the ſame, or next, year ſent Palladius, a deacon of the Roman church, to Ireland, for the ſame purpoſe; appointing him biſhop of all the *Scoti*, or Iriſh, who believed in Chriſt.

Germanus, having performed his commiſſion, returned to his own ſee of Autun in Burgundy. Palladius, after remaining a ſhort time in Ireland, left it; and died in Britain on his return to Rome. If we believe old authors of the life of St. Patrick, Palladius died in Pikland. Others ſay he was martyred in Ireland: others that he died in the territory of the Britons. The firſt account, namely, that he died in Pikland, is the moſt ſingular; but it ſeems likely that he paſſed over to Britain, from the north of Ireland, and died in Galloway, held by Piks after 426, as above ſhewn. But the place and manner of his death is ſo uncertain, that nothing can be built on it. From Proſper we know that he was ſent *ad Scotos*; and that this name belonged ſolely to the Iriſh till 1016, the reader has ſeen above. As for the Scots of Argyle they were certainly of importance, and deſerve to uſurp the hiſtory of Ireland! yet can nothing be more riſible, than the conduct of ſome of our antiquiſts on this occaſion. They contend that the ancient church in Scotland was not ſubject to Roman biſhops, yet contend that Palladius was ſent to them! But national phrenzy is capable of any abſurdity. It ſuffices to obſerve on this ſubject, that Palladius is quite unknown to the old and genuine monuments of our hiſtory. Ninian, Columba, and, in later times, St. Andrew, are the only ſaintly patrons of our accounts. Not a church was ever dedicated to Palladius in Scotland; nor is there a trace of him in our hiſtory, or tradition: whereas Tighernac who wrote in 1088, and old writers of St. Patrick's life, with other Iriſh, Britiſh, and Engliſh old documents, fix his miſſion to Ireland; where his name was ever revered, and conſecrated by churches, and popular tradition.

It would ſeem that Palladius, educated in the ſplendor of the Roman pontificate, found Ireland in

in ſuch a ſtate of barbariſm, that he left it in order to acquaint the pope with its almoſt pagan condition, and to procure aſſiſting miſſionaries. However this be, after his death, Patrick, a native of Stratclyde, was ſent to Ireland in 432, where he met with great ſucceſs. That Patrick ſucceeded Palladius in his function, the teſtimonies of ancient writers are numerous; and none of us has yet imagined that Patrick was ſent to preſent Scotland: ſo that the dreams of our antiquiſts on this, as on other ſubjects, not only ſhew an ignorance groſs beyond example, but are alſo ſo irrational as to defy reaſon, while they defy truth.

Another late dream of our antiquiſts is, that Scotland was converted by eaſtern miſſionaries! The cauſe of this profound idea is that thoſe ſcriblers, who pretend to treat our antiquities, are ſo groſſly ignorant even in this the eighteenth century, as to confound the diſputes between the church of Rome and thoſe of Ireland and Scotland, concerning the time of keeping Eaſter, with thoſe between the Roman and Eaſtern church! In any other country ſchool-boys have more learning; but, in ſuch a night of ignorance, it is no wonder that all objects ſeem alike.

The difference between the Roman and eaſtern church concerning Eaſter, which began about the year 200, lay in this. The churches of Aſia obſerved this feaſt on the fourteenth moon, upon whatſoever day of the week it fell out, being the day on which the Jews offered their paſchal lamb. The church of Rome celebrated it on the Sunday following that day, if it chanced not to fall on Sunday; but did not, as the eaſtern churches had, from perpetual practice and tradition, ever done, celebrate Eaſter on a week day. Thus the difference between the Roman and Eaſtern church only conſiſted in *ſix days* at moſt; and the only queſtion was, whether Eaſter was to be celebrated on

the week day on which it fell, or on the Sunday following[a].

Very different was the diſpute between the Roman church, and thoſe of Britain and Ireland, concerning Eaſter. It began in the ſixth century upon this ground. In 532 Dionyſius Exiguus, a Roman prieſt, introduced a great variation into the mode of computing Eaſter, of which the technical terms would neither inſtruct nor entertain the reader. Suffice it to ſay that his rule, adopted by the Roman church, threw the celebration of Eaſter a whole *month* further back than before. But Britain and Ireland were as obſtinate for their old Eaſter, as they were lately for the old ſtyle; and thus keeped Eaſter a whole month before the Roman church. Cuminius, who lived at the time, ſpecially mentions this difference of a month[b]; and the diſpute between the Roman, and the Britiſh and Iriſh churches, was not known till Auguſtin the monk was ſent to convert the Saxons in 597. Adomnan[c] tells us that Columba about 585 propheſied concerning it. Nothing can be more ridiculous therefore, than to confound ſuch different matters: and the dreams concerning eaſtern miſſionaries all fall to the ground of courſe. Indeed it was abſurd to infer ſuch a conſequence at any rate; for the Scots or Iriſh were converted by the Britiſh, and the Piks or preſent Scotiſh by the Iriſh and Britiſh; ſo that there was no occaſion to go further than to the Britiſh, for the variation of Eaſter. And the Britiſh, as we know from Euſebius, in the time of Conſtantine I. obſerved it in the ſame way as other weſtern nations. There is therefore no occaſion to infer that the Britons were converted by eaſtern miſſionaries; nor that

[a] At the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, Aſia was forced to follow the European mode; and from that time till 532 all the world kept Eaſter alike.

[b] Uſſer. Sylloge, p. 34.

[c] Lib. I. c. 3.

the

the Scots or Iriſh, nor Piks or preſent Scots were; ſeeing that the former were in the fourth century perfectly agreed with the Romans, and the later two nations were converted by the former. The variations of the Roman church were of far poſterior date: and the Eaſtern church differed from the Britiſh, as from the Roman, even at the very firſt.

Thoſe fables being diſcuſſed, it remains to ſtate the truth concerning the converſion of the Piks or preſent Scots, as narrated by Beda, Lib. III. c. 4. We are there informed that, in the year 565, Columba came from Ireland to convert the northern Piks, or thoſe to the north of the Grampian hills. And upon this occaſion Beda tells us, that the Piks on the ſouth of thoſe hills had been converted by Ninian long before, *multo ante tempore*. The time when Ninian lived, is eaſily adjuſted from his life, written by Ailred the famous abbot of Reval, about 1150, or tranſlated from the Saxon, and a copy of which from that in the Bodleian library is now before me. It tells that Ninian, in his return from Rome, viſited St. Martin at Tours, &c. *Floruit tunc temporis beatiſſimus Martinus, Turonicæ civitatis epiſcopus, cujus vita, miraculis glorioſa, jam ab eruditiſſimo viro ſancto Sulpicio deſcripta*, &c. Beda alſo informs us that Ninian dedicated the church he built to St. Martin; and an old writer quoted by Uſher ſays, that he did this, after he heard that St. Martin, whom he always much eſteemed, had left this life. But St. Martin, as appears from the well known life of him by Sulpicius Severus, and from many other teſtimonies, flouriſhed from 370 to 398, in which laſt year he died. The learned and accurate Uſher, whoſe abilities in chronology are now univerſally acknowleged, fixes the converſion of the ſouthern Piks by Ninian at the year 412.

Our antiquiſts, who certainly bear the palm of ignorance from all others in Europe, ſuppoſe the ſouthern

ſouthern Piks converted by Ninian to have been in Galloway, becauſe Beda ſays the church and epiſcopal ſee of Ninian was at Whithern in Galloway. There were no Piks in Galloway, till 426 at ſooneſt. Galloway in Ninian's time was in the province of Valentia; and poſſeſſed by Cumraig Britons, and Roman ſoldiers. Ninian was not a biſhop of the Piks, nor was his ſee among them. He went to convert them after he was biſhop; and his church and ſee were among his countrymen the Cumraig Britons. Not to mention his Life by Ailred, Beda ſufficiently explains this: *prædicante eis verbum Nynia epiſcopo*; and *cujus ſedem epiſcopatus ad Candidam Caſam, eo quod ibi eccleſiam de lapide, inſolito* BRITONIBUS *more, fecerit.* But it is needleſs to inſiſt on ſuch a blunder. The Piks converted by Ninian were thoſe between the Forth and the Grampian hills, as is clear not only from Beda, but from Adomnan, who repreſents Columba as keeping always on the north of theſe hills. Ninian converted the *Vecturiones*, Columba the *Dicaledones*, the grand and natural diviſions of the Piks, in the time of Ammianus, as fully explained before. Hence Ninian a Cumraig Briton, and Columba an Iriſhman, are to be regarded as the apoſtles of the Piks, or preſent Scots. Let us now proceed to the chronology of a few facts recoverable, in the ancient eccleſiaſtic hiſtory of North Britain.

A. D. 412. Ninian biſhop of Candida Caſa, or Whithern, in Valentia, converts the Piks between the Forth and Grampian mountains. *Beda.* The life of Ninian by Ailred is a meagre piece, containing very little as to his Pikiſh miſſion, and in civil hiſtory only mentions one Tudwald a Cumraig kinglet, in the ſouth of Valentia.

460. Patrick converts the Dalreudini, or old Britiſh Scots of Argyle, then exiled into Ireland, as he does the other Iriſh; and propheſies that Fergus ſon of Erc ſhall be a king, and father of kings. *Jocelin*, &c.

565. Co-

565. Columba converts the northern Piks, and baptizes Brudi II. ſon of Meilocon. *Adomnan, Beda, Chron. Pict.* The life of Columba by Adomnan, is very curious and intereſting.

580. Kentigern the Stratclyde-Welch ſaint of Glaſgow, flouriſhes. His life by Jocelin is long and curious.

608. The foundation of the church at Abernethy is aſcribed to Nethan II. by the Regiſter of St. Andrew's.

715. Ceolfrid writes his famous letter to Nethan III. *Beda.* Nethan deſires architects to be ſent to build a church; *Id.* perhaps that of Abernethy[d].

815. Conſtantin king of the Piks builds the church of Dunkeld. *Reg. St. And. Fordun, Winton.*

827. Unguſt II. ſon of Verguſt, founded Kilremont, afterward called St. Andrews, as the ſame authors teſtify. The clergy of St. Andrew's afterward invented the legend of Regulus, the apparition of St. Andrew to Unguſt, &c. But the fact is that the ſame ideas which led the Iriſh clergy to call the Piks Scots, as Scythæ, alſo made them regard St. Andrew as the apoſtle of the Piks, becauſe he was the apoſtle of the Scythæ, as ancient writers agree.

842. Brudi VII. is ſaid to have founded the church of Lochleven. *Reg. St. And.*

849. Kenneth III. tranſported the reliques of Columba to a new church in Pikland. *Chron. Pict.*

909. Conſtantin III. and Kellach biſhop of St. Andrews, and all the people, vowed ſolemnly to obſerve the laws of the churches and of the goſpels. *Chron. Pict.*

[d] 'Ferguſtus epiſcopus Scotiæ, Pictus,' or 'Fergnſt the Pik an Iriſh biſhop,' was in the Roman general council A. D. 721. *Concil.* a *Binio* Tom. V. but forgeries ſwarm in theſe early councils.

990. Ken-

990. Kenneth IV. ſeems to have founded the church of Brechen. *Ib.*

The ſucceſſion of abbots of Hyona, and ſome other trifles concerning this period, may be found in extracts from the Ulſter Annals in the Appendix[e]. I cannot find that there were any biſhoprics before A. D. 883; to the north of Clyde and Forth. In preſent Scotland the biſhopric of Galloway, or Whithern, is queſtionleſs the oldeſt: next is that of Glaſgow, if we admit Kentigern to have been a biſhop: next is that of Abercorn or Lothian, while that province was ſubject to Northumbria 547 to 685. The abbot of Hyona having ſuch ſupreme power over the Pikiſh churches, certainly would not allow of any biſhop's ſee, as the title was ſuperior to his own, and could not be controuled by him. Abernethy and Dunkeld were but abbacies, even in the eleventh century, long after St. Andrews was a biſhopric. Indeed all our writers, ancient and modern, concur that St. Andrews was the moſt ancient biſhopric, north of Clyde and Forth.

The origin of the biſhopric of St. Andrews has been handled by many authors. The learned and accurate Ruddiman puts Kellach as the firſt biſhop; and Kellach lived as we know from the *Chron. Pict.* in the fixth year of Conſtantin III. or 909. But Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulſter, furniſh us with a biſhop of Pikland much ealier; for at the year 864, they ſay *Tuahal Mac Artguſa, archbiſhop of Fortren, and abbot of Dun Callen dormivit,* 'Tuahal ſon of Artgus, archbiſhop of Pikland, and abbot of Dunkeld, died.' This would lead us to ſuſpect that after Hyona was deſtroyed by the Danes[f], or after its power over the Pikiſh churches

[e] The monaſtery of Melroſe was apparently ruined by the Danes about the year 800, if not by Kenneth III. about 850. *Chron. Pict.* It remained in ruins till refounded by David I. 1136.

[f] A. D. 801. *Ann. Ul.* after which the tituſar abbots ſeem to have reſided in Ireland chiefly, till about A. D. 1080, when queen

churches ceaſed, the abbot of Dunkeld was for a time regarded as ſupreme of the Pikiſh church. Certain it is that St. Andrew's had no title to be regarded as ſupreme church in Pikland, till erected into a biſhopric. And there is reaſon to believe that this happened in the reign of Achy and Grig, 883—894. For Fordun and Winton ſay that Kellach, the firſt biſhop, lived in the time of Grig, or their Gregory; and this agrees with the *Chron. Pict.* which mentions him as yet living under Conſtantin III. 909, or fifteen years after the expulſion of Achy and Grig. A ſingular paſſage of the *Reg. St. And.* in the reign of Grig alſo ſtrengthens this; *Et hic primus dedit libertatem eccleſiæ Scoticanæ, quæ ſub ſervitute erat uſque ad illud tempus, ex conſtitutione et more Pictorum.* 'He firſt gave freedom to the Scotiſh church, which till that time was in ſervitude, by the conſtitution and cuſtom of the Piks.' This ſurely refers to the ſubjection of the Pikiſh churches to Hyona; from which they were delivered, by erecting St. Andrews into a biſhopric. Our clergy, in gratitude, gave much fabulous praiſe to Grig, as was their cuſtom in ſuch caſes; and ſay that he conquered Ireland, and moſt of England. I cannot help ſuſpecting that this ſubjection of the Pikiſh churches to Hyona, contributed to render the name of Piks odious to our clergy, and to recommend that of Scots, that they might transfer the old eccleſiaſtic power of the Scots in Pikland to themſelves, as alſo Scots. For the ſeminary of Hyona being now deſtroyed, and Ireland ſubject to the Scandinavians enemies of Pikland, ſuch native clergy as now aroſe, affected the name of Scots, ſo revered by long cuſtom, and ſo ſuperior in eccleſiaſtic matters; and at ſame time naturally hated their

queen Margaret rebuilt the church. *Order. Vital* Some of the preſent edifice ſeems of that period. In 980 Aulaf king of Dublin died in pilgrimage at Hyona. *Ann. Prior. Inſ. SS.* Ware's MSS.

old

old ſpiritual maſters the Iriſh. Our native clergy, being however diſtant from the then chief ſeats of learning, France and Germany, were long ſo deficient that our kings were glad to have clergy from England; as the examples of Turgot and of Eadmer, both biſhops of St. Andrews, may witneſs. And to this local ſituation was it owing, that while Ireland and England from proximity to France, and afterward Scandinavia from proximity to Germany, produced many writers, not one aroſe in Pikland till the thirteenth century, when Michael Scot and others flouriſhed. When this is conſidered, it is no wonder that our hiſtory is behind that of every country in Europe.

The other biſhops of St. Andrews, the only biſhopric in that tract, after 1016 called Scotland proper, as before Albany and Pikland; and hence called ſimply *epiſcopi* in our old fragments; were, after Kellach, *Fothad*, who was expelled by king Indulf 954—962, *Fordun*, and died in the time of Odo 962—966. *Chron. Pict.* The third was *Maelbriget*, called Maliſius by Fordun, who died in Culen's time 966—971. *Chron. Pict.* The fourth was *Kellach* II. ſon of Ferdulaig, who ſucceeded Maelbriget, *ib.* and died about 996. The fifth *Malis:* the ſixth *Malmer*, from 996 to 1031. The ſeventh *Alwin*, 1031 to 1035. The eighth Malduin, 1034 to 1061. Except the journey of Macbeth to Rome 1050, there is no reaſon to believe that the Pikiſh churches paid any homage to the Roman. Hyona was their Rome till the end of the ninth century; and king Grig, not the Pope, made St. Andrews a biſhopric, as above ſhewn from our old fragments. Even the pilgrimage of Macbeth was merely to Rome as a holy city, as others went pilgrims to Jeruſalem. Scotland was too poor for papal rapacity or uſurpation. In 1126 the firſt legate John of Crema appeared in Scotland; and before that time there is not a trace of any papal power in Scotland.

This chapter ſhall be cloſed with a few hints concerning the Culdees. It is well known that a violent diſpute was long carried on, by the preſbyterian and epiſcopal writers, concerning this noted claſs of men. Selden, Sir James Dalrymple, and other preſbyterian writers, would have the Culdees to be a ſort of preſbyters, ſtrangers to the Roman church, and to epiſcopacy. Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Keith, will have them to have been epiſcopal. The beſt account of them yet given, is doubtleſs that prefixt to Keith's Catalogue of Scotiſh biſhops; and from thence it is clear, from ancient charters, that the Culdees, far from being enemies to epiſcopacy, were the very men who choſe the biſhops. Doubtleſs he who expects to find in Scotland matters not to be found in any neighbouring country, only ſhews his own credulity: and that, from the fourth century, every Chriſtian country had its biſhops, is too well known to be inſiſted on. But that theſe biſhops differed very much from the warlike biſhops of the ninth, and following centuries, and from the opulent and idle biſhops of later times, is as clear.

When St. Martin firſt brought monks into Europe, about the year 380, their rigid life acquired them high eſteem. In a ſhort time the biſhops were chiefly choſen from their order: and afterward, uſurping the right of the people, they began to chuſe the biſhops from among themſelves. Hence, in the middle ages, almoſt every monaſtery had its biſhop, almoſt every biſhopric its monaſtery. Nay the abbot, or chief of the monaſtery, was ſometimes eſteemed ſuperior in dignity to the biſhop; that is in every thing not immediately belonging to the epiſcopal function. Of this the monaſtery of Hyona, the ſeminary of Chriſtianity in North Britain, affords a noted inſtance [s].

Hence

[s] Regente monaſterium abbate, quem ipſi epiſcopi cum conſilio fratrum elegerint, omnes preſbyteri, diaconi, cantoies,

Hence the abbot of Hyona was in effect primate of Scotland, till the ninth century. When Hyona had been ravaged by the Danes, Dunkeld was the primatial ſee, till the reign of Grig and Achy, A. D. 883, from which time St. Andrews held that ſupremacy. But the high rank of the abbots of Dunkeld, one of whom was the father of a royal race of Scotland, and another, Ethelred, the ſon of Malcom III. ſufficiently marks the eſtimation in which that dignity was long held. In Abernethy, Dunkeld, &c. it is reaſonable to infer that there were biſhops, as well as at Hyona; but being ſubject to the abbots, they attracted no attention.

The Culdees were ſurely only Iriſh clergy. At firſt they ſeem to have been regular monks, who followed the rule of St. Columba; and generally their ſocieties conſiſted of twelve and a chief [h], in imitation either of Chriſt and the apoſtles; or of Columba and the twelve monks who came with him from Ireland [i]. In the gradual corruption of the monaſtic order, they married; and left their Culdeeſhips to their children [k]: and, after the havock introduced by the Danes, uſurped the rank of ſecular clergy. In ſhort, they were merely corrupted monks, ſuch as abounded in all the countries of Europe, till the eleventh century, when the popes were forced to inſtitute canons regular, whom the princes gradually introduced into the chief monaſteries, inſtead of the old depraved monks [l]. Henry I. brought theſe canons into England; and ſoon after we find the Scotiſh ſovereigns turning out the Culdees, to make way for

res, lectores, ceterique gradus eccleſiaſtici, monachicam per omnia, cum ipſo epiſcopo, regulam ſervant, Beda, Vita Cuthb. de Hyona.

[h] Keith, pref. [i] Adomnan, ad fin.

[k] Keith, Sir J. Dalrymple, &c.

[l] Moſheim, Inſt. Hiſt. Eccl. The common canons began in the eighth century; and were a middle order, between monks and ſecular prieſts. *Ib.*

theſe

theſe canons. The various modern ſorts of monaſtic names and orders, it is well known, did not begin till the twelfth century.

The Culdees thus united in themſelves, the diſtinctions of monks and of ſecular clergy; being apparently, from Columba's time to the eleventh century, the only monks and clergy in Scotland; and all Iriſh, as formerly ſhewn. At St. Andrew's the Culdees elected the biſhops till 1140, and exiſted there till 1297[m]: at Dunkeld, Dumblane, and Brechin, they elected the biſhops yet later than at St. Andrew's. At the two laſt they conſtituted with their prior, the dean and chapter till about A. D. 1240[n]. It is well known what ſtruggles it coſt the popes to reform the monks; and to prevent them and the clergy from marrying; even in the ſouthern countries of Europe: and we are not to wonder that in ſo remote a corner as Scotland, the ſuppoſed abuſes remained long incorrigible. Till the decree of Gregory VII. 1074, all the clergy might marry, or have concubines[o]; and it was not till a century after, that their oppoſition was effectually overcome even in England[p].

[m] Keith.
[n] Keith, Dalrymple.
[o] Moſheim.
[p] Gul. Malmſb, Hoveden, &c.

CHAPTER II.

Literary Hiſtory.

THIS part of my ſubject is ſo extremely contracted, that very little can be ſaid upon it. It is a melancholy truth that the Piks did not produce one writer till the thirteenth century; and there is not even a Pikiſh ſaint, or churchman, on record. The little learning of North Britain, during this period, was confined to the Stratclyde Welch, and to the Iriſh clergy. In this chapter therefore, can only be given ſome hints concerning learning among, 1. The Stratclyde Welch; 2. The Iriſh clergy in Pikland: as alſo, 3. Reaſons why learning was unknown among the Piks, or later Scots, even till the thirteenth century.

I. THE STRATCLYDE WELCH. *Ninian* may be regarded as belonging to them: but, alas! from the want of literature which ſo long prevailed among the Southern Piks, his converts, it is too clear that he was a pious man, but a ſtranger to letters; elſe he would never have neglected ſo eſſential a part of his miſſion.

Patrick was born at Nemthur, near Alclud or Dunbarton, now thought to be Old Kirkpatrick. From his own name *Patricius*, and that of his father *Calphurnius*, he appears to have been of Roman extract; and he was indeed born about the year 400, when the Romans poſſeſſed Valentia. In 432 he went to Ireland; and after converting that whole iland, died about 480. He was certainly a man of extraordinary talents, for the time

time and country. His firſt and greateſt care was to teach the Iriſh the uſe of letters, as the prime mean of making their converſion permanent. Would that he had alſo been the apoſtle of the Piks, or that Ninian and Columba had ſhewn ſuch care! The ſupreme veneration, in which the Iriſh always held, and ſtill hold Patrick, is moſt deſerved and juſt: while it is no wonder that Ninian and Columba were forgotten among us. Two genuine epiſtles of Patrick are preſerved, and have been publiſhed by Ware.

Gildas Albanius, or the ſaint, was ſon of a king of Alclyde, and born as Uſher collects about 425. He muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from that Gildas, who wrote the book *De excidio Britonum*; and who lived a century after. The epithet *Albanius* marks the preſent, as a native of Albany or Scotland. Caradoc of Llancarvon, the Welch hiſtorian, wrote the life of St. Gildas, who was only remarkable for ſuperior piety, and was no writer.

The only other native of Stratclyde here to be mentioned is *Merlinus Caledonius*, otherwiſe called Merlin the Wild. This extraordinary, or perhaps fabulous, perſonage lived at Alclyde, in the time of king Roderch, and was thus cotemporary with Kentigern, A. D. 570. The other and more famous Merlin, the Magician, lived as appears from Nennius in the time of Vortigern, or more than a century before him of Caledonia. A curious life of Merlin the Wild, written in Latin verſe by Geofrey of Monmouth, is extant, and extracts may be found below [s]. He appears to have

[s] Dux Venedatorum Feridurus bella gerebat
Contra Guennoloum, Scotiæ qui regna regebat...
Venerat ad bellum Merlinus cum Feriduro,
Rex quoque Cambrorum Rodarcus....
Ecce victori venit obvius alter ab aula
Rodarchi regis Cumbrorum, qui Ganiedam

have been a melancholy viſionary, who by living in the woods, and other ſingularities, acquired the reputation of a prophet. Fordun, III. 31. has a long tale concerning Kentigern, and Merlin the Wild.

I know not if any fragments of Welch poetry, written in Stratclyde or in Cumbria, remain. But indeed there is great room to queſtion the antiquity of thoſe aſcribed to Talieſſin, and others. A man accuſtomed to exact ideas in antiquarian matters will hardly ſuppoſe that pieces unknown to Nennius, Geofrey, Giraldus, Caradoc, ſhould be developed in the eighteenth century. I have known a man of learning imagine that a ſong written but ten years ago, was four hundred years old. Antiquity is a ſpecial ſcienee; and tho perhaps the moſt difficult of any, yet every one pretends to judge of it.

II. THE IRISH CLERGY IN PIKLAND. *Columba*, the apoſtle of the Northern Piks, is ſaid to have written one or two pieces extant. But he wanted the talents of Patrick, and did not teach his converts the uſe of letters.

> Duxerat uxorem, formoſa conjuge felix;
> Merlini ſoror iſta fuit . . . .
> Afferrique jubet veſtes, volucreſque, caneſque,
> Quadrupedeſque citos, aurum, gemmaſque micantes;
> Pocula quæ ſculpſit Guielandus in urbe Sigeni,
> Singula pretendit vati Rodarchus, et offert . . .
> Corruet urbs Acelud; nec eam reparabit in ævum
> Rex aliquis, donec ſubdatur Scotus opello. *(ſic.)*
> Urbs Sigeni, et turus, et magna palatia plangunt . . .

He gives a deſcription of the world, and abſtract of Welch hiſtory; and a long account of the virtues of fountains, and natures of different birds: mentions 'urbs Caerlöyctoyc;' and concludes in five lines that the author is 'Gaufridus de Monumeta.'

> ſcripſit qui libellum,
> Quem nunc Geſta vocant Britonum celebrata per orbem.

In his hiſtory Geofrey does not mention Merlin the Wild. The preſent poem is of 52 cloſe pages. Cotton, lib. Veſp. E. IV.

Cuminius,

Cuminius, abbot of Hyona, 657, wrote a life of Columba, publiſhed by Mabillon and others.

Adomnan, abbot of Hyona, 679, compoſed a long life of Columba in three books, publiſhed by Caniſius, from an imperfect copy; for that in the king's library is larger. He alſo wrote an account of the Holy Places in Judæa, abridged by Beda; but publiſhed whole by Mabillon.

Beſides theſe i cannot find any remain written in preſent Scotland, during the period preceding 1056, except the *Chronicon Pictorum*. And another ſhort chronicle or two may have been begun, or at any rate the names of the kings preſerved in the religious books and records, whence they were afterward digeſted into ſhort chronicles. But let us now examine the cauſes of this deplorable defect of literature among the Piks.

III. REASONS WHY LEARNING WAS UNKNOWN IN PIKLAND, TILL THE XIIITH CENTURY.

1. The want of learning, and of talents in the apoſtles of the Piks, may be regarded as one great cauſe of this deplorable defect. Ninian and Columba were of confined minds, and of bigotted piety, ſtrangers to ſecular learning, and to thoſe enlarged ideas which prompted Ulphilas, Patrick, and in later times the apoſtles of Scandinavia, to impart the uſe of letters, as the firſt foundation among their converts. Theſe apoſtles of the Piks, as appears from their lives, were men loſt in gloomy bigotry. Patrick underſtood the Iriſh language himſelf; while Columba was forced to uſe an interpreter among the Piks, as Adomnan tells: whereas he ought to have ſtudied their language in the very firſt place. Bollandus has obſerved that in the Welch and Iriſh lives of ſaints, the miracles and viſions are ſo numerous and abſurd, and the whole tenor ſo unlike thoſe of other countries, that he did not know what to think of them. But this was the natural fruit of that ſtrange credulity, and weakneſs of mind, peculiar to the

Celts. The lives of Ninian and of Columba ſwarm with ſuch puerile miracles, as are really impious, nay blaſphemous; while every thing that is rational, wiſe, and truly virtuous, is forgotten. Such Celtic apoſtles were not calculated to enlighten and civilize a nation; and, illiterate themſelves, could never impart literature to others.

2. To a late period, the only common clergy in Pikland were Iriſh, as is clear from there being no Pikiſh ſaints or churchmen to be found in hiſtory, or in ſanctology; from Hyona being the ſeminary of the Pikiſh church; and from ſuch fragments of our hiſtory as remain, which bear Iriſh epithets, names, &c. and which were certainly written by clergy, the only literati of the time. The offices of the church were performed in Latin; nay the homilies preached in that language, as appears from thoſe of Beda, and others, and as all converſant in eccleſiaſtic hiſtory know. There was of courſe no neceſſity for the clergy to learn the Pikiſh language. Even in England, as appears from Beda, moſt of the clergy were Iriſh; and came from Ireland and Hyona to Engliſh ſees at once, having no neceſſity to know the common language, Latin alone being neceſſary. The divine ſervice, and preachings, tho in Latin, it was an office of piety to attend; but ſcarce one in an audience underſtood a word, ſo that they could not inſtruct the people. And the Iriſh clergy, for their own intereſt, retained the Pikiſh church to themſelves; and never excited Pikiſh youth to qualify themſelves for the church, which they regarded as their own peculiar portion.

3. As theſe Celtic clergy were ſtrangers to the liberal ſentiments of true wiſdom, ſo they had all that cunning which is the wiſdom of folly, and all that ſelfiſhneſs which attends a narrow mind. This is evident from the conduct of Columba, and

and his ſucceſſors. The inſtitution of Hyona, an Iriſh ſeminary, as ſupreme church of Pikland, was, and is, without example in eccleſiaſtic hiſtory. The metropolitan church ought to have been eſtabliſhed in the heart of Pikland; and, as in other countries, all means ſhould have been uſed to furniſh a native clergy. Inſtead of which all the churches were in utter ſubjection to Hyona, a foreign ſeminary; and their clergy furniſhed and commiſſioned from thence. Thus the intereſt of religion was ſacrificed to the meaneſt avarice and ambition: and Hyona may be regarded as the Rome of Pikland, ſupporting its own power and intereſt, by keeping the ſubjects of its church in ignorance. When the church of St. Andrew's was made metropolitan by kings Achy and Grig, at the end of the ninth century, it was long before a native clergy could be formed; and the Iriſh clergy from ſuperior opportunities and learning, and from ancient veneration and cuſtom, ſtill held the common offices of the church, even down to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Intereſt, national ſpirit, and eccleſiaſtic party, long maintained them; and they were only ſupplanted by degrees, as the natives from advanced ſociety, and viſiting foreign univerſities, began to acquire learning; and to ſhake off thoſe bonds of ignorance, in which remote ſituation, and the ſelfiſhneſs of the Iriſh clergy, ſo long held them. Hyona was indeed no longer the ſeminary; but as the Iriſh clergy had been ſettled in the churches of Pikland, and married among themſelves, like the tribe of Levi, the only change was, that there were many Iriſh ſeminaries inſtead of one.

4. The local ſituation of Pikland was inimical to the learning of its natives. Of the other extreme countries of Europe, Scandinavia was only ſeparated by a narrow ſea from Germany, a country full of ſchools, learning, and authors,

before Scandinavia was converted. England and Ireland were in the ſame ſituation, with reſpect to France, another learned country. Whereas Pikland was the moſt remote corner in Europe; and leſs known of courſe than any country in it; not being mentioned by any writers on the continent during the middle ages. The learning of Ireland, ſuch as it was, the Iriſh clergy, from ſpecial motives above explained, did not impart to the Piks. That of England was intercepted by mutual enmity, and by the Danes, who, ſeizing the North of England, debarred all intercourſe.

5. Want of commerce was another cauſe; for a nation cannot be learned without books. After the Saracens ſeized Egypt, in the ſeventh century, manuſcripts became extremely ſcarce, as no papyrus could be had. Paper made of ſilk, and of cotton, was not invented till the eleventh century: our common paper not till the fourteenth. Parchment had never been common, as it was always dear, and only uſed on important occaſions. The books that ſwarmed in Greek and Roman times, almoſt as much as now, were written on papyrus, a grand article of Egyptian commerce. When this failed, books became extremely ſcarce, and continued ſo till paper was invented. But while, for want of books, even the learning of Greece, Italy, Germany, France, was at a low ebb; it was no wonder that Pikland had none at all. England, Ireland, Scandinavia, were all frequented by foreign merchants; while the remote ſituation of Pikland, and its want of materials for commerce, rendered it unviſited, and almoſt unknown.

6. The warlike ſpirit of the Piks, and continual occaſions for its exertion, were inimical to learning. In Ireland, at the time clerical learning flouriſhed there, domeſtic wars abounded; but the parties reverenced the clergy, who enjoyed quiet

quiet among theſe commotions. Very different was the caſe in the ninth century, when foreign enemies ravaging Ireland, baniſhed all its learning at once. But Pikland, not being a detached country, like Ireland, but acting on perpetual offence or defence againſt a foreign foe, was almoſt in conſtant war, or preparation; a ſtate totally inimical to learning.

7. The natural poverty of the country precluded learning, as it did other advantages. For learning belongs to eaſe; and in a poor country and early ſociety conjoined, conſtant labour muſt be employed to procure ſubſiſtence. Even the church was poor, and had not above three grand eſtabliſhments, Abernethy, Dunkeld, and St. Andrew's: whereas in Ireland the eſtabliſhments, from the earlieſt period, were very numerous, as the fertility of the country invited. Among ſo few churchmen, it is no wonder that learning was ſcarce; as the chance was ſo much ſmaller than in other countries. Hence, even among the Iriſh clergy of Pikland, very few had any talents or learning. The whole inhabitants of Pikland did not exceed a million; for they do not exceed that number now, and the population is ſurely encreaſed. The chance of one man of learning ariſing in that number, at a time when Germany, France, England, produced but one or two, was next to nothing; and it is no wonder that it never took place; but on the contrary a miracle muſt have happened, if it had.

8. The northern Goths of Scandinavia, of whom the Piks were a branch, were long remarkable for contempt of letters; and regarded them as one of the effeminate purſuits of eaſe, beneath the notice of warriors. This contempt had a greater effect than indocility could have had; and was radically inimical to learning: for what is deſpiſed can never be an object of purſuit. The plain ſenſe of theſe people was indeed remarkably ſtrong

ſtrong and acute; and it is no wonder that the abſurd ſuperſtition, and fooliſh reading, of the clergy, during the darker ages, met utter ſcorn from their ſevere wiſdom. Ragnar Lodbrog's expreſſion of a *maſs of weapons*, ſhews the greateſt contempt of the then Chriſtian ſuperſtition, and its profeſſors. And as they deſpiſed the literati of the time, ſo they ſcorned letters, and regarded arms as the ſole object of purſuit.

9. At the time the Scandinavians began their ravages in Europe, the Iriſh clergy of Hyona were the ſole churchmen in Pikland; and keeped the people in ignorance, as above explained. But thoſe ravages, ſo inimical to French and Engliſh literature, totally extinguiſhed the Iriſh; ſo that even the ſole fountain, whence clerical learning could have flowed into Pikland, was dried up. And Pikland itſelf was repeatedly ravaged by the Scandinavians, in the ninth century; which muſt have checked learning, if any was then beginning to bud. The Iriſh clergy, after this, produced no Cuminius or Adomnan. Nor, till the thirteenth century, was any thing written by theſe only literati we had; ſave a few liſts of our kings, untinctured with any reading, except that of Nennius and Iſidorus. The ravages of the Scandinavians may therefore be regarded as a grand cauſe, that delayed the commencement of literature in Pikland to a late period: as other cauſes above-mentioned prevented its taking place before thoſe ravages.

Almoſt any of theſe cauſes may ſufficiently account for the very late appearance of learning among the Piks, or preſent Scots; but when all are jointly conſidered, it is believed they will be found fully ſatisfactory.

SUPPLEMENT.

SUPPLEMENT.

SUPPLEMENT.

The Angles, and the Norwegians.

SECTION I.

The Angles.

TO render this work more complete, it is neceſſary to conſider the poſſeſſions of the Angles, and thoſe of the Norwegians, in preſent Scotland. The nations, who in the fifth and ſixth centuries ſettled in preſent England, were three; the Jutes, who fixed in Kent, the Saxons who held the reſt of the ſouth; and the Angles who poſſeſſed the country north of the Humber, and ſome other tracts on the north of the Saxons. The Jutes arrived in 449; the firſt Saxons in 477; the firſt Angles in 547. The Jutes were originally in the north of preſent Jutland, to which they afterward gave a general name. The Angles were in the ſouth of preſent Jutland. The Saxons extended from the ſouth of Jutland, to the Rhine. The Jutes and Angles were Scandinavian Goths, and of thoſe who expelled the Cimbri about 110 years before Chriſt. The Saxons were German Goths.

The

The Celts of Britain and Ireland called all theſe three nations by the general name of Saxons; and the Jutes and Angli are termed Saxons by Gildas, Nennius, Tighernach, and other Welch and Iriſh writers. Beda, on the contrary, who was an Angle of Northumbria, gives them the general name of Angli, which has ſince prevailed. But by a ſtrict enquirer, the three nations muſt be conſidered apart; and not in the confuſion of a general name. Hence it will occur, that the Angles who held the north of preſent England, and eſpecially firſt ſettled in Northumbria, the oldeſt Anglic kingdom, are the only nation of the three who could hold poſſeſſions in preſent Scotland.

But a fable muſt here be diſcuſſed. Nennius, who wrote in 858, calls the people who, in 449, came to Kent under Hengiſt and Horſa, by the general name of Saxons, tho from Beda's expreſs teſtimony they were Jutes. Among others of the moſt childiſh and unchronologic fables Nennius tells cap. 37, that after the marriage of Vortiger and Rowena, or about 453, Hengiſt prevailed on Vortiger to permit Ohta his ſon, and Ebiſſa ſon of Horſa, to ſettle in the north near the walls, That they came with forty ſhips; navigated around the Piks; waſted the Orkneys; *et occupaverunt plurimas regiones trans mare Freſicum, i. e. quod inter nos Scotoſque eſt, uſque ad confinia Pictorum*; 'and occupied many countries beyond the Freſic ſea, or that between us and the Scots, even to the confines of the Piks.'

This tale of Nennius fell into the hands of William of Malmſbury *, a reſpectable hiſtorian; but, as he wrote about 1150, he is yet a worſe authority than Nennius for ſo remote an event. Malmſbury ſays, Lib. I. c. 1. 'Hengiſt, abuſing the king's imprudence, perſuaded him to call his brother and ſon, brave men, from Germany;

* It alſo occurs in Geofrey of Monmouth.

that

that, as he defended the country on the eaſt, ſo they might bridle the Scots on the north. So the king conniving, they, after ſailing around Britain, went to the Orkneys; and involving theſe nations in the ſame calamity with the Piks and Scots, they then and after ſettled in the northern part of the iland now called Northumbria. Yet none there uſed the royal badge, or name, till Ida, from whom the lineage of Northumbrian kings grew. But of this below.' Accordingly c. 3. he proceeds, 'We have above ſaid in few words, and now repeat, that Hengiſt, having confirmed his kingdom in Kent, ſent his brother Otha, and ſon Ebuſa, men of bold and tried experience, to occupy the northern parts of Britain. They proceeding, as commanded, had a fortune agreeable to their endeavours. For fighting often with the provincials, and defeating thoſe who reſiſted, they allured the reſt by receiving their fidelity in quiet. Tho they thus gained ſome power by their own arts, and the favour of their ſubjects, yet they aſſumed not the ſtyle of kings, nor did their firſt ſucceſſors. For a hundred years all but one, the Northumbrian leaders, content with common dreſs, lived private, under the dominion of the kings of Kent. But in the year 547, and 60 after the death of Hengiſt, the dukedom was changed to a kingdom; and Ida reigned there firſt: but whether he ſeized the kingdom, or was elected, is unknown.'

Selden in his Titles of Honour, Lib. II. c. 5. tells us that the dignity of Ealdorman, or Earl, was both feudal and hereditary, from the very firſt arrival of the Saxons; and quotes the above laſt paſſage of Malmſbury to confirm it. Selden knew more of Syriac and Arabic, than of the hiſtory of his country, or antiquities of the middle ages; and tho learned in Syrian mythology, was in the hiſtory of his country, and middle antiquities, a mere dabler. Indeed had he paid due attention to the later, he could have found no time to at-

tend to eaſtern learning. The account of Malmſbury, which he founds on, is a mere fable grafted on a fable of Nennius, and confutes itſelf. The ſailing around Britain; the invaſion of the Orkneys, in order to obtain a ſettlement in Northumbria; the title of dukes and dukedom; the feudal ſubjection of Northumbria, a country four times the ſize of the kingdom of Kent; the hereditary ſucceſſion of dukes, a matter unknown then except of kings; the ignorance concerning Ida, who, as we know from Beda, and the Saxon Chronicle, was the very firſt leader of the Angles to Britain; all theſe circumſtances brand this account as a groſs and abſurd fiction. And as Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worceſter, or all the writers preceding Malmſbury, except Nennius only, know nothing of this colony; it is clear that Malmſbury's teſtimony on ſo remote an event amounts to nothing. But Nennius deſerves examination.

The work of Nennius and Samuel is deſervedly conſidered as the weakeſt, that ever bore the name of hiſtory. Its fables are ſo childiſh and groteſque, as to diſgrace the human mind. Yet weak as it is, it has not reached us in its original ſtate, but is full of corruptions and interpolations. No man therefore of the ſmalleſt reflection would found an hiſtoric fact on the *ſole* teſtimony of ſuch a work. But Nennius is palpably the ſole authority of William of Malmſbury. It is remarkable that at the end of Nennius, we find genealogies of Northumbrian kings, confeſſedly not by Nennius, but by ſome Northumbrian writer. And it ſeems probable that this account of Ohta and Ebiſa is interpolated by the ſame Northumbrian hand, in order to raiſe the antiquity of that ſettlement, to a par with the earlieſt of the others. But allowing the paſſage to be of Nennius or Samuel, their work is ſo groſſly fabulous, that its teſtimony cannot be weighed againſt Gildas and Beda, who are quite

quite ſilent as to this memorable event; nor even againſt later, but authentic writers, the Saxon Chronicler, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worceſter. The paſſage of Nennius is unintelligible; for the *Mare Freſicum*[a] is not mentioned by any other writer, but is quite unknown. It cannot be the frith of Forth, becauſe it is clear, from Beda, that the Jutes or Saxons poſſeſſed no tract *beyond* that æſtuary; nor could Nennius have added 'even to the confines of the Piks,' for they held all down to the wall of Severus after 426, as above ſhewn from Beda and others. It cannot be Solway frith, for it was not between the Welch and Scots, as Nennius ſays; nor did Beda know of any Jutes or Saxons in Galloway. The *Scoti* of Nennius are infallibly the Iriſh; and the *Mare Freſicum*, muſt be that between England and Ireland, anciently called *Vergivium*. The Welch have no V, but always uſe F for it: and i doubt not but ſome tranſcriber has put *Freſicum* for *Fergicum*. This ſea not only paſſes between Ireland and Wales, *inter nos Scotoſque*, but forms a vaſt bay between Wales and the north of England, ſo that a ſettlement on the ſouth of the wall of Gallio, would be *trans mare Freſicum*, reſpecting Wales. This is clearly the meaning of Nennius, as he alſo ſays that the regions demanded by Hengiſt for his ſon and nephew were, *juxta murum qui vocatur Gual*. But it is needleſs to explain the meaning of a fable, for ſuch this whole ſtory certainly is, for the following reaſons. 1. Gildas, the moſt ancient Britiſh writer, knew nothing of this ſettlement. 2. Beda not only knew nothing of it, but is a deciſive witneſs againſt it; for tho living in Northumbria, and particular as to its hiſtory, he mentions no Jutes there, nor Saxons; but on the contrary tells us, I. 15. that the people of Northum-

[a] Except Jocelin in his life of Kentigern, who miſtaking Nennius, implies it the frith of Forth.

bria were Angles, and thoſe of Kent Jutes. 3. Nennius and Samuel were poſterior to theſe two. 4. Their work is full of monſtrous fables. 5. It is corrupt and interpolated beyond example. 6. Later authentic writers, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, Florence of Worceſter, know nothing of this ſettlement; and a poſterior author Malmſbury only copies, and adds to, Nennius. 7. This is the only ſettlement which left not a trace behind it, inſomuch that Mr. Gibbon ſays, that it muſt have been ſoon cut off[b]; but in fact it never exiſted. 8. The account of Malmſbury is abſurd, and ſelf-contradictory, as above ſhewn, nay impoſſible, as it is incongruous with the manners of the times; and Selden confeſſes he could find no other example of feudal and hereditary leaders; and as it contradicts common ſenſe to ſuppoſe that Northumbria, a country four times as large as the Kentiſh kingdom, ſhould be a mere earldom dependent of it. 9. The Saxon Chronicle tells us in expreſs terms, that Ida arrived in Britain, with his people the Angles, in 40 ſhips, only the year he became king 547; ſo that he had no connection with thoſe imaginary Dukes, as Malmſbury ſuppoſes.

This fable overturned, little remains for this ſection. The Angles were of Scandinavian extract, but had ſeized on the ſouth of preſent Jutland; whence, in 547, the firſt colony of them came to Britain under Ida, a great and valiant leader. The Saxon Chronicle ſays they came in XL ſhips, John of Wallingford in LX. This colony could not exceed 10,000 or 12,000; and it conquered and ſettled among the Piks, who, as formerly ſhewn, held now all the tract down to the Humber. Ida ſeized on the north part of Northumbria, and founded the kingdom of Bernicia; reaching in his reign, or ſoon after,

[b] Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. vol. V. p. 345. 8vo.

from

from Teiſe to Forth. The kingdom of Deira, or preſent Yorkſhire, was founded by Ella, alſo an Anglic prince in 559; but only laſted forty years, when Adelfrid king of Bernicia conquered it, and erected all Northumbria into one kingdom; being the moſt important and famous of the heptarchy. Beda, and the other literati of the heptarchy, were all of Northumbria; and yet its hiſtory is obſcure.

In 685 Egfrid, king of Northumbria, ravaging Pikland, was defeated, and ſlain by king Brudi, ſon of Bili; upon which the Piks recovered dominion of the ſouth eaſt of preſent Scotland, down to the Tweed. Trumwin, Anglic biſhop of the Piks of Lothian, was forced to leave Abercorn and fly. After this, as Beda ſays, the Northumbrian power gradually declined till his time, 731, nay after, till the extinction of the Anglic kingdom about 840. Till this laſt event however the Angles retained all the country ſouth of Tweed, from its mouth to its fountain, and ſo in a line to the Iriſh ſea. Melros and Whithern, the ſouth of Galloway, and perhaps Cuningham and Kyle, remained theirs, till the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom. About 850, Kenneth, king of the Piks, burned Melroſe, as an uſurpation on his ſtates; and about the ſame time the Piks ſeized on the Anglic poſſeſſions in Galloway. Baldulf, 790, * was the laſt Anglic biſhop of Whithern; which had no more till 1154. Melroſe remained in ruins till 1136, when refounded by David I. The Chronicle of Melros was written in that, and next century; the part after Beda being a mere extract from Turgot, Florence of Worceſter, the Saxon Chronicle, and other Engliſh writers; there being no Scotiſh hiſtorians to copy after, and the monks being Engliſh Ciſtertians from Reval, and ſtrangers to Scotiſh affairs.

* Malmſb. Geſt. Pont. fol. v. 155.

Thus in the beginning of the ninth century, the Angles loſt all ground in preſent Scotland. The population was Pikiſh; and the Piks only recovered the dominion, not the poſſeſſion, as fully ſhewn before. The Angles who ruled in Northumbria, being the men at arms, were moſtly cut off by the Danes; while the common inhabitants remained: and there is room to queſtion if 10,000 real *Angli* were left in England, in the tenth century. It is remarkable that Engliſh writers of the twelfth century mention the *Angli* as barbarous [c]; and this ſingularity ſeems to have ſprung from the barbarity of the Piks of Northumbria, compared to their ſouthern brethren, who had been poliſhed by the Romans, and communicated their arts to the Saxon conquerors.

[c] Angli, et Scotti, et Picti, et cæteri barbari. *Ricard. Hagulſtald. Geſta Steph.* Scriptores x. *col.* 323.

SECTION

SECTION II.

The Norwegians. Hiſtory of the Iles.

A Great part of the Pikiſh dominions was ſeized by the Norwegians before the year 1056, a circumſtance which entitles them to a place in this work. Theſe Norwegian acquiſitions conſiſting of the Orkneys and part of the north of Pikland, and the Hebudes with part of the weſt, this ſection falls of courſe into two articles. But as our hiſtorians, with their uſual ignorance, follow the dreams of Fordun, and ſuppoſe both the Orkneys and Hebudes to have been only yielded to Magnus king of Norway, by Donald Ban in 1099, it becomes neceſſary to eſtabliſh the fundamental facts in the firſt place.

Concerning the ceſſion of the Orkneys in 1099, even our own writers heſitate; and Buchanan reſtricts that ceſſion to the *inſulæ occidentales*, 'weſtern iles,' or Hebudes. Simeon of Durham ſays, that in 1098 Magnus ſeized the Orkneys. But this acquiſition of Magnus is quite miſunderſtood by our writers. He did not make any conqueſt from the Scots, but merely forced to his homage the Norwegian lords; who, more than two centuries before, had ſeized on the Orkneys and Hebudes, and aſſumed independency. This eſſential fact is ſo deeply rooted in Scandinavian hiſtory, that the teſtimony of ſo late a writer as Fordun can never ſhake it. Icelandic writers, from the eleventh century downward, afford ſuch ſimple and unbiaſſed evidence, that the Norwegians poſſeſſed the Orkneys and He-

budes, from the time of Harold Harfagre, that to reject their credit, would be to violate every law of hiſtory.

As to the *Orkneys*, Torfæus, a writer of the moſt laudable induſtry, affords full illuſtration, in the thin folio volume he has publiſhed on their hiſtory. It is evident however that he has antedated the reign of Harold Harfagre about thirty years. For by his account Harold conquered the provincial kings of Norway, and aſſumed the ſole government in 875, yet reigned till 933, that is 58 years, beſides his provincial reign! Torfæus was a very bad chronologer; and it is evident that Harold muſt have become ſole king of Norway about, or after, the year 900. And by the Orkneyinga Saga, and other accounts, it was Harold Harfagre that ſeized on the Orkneys and on the Hebudes, whereas Torfæus dates this event in 880. But if it happened during the reign of Harold Harfagre, it could not take place till about 910. The Scandinavian chronology preceeding the year 900, when the real hiſtory of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, begins, is indeed very fallacious; and the reigns of kings ridiculouſly extended.

But the Icelandic accounts bear that before Harold ſubdued the Orkneys and Hebudes, they had become receptables of Norwegian pirates, who had often ravaged his territories; and that he made expeditions againſt them in revenge. And from more certain records of Britiſh, Iriſh, and French hiſtory, it is well known that the Normans or Norwegians began, in the end of the eighth century, to ravage Ireland. In 801 they burned the church at Hyona; and 805 ſlew many of the monks. In 838 they invaded Pikland; and during that century often ravaged it. Particularly the reign of Conſtantin II. 864 to 882 was moſt calamitous by their invaſions, and almoſt total conqueſt of the country; and it is during

during this reign that i incline to fix the ſettlement of the Norwegians in the Orkneys and Hebudes. But even from the beginning of that century, theſe iles were more in the Norwegian than in the Pikiſh poſſeſſion; being the firſt receptacles of thoſe pirates, who from them chiefly carried on their ravages into Ireland and Pikland. Even in 865 the Annals of Ulſter mention Norwegians of Ireland and of *Albain* or Pikland; ſo that they muſt have held a part of Pikland by this time. And from this period the Hebudes are called *Inch-Gall*, or Iles of Foreigners, by Iriſh writers. Nor is there a ſingle hint in our fragments that the Orkneys, or the Hebudes, were at all ſubject to the kings of the united Piks and Dalriads, who had no fleet to attack the Scandinavians; and could of courſe neither defend thoſe ilands, nor reſume them.

Such being the caſe, we may ſafely ſay that from 850, at leaſt, the Orkneys and Hebudes were held by Norwegian pirates, till about 910 when Harold Harfagre ſubdued them, and appointed Earls; and a regular government and habitation followed. As after 900 the Scandinavian hiſtory becomes clear and authentic, the names and ſucceſſion, and many actions of the earls of Orkney, are perfectly preſerved. And that the Hebudes alſo were poſſeſt by the Norwegians, by that time, if not before, is alſo authenticated from the moſt ancient records of their hiſtory; while we have not one hint to ſhew that they belonged to Pikland. It is needleſs therefore to ſay that that our writers betray groſs ignorance when they imagine the Orkneys and Hebudes to have belonged to Scotland, till 1099. They have only the teſtimony of Fordun, a writer of the end of the fourteenth century; while againſt them are twenty or thirty writers preceding that time. The *Chronicon Manniæ* is alſo clear againſt them, ſeeing it begins with Godred king of Maun

and the Hebudes in 1066. The records of Maun are ſaid to be ſtill preſerved among the epiſcopal archives at Drontheim in Norway. Mr. Sacheverel informs us that in 960 Guttred was king of Maun and the Hebudes: and after him Reginald, Olave, Olan, Fingal, then Godred 1060. But the expeditions of Harold Harfagre againſt the Norwegian pirates of Shetland, the Orkneys, and Hebudes; and his eſtabliſhment of regular government in the two later, are confirmed by the whole of Scandinavian hiſtory. Among a cloud of other authorities are Thiodolf the Scald or Poet of Harold Harfagre, whoſe verſes are preſerved by Snorro; Snorro, who gives a particular account of theſe expeditions; the Landnama book of Iceland, which contains the names and families of many Norwegians, who went from the Hebudes to ſettle in Iceland, in the tenth century; the *Codex Flateyenſis*, one of the moſt ancient and authentic records of Scandinavian hiſtory; the Orkneyinga Saga; Niaga Saga: and the other Icelandic monuments. Aimoinus and Robertus de Monte, two ancient foreign writers quoted by Torfæus, avouch that the Orkneys, and north of Scotland and the Hebudes, were ſubjected to Norway[a], before the time of Harold Harfagre.

Such being the caſe, it is believed no doubt can remain on this radical fact, of the early ſubjection of the Orkneys and Hebudes to the Norwegians: and a few hints ſhall now be given on the hiſtory of theſe iles. The reader has already ſeen that the idea he is to form of the Orkneys, during this period, is that of a Norwegian Earldom; and of the Hebudes, that of a Norwegian Kingdom.

[a] So Torfæus aſſerts, p. 9, but i cannot find the paſſages, and believe them imaginary.

1. *The*

1. *The Orkneys.*

The Piks, in their progreſs from Scandinavia, ſeem to have entirely neglected the Orkneys, as Solinus, who wrote about the year 240, ſays they were deſert in his time. The very name is according to Torfæus derived from *Ork*, a deſert. But after the Pikiſh tribes were united into one monarchy, and extenſive power, about the year 400, the Orkneys were peopled by them. This appears from an authentic record of Thomas biſhop of the Orkneys, dated 1403 [b], in which we are told, that when the Norwegians conquered the Orkneys, they found them poſſeſſed, *duabus nationibus, ſcilicet Peti et Pape,* 'by two nations the Pets and Papas.' The firſt of theſe nations was palpably the Piks, called Pets by the Scandinavians, as Saxo's *Petia*, or Pikland, and the name *Petland fiord* for Pikland frith, in Icelandic writings, may witneſs. The Papas, by the uſual confuſion of long tradition here called a nation, were clearly the Iriſh papas or prieſts, long the ſole clergy in the Pikiſh domains; and who, ſpeaking a different language from the Piks, were by the Norwegian ſettlers, regarded not as a diſtinct profeſſion only, but as remains of a different nation. Thus Arius Frodi [c], who wrote about 1070, tells us that the Norwegians, who colonized Iceland, found there Iriſh *papas*, who were driven out, but left their Iriſh books, *bæcr Irſcar*, behind them. *Papey*, one of the Orkneys, in all likelihood, derives its name from being a chief reſidence of the Papas.

[b] Publiſhed in Wallace's Orkneys, edit. 1700; and from that book in the Orkneyinga Saga.

[c] De Iſlandia, p. 11, edit. Havniæ, 1733, *4to.* See alſo Theodoricus monachus de reb. Norv. p. 8.

Wallace

Wallace alſo tells, that by Orcadian tradition, the *Pechts* were the firſt inhabitants; and many circular buildings in the Orkneys are called Pechts Houſes. Thoſe Piks who poſſeſſed the Orkneys, from remote and diſtinct ſituation, uſed to ſet up kinglets of their own, and affect independency. About 590, as appears from Adomnan's life of Columba, there was a *regulus Orcadum*, or kinglet of the Orkneys, at the reſidence of Brudi II. the Pikiſh king. In 681 the Orkneys having again rebelled, were waſted by Brudi IV. as we learn from Tighernach and the Annals of Ulſter.

In the ninth century they were ſeized by Norwegian pirates, as above explained. About 910 Harold Harfagre, king of Norway, irritated by the incurſions of thoſe pirates on his kingdom, proceeded againſt them; and ſubduing them, appointed earls, and regular government in the Orkneys. Harold offered Rognwald the earldom, but that chief was in ſuch favour with the king, and ſo extremely opulent in great poſſeſſions in Norway, that he entreated Harold to give the inveſtiture to Sigurd his brother, which was done. This Sigurd the firſt earl is called Eyſteinſon, or the Elder, to diſtinguiſh him from the ſecond Sigurd, ſurnamed the Groſs, who fell at Clontarf 1014. The Orcadian hiſtory after this may be found in Torfæus; and it is ſufficiently clear and exact, if we except the fable of a *Kalius*, king of Scotland, at the time Duncan reigned there. But this one fable, grounded on old ballads only, does not injure the reſt; for if we reject ancient hiſtory, becauſe one or two fables have crept in, what hiſtory could ſtand? A liſt of the earls of Orkney may be found in our Appendix. It ſhall only be obſerved here, that the Norwegians in the Orkneys were converted to Chriſtianity about 980. That the Norwegian earls continued till about 1330, when they failed in the perſon of

Magnus*: and the Orkneys and Caithneſs fell to Malis earl of Strathern, the next heir. Malis had two daughters, one married to Weland de Ard who had Caithneſs, and their ſon Alexander de Ard ſold that county to Robert II. king of Scotland. The other was married to William Sinclair, lord Sinclair, in whoſe family the Orkneys long remained. Malcom II. gave Thorfin 1030—1064 inveſtiture of the Orkneys. But in 1098 Magnus Barefoot king of Norway, according to Simeon of Durham, conquered the Orkneys. And Icelandic accounts bear, that he depoſed the earls Paul and Erland, and gave the Orkneys to his own ſon Sigurd. But in 1103 Magnus being ſlain in Ireland, Sigurd went to Norway to aſſume the kingdom; and Magnus, ſon of Erland the late Earl, came from Scotland, and became Earl. After which there is no hint that the Earls were ſubject to Norway; but they were independent. In 1320 Magnus earl of Orkney ſigns the famous letter to the Pope, along with the other Scotiſh peers.

This earldom, beſides the Orkneys, comprized a great part of the north of Scotland. The Norwegian accounts exaggerate in their own favour, as uſual in all countries. Sigurd the firſt earl, 920, is ſaid to have ſubdued Caithneſs, Sutherland, Roſs, and Moray. It ſeems certain however that the *Moravienſes* were the furtheſt people, on the north-eaſt, who acknowleged the Scotiſh king; and even they were often in arms againſt him. Thus the Norwegians held all down to Murray Frith on the eaſt. On the weſt they ſeem to have held all preſent Roſs-ſhire. Caithneſs and Sutherland belonged to the earldom of Orkney, as all grant: and Sutherland

* Sutherland was taken from the earls of Orkney by Alexander king of Scotland, *Charta* 1203, *ſupra citat.* ſurely Alex. I. 1107, for in the reign of William there were Scotiſh earls of Sutherland.

took

took its name from its ſouthern ſituation in reſpect to Caithneſs and the Orkneys. As to Roſs, it can only be ſaid that the Icelandic accounts bear, that it belonged to that earldom, but that the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ* regards Roſs and Moray as belonging to Scotland. Roſs is however ſo mountainous and barren a diſtrict, that it ſeems to have been neglected by all parties, and left to the Wild Iriſh of Argyle: and it was generally a province of the Hebudian kingdom [d].

The Shetland iles muſt alſo not be forgotten. They are called *Hialt-land* in Norwegian, ſignifying the land of *Hialt* (a man's name). This word we corrupted to *Yetland*, the original name ſounding *Yaltland*. By another corruption *Yetland*, laterly became *Shetland*. Theſe iles are by D'Anville, and others, regarded as the real ancient Thule; and were perhaps formerly one iland, afterward broken by the force of the waves. Of the Shetland iles we find little account in the Icelandic writers; tho from them Torfæus has drawn a complete hiſtory of the more diſtant Fareys; which, as a picture of barbaric ſociety, is a curious piece. The Shetland iles were ſubject to the earls of Orkney, as we learn from Torfæus.

2. *The Hebudes.*

There is no ſpecial hiſtory of the Hebudes in Icelandic, as there is of the Orkneys; and their hiſtory is of courſe more obſcure.

[d] Earl of Roſs and Lord of the Iles were commonly united titles. In 1461 John bears them in a treaty with Edward IV. of England. Till James V. circumnavigated the iles, and reduced them to order, they can hardly be regarded as ſubject to Scotland.

Our

Our writers are ſo ignorant concerning them, that they have even, for more than two centuries, perverted the very name in an odd manner. For ſince the publication of the notorious Hiſtory of Hector Boethius at Paris, 1526, folio, our writers have called theſe iles *Hebrides*. I have taken ſome pains to detect the origin of this blunder. The edition of Pliny 1469, folio, *Venetiis*, bears *Ebudes*. That of Solinus, 1473, folio, *ib.* alſo bears *Ebudes*. The Solinus of Aldus, 1518, 8vo. has *Hæbudes*; as have all the editions of Pliny and Solinus ſince. Ptolemy's work has *Ebudæ*, Ἑβουδαι; not *Æbudæ* as Buchanan and others put, upon no authority whatever. But Pliny and Solinus were the writers whom Boethius followed; and i was beginning to impute his *Hebrides* to an error of himſelf, an amanuenſis, or the printer Badius Aſcenſius. However i chanced upon an edition of Solinus, in which the very ſource of this error appeared. Its title is, *Solinus de Memorabilibus Mundi, diligenter annotatus et indicio alphabetico prenotatus.* In a wooden print is the name of the bookſeller Denis Roce, Pariſiis: and on the back of the title is a dedication by Badius Aſcenſius the printer to *John De Falce*, dated *ad idus Julias*, M. D. III. The book was printed that year, 1503, as appears from this date and from its whole form, agreeing with the rude Paris preſs of the end of the fifteenth century, and beginning of the ſixteenth century, before the Stephani aroſe. This edition is ſo full of typographic errors, that it is a diſgrace to printing. The firſt word is *Cym* for *Cum*. But in names eſpecially, *Succinus* for *Sevo*; *Horiſtenes* for *Boriſtenes*; *Hecareus* for *Hecatæus*; are ſmall ſpecimens of its groſs perverſion. Among others, in folio xxii, *excipiunt* EBRIDES *inſulæ, quinque numero*, appears in the text; and on the margin *Ebrides*; as alſo in the index prefixt, *Ebrides*. Yet once in f. xii. *Sed Orcades ab* EBUDIBUS *porro*, &c. occurs; ſo that *Ebrides* was but one chance,

chance, and *Ebudes* another with the printer. And in ſame page appears *Ad Arcadibus Thylen uſque*, for *Ab Orcadibus Thulen uſque*. As Boethius ſtudied at Paris, whence he was called to a profeſſor's chair at Aberdeen, it ſeems evident that he had picked up this edition of Solinus; and having no other to conſult in Scotland, took his *Hebrides* from this clear fountain. Such being the caſe, and the name *Hebrides* [e] a mere blunder, the condition of learning, and of antiquarian ſtudies in particular, among us of Scotland, may be more eaſily gueſſed at from this ſimple circumſtance, than from any argument. With us a mere typographic error remained, and paſſed among all our writers, ſave Buchanan, for more than two centuries and a half. In any other country ſuch a matter would have been detected at once. And i ſhould not wonder to ſee our writers perſiſt in *Hebrides*, from mere ſhame; as the old prieſt retained his *Mumpſimus* for *Sumpſimus*. But our error is confined to ourſelves, for all foreign writers ever put *Hebudes*.

In the hiſtory of theſe iles, the Pikiſh kingdom firſt appears, which began there; as from them the Piks firſt ſpread over Scotland, as fully ſhewn above. Solinus deſcribes the ſtate of this kingdom, about the year 240 when he wrote. In 565 the Hebudes ſtill belonged to the Piks; for in that year Brudi gave Hyona to Columba, as Beda tells. Adomnan, in his life of Columba, gives ſome hints as to their then ſtate. But the Hebudes ſeem to have been left almoſt deſert, when the Piks gained Valentia, and other fertile poſſeſſions on the ſouth: and we find not that Columba tried to convert their inhabitants. Nor in Iriſh hiſtory or ſanctology is any of theſe ilands mentioned, (except Hyona) as the ſcene of any action whatever. Their ſubjection to the petty kings of

[e] Late Iriſh writers ſay that the Hebrides are ſo called from king Hiber.

Maun

Maun is another proof of their being almoſt unpeopled. Upon theſe grounds I am convinced that after the Piks began to move ſouth, the Hebudes were left almoſt deſert. Nay that the Norwegians who ſettled in them muſt have been few, elſe they would not have ſubmitted to the petty kings of Maun, but have had ſeparate earls or kings. In 1266 the Hebudes were ceded to Scotland; and as no inhabitants could leave the continent for ſuch rude and remote habitations, crouds of wild Iriſh were permitted, if not invited, to ſettle among the Norwegians, who remained. For as the Iriſh deteſted the Engliſh yoke, ſo they were ever on good terms with the Scotiſh kings; owing to the intercourſe, and fameneſs of language, between them and our Dalriads. That this was the caſe, appears from the peculiar freſhneſs of their Iriſh origin to be traditionally found among thoſe ilanders at preſent; and from their language being more perfectly Iriſh than that of our highlanders; as well as from the evidence of hiſtoric facts. The chief families are however Norwegians, who remained as principal tenants: and the people have more of the Norwegian largeneſs of limbs, and redneſs of hair, than our highlanders. But our kings hardly regarded them, or the highlanders, as ſubjects: and in the grand conteſt with Edward I. both traitorouſly allied themſelves with the enemy. Hence they, as well as the highlanders, are unknown in Scotiſh hiſtory; nor are once mentioned, ſave in affrays and crimes.

About 912 Ketil was made lord of the Hebudes by Harold Harfagre, and uſurped independency. *Torf. Orc.* I. 5. Perhaps the kings of Maun deſcended from him. In 989 Godfrey, ſon of Harold, king of the Hebudes, was ſlain by the Dalriads. *Tigh. Ann. Ult.* About 1012 Gill, an earl of the Hebudes, is mentioned. *Torf.* I. 11. In the time of Magnus the good king of Norway, 1035—1047, Duggald was king of the Hebudes. *Torf. Hiſt. Fœrey. ad fin.*

Torfæus,

Torfæus, *Orcad.* I. 10. ſhews that the northern Hebudes were tributary to the earls of Orkney. In 1098 Magnus Bareſoot king of Norway, after ſubduing the Orkneys, paſſed to the Hebudes: and firſt conquered *Liodhus*, now Lewis. Then ſubduing the reſt, took captive Lagman, ſon of Gudrod king of the Hebudes, evidently Lagman ſon of Godred king of Maun, in the *Chronicon Manniæ*.

The Ile of Maun attracts particular notice, as the ſeat of this kingdom. It is the *Monæda* of the ancients; as Angleſey is *Mona*. It was held by the Iriſh in the time of Oroſius. About 620, Edwin king of Northumbria conquered the *Mevaniæ inſulæ*, as Beda ſays; that is Angleſey and Maun, the former ever after retaining the name of Angleſey, or Engliſh ile. But in the ninth century Maun was ſeized by the Norwegian pirates; who held it till Harold Harfagre, about 910 expelled them. It is clear, from their ſpeech, that the inhabitants came chiefly from Ireland: and it is likely that the kings of the Hebudes were Norwegians from Ireland, then over-run with Scandinavians. In 1075 we find the people of Maun ſending to the king of Dublin, to deſire him to appoint a king of Maun[f]. This Iriſh origin accounts for that odd circumſtance of Maun, a detached and diſtant ile, being the regal ſeat of the Hebudian kinglets.

[f] Chron. Mann. apud Camden.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TO

The Second Volume.

APPENDIX

To Volume II.

NUMBER I. *Extracts from the Annals of Ulster.*

THESE extracts are from a MS. in the British Museum, Cat. Ayscough, N° 4795, entituled, *Annales Ultonienses ab an.* 431. *ad an.* 1303; but it wants from 1131 to 1156. The Latin is original; the Irish parts are translated into English. The hand-writing is of the beginning, or middle, of last century *.

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431. Palladius ad Scotos, a Celestino urbis Romæ Episcopo, ordinatus episcopus, Aetio et Valerio Coss. primus mittitur in Hiberniam.

* Mr. Johnstone, in his *Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ*, has published a translation of extracts from this MS. As it will be found often to differ from this, the editor is forced to say, that he has collated the present extracts three times with the MS. and some passages oftener; that he has also collated Mr. J's once with this; and after with the MS.: and can safely say that the errors rest wholly with Mr. J.

432. Patricius pervenit ad Hiberniam, 9° anno Theodosii Junioris, primo anno Xisti, 42 Episcopi Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Sic enumerant Beda et Marcellinus in Chronicis suis. [in 12 anno Laogarii Mac Neil. *manu recentiore.*]

438. *The Great Chronicle was written.*

452. Hic alii dicunt nativitatem S'tæ Brigidæ.

457. Quies senis Patricii, ut alii libri dicunt.

461. Alii quietem Patricii dicunt.

464. Angli venerunt in Angliam.

471. Præda facta Saxonum de Hibernia.

482. Bellum Oche, in quo cecidit Ailil Molt. A Concob filio Nesæ usque ad Cormac fil. Aod anni 308. A Cormac usque ad hoc bellum 206, ut Cuana scripsit.

491. Dicunt Scoti Sanctum Patricium Archiepiscopum defunctum.

492. Patricius Archiep. quievit, 120 anno ætat. suæ.

504. Mors Bruidi Mac Mælcon. *(sic: lege,* Nativitas.)

518. Nativitas Columbkille.

522. Quies Sanctæ Brigidæ æt. 70.

525. Dormitatio Brigidæ æt. 70.

537. Mors Comgail Mac Domangart [*Ri Alban,* manu rec.] 35 anno regni.

544. Mors Comgail Mac Domangart, ut alii dicunt.

548. Dormitatio Ciaran, filii artificis, an. 37 ætatis suæ. Tighernach Cluanois.

557. *The feast of Tarach by Dermott Mac Cerbail.* Et fuga ante filium Mælcon; et mors Gabrain Mac Domangart.

559. *Battle of Cuildremme, upon Dermot Mac Cerbail, Fergus and Donel, the two sons of Erc: Airmiere Hedna, and Nanidh Mac Duah were vanquishers.*

562. *The battle of Moindore Lothair upon the Cruthens, by the Nells of the North. Bædan Mac Cin, with two [other chiefs] of the Cruthens, fought it against the rest of the Cruthens. The cattle and booty of the Æolargs were given to them of Tirconnel and Tirowen, conductors, for their leading as wages.*

573. Bellum Tola et Fortola, in regionibus Cruithne. Mors Conail Mac Comgail, an. regni sui 16, qui obtulit insulam Hy Columcille.

574. Magna concio Drumacet, in qua fuit Columbcille et Aodh Mac Amirech.

575. Bellum de Loro in Kintire, in quo cecidit Duncath Mac Conail Mac Comgail; et alii multi de sociis filiorum Gauran ceciderunt.

579. Bellum

579. Bellum Droman Mac Erce, ubi Comgal filius Domnail filii Morierti cecidit: Aod Mac Amirech victor extitit. *The . . . . of Ouc with Aodan Mac Gabran.* Cenelath Rex Pictorum moritur.

581. Bellum Manan, in quo victor erat Aodhan Mac Gauran.

583. Mors Brude Mac Mælcon, Regis Pictorum.

589. *The Battle of Leithvedh by Aodan Mac Gauran.*

590. Defectio solis: mane tenebrosum.

594. Quies Columbcille, 5 Idus Junii, anno æt. suæ 76. Mors Eugain Mac Gauran.

595. Jugulatio filiorum Aodhain, Bueim et Doman.

600. Terræ motus in Bairnohi.

605. Mors Aodhan Mac Gauran.

612. Bellum Caire Legion, ubi sancti occisi sunt, et cecidit Solon Mac Conaon Rex Britannorum.

623. Nativitas Adomnani abatis. [*marg. Alii libri* Mors.]

626. Bellum Arda Coran, Dalriadi victores erant; in quo cecidit Fiachna filius Demain.

628. Bellum Duin Cethirni, quo Congal Caoch fugit, et Donal Mac Aod victor est. Bellum Fedha Evin, in quo Maolcaich Mac Skanlain, Rex Cruithne, victor fuit: ceciderunt Dalriada; Coind Ceni Rex Dalriada cecidit. Buidhe regis Pictorum per filios Aodhain. *(sic)*

630. Bellum Perlacartle: et mors Cinedhou filii Luthreni Regis Pictorum.

631. Bellum Cathloen, Regis Britonum, et Anfrith.

632. Bellum Indris, Regis Britannorum.

634. Ecclesia Rechran fundata est. Mors Gartnai Mac Foith. Bellum Hegaise, in quo cecidit Lactna Mac Nechtain, cum Fotha Cumascach Mac Eneasa, et Gartnaith Mac Oith.

636. Bellum Rath, et bellum Saltire, in uno die facta sunt. Caol Mac Maolcova, socius Donaldi, victor erat, de genere Eugain.

637. Bellum Gline Muresan, et obsessio Edin.

638. Bellum Osabali, regis Saxonum.

640. Mors Maoilvidhir Caoio, Regis Orientalium. Mors Bruidi filii Foith. Naufragium scaphæ familiæ. Obsessio Rithæ [et] combustio.

641. Mors Domnail Mac Aodha, Regis Hiberniæ, in fine Januarii. Postea Domnall, in bello Fraithe Cair-

vin, in fine anni m. Decembri interfectus eſt; et an. xv. regnavit. Bellum Offa apud Britones.

643. Loceni Mac Finin, Rex Cruithne obiit.

645. *The wounding of Scannal Mac Becce Mac Fiachrach, king of Cruithne.*

648. *The war of the Huodhams and Gartnaith Mac Accidana.*

649. Bellum Offa per Pante. Mors Cathuſaidh Mac Domnail Bric.

650. Jugulatio Oiſein Mac Oſeirg.

651. Obitus Segeni, abbatis Iæ, filii Fiachra.

652. Mors Ferith Mac Tuathalan, et Dolairg Mac Foith Regis Pictorum.

655. Bellum Pante regis Saxonum Offa victor erat. *(ſic)*

656. Mors Dolargain Mac Anfrith, Regis Pictorum.

657. Mors Guiret, Regis Alocluothe.

662. Mors Gartnaidh filii Donaldi, et Donaldi filii Tuathalani.

663. Bellum Ludhoſeirn. i. in Fortrin.

665. *Maolcaſich Mac Scannail of the Cruithis* . . . . . Maolduin Eoch Iarlaith, rex Cruithne, moritur.

667. Bellum Feroh, *between Ulſter and the Cruithens*, ubi cecidit Cathaſach Mac Lurgeni. Navigatio filiorum Gartnaidh in Hiberniam, cum plebe Sceth.

668. Venit genus Garnart de Hibernia.

670. Mors Offa filii Etilbrith, Regis Saxonum.

671. Expulſio Droſti de regno.

672. Jugulatio Demangart Mac Daniel Bricc, Regis Dalriada.

674. Mors filii Pante.

675. Conal Mac Maolduin jugul.

677. Mors Droſto filii Domnail. Interfectio generis Loairn apud Firrin. Bellum apud Calaros, in quo victus eſt Domnal Brecc *.

680. Combuſtio regni in Dun, viz. Dungal Mac Scannail Rex Cruithne, &c.

681. Jugulatio Cinfaola, Regis Connaght. Bellum Rathmore apud Maghline, contra Britones; ubi cecidit Cæthaſao Mac Maoiledum, Rex Cruithne, et Ultan Mac Dicolla; et jugulatus Muirin Ammaon. Obitus Svivne, filii Mailuva, principis Corca. Orcades deletæ ſunt a Bruide.

* Vide quæ dicta ſunt de Donaldo Brec, pag. 117 hujus tomi: et confer A. 649 et 688.

685. Bellum

685. Bellum Duin Neſhtain, viceſimo die menſis Maij, ſabathi die, factum eſt; in quo Ecfrith Mac Offa rex Saxonum, 15 anno regni ſui conſummato, magna cum caterva militum ſuorum, interfectus eſt. Et combuſſit Tula aman (*ſic*) Duin Olla. Talorg Mac Acithen, et Daniel Breoo Mac Eacha, mortui ſunt.

686. Adomnanus captivos reduxit in Hiberniam LX.

687. Occiſio Canan Mac Gartna. Finachta clericatum ſuſcepit.

688. Finachtæ ventitus ad regnum. Mors Cataſuidh, nepotis Domnail Bricc. (*vide an.* 649.)

691. Dalriadæ populati ſunt a Cruithne et Ulſter.

692. Bruide Mac Bile, Rex Fortren, moritur. Mors Ailphin Mac Nechtain. Jugulatio Ainfith et Piethnell, filiorum Boeno. Mors Dergairt Mac Fingaire. Bellum contra Pante.

693. Mors Ferchair Mac Conaoth Cirr. Daniel Mac Avin, Rex Alocluathe, moritur.

694. Comnat uxor Ferchair moritur.

695. Jugulatio Domnaill filii Conaill.

696. Taracin de regno expulſus eſt. Ferchar Fada, id eſt Longus, moritur. Adomnanus ad Hu inſulam pergit, et dedit legem Mocentium populis. (*ſic*)

697. Bellum apud Feymna, ubi cecidit Concuvar Mocha Mac Maileduin, et Aod Rex Dalaraidhe. Bellum inter Saxones et Pictos, ubi cecidit filius Bernith qui dicebatur Brechtra. Expulſio Ainfcella, filii Ferchair, de regno; et vinctus ad Hiberniam vehitur.

699. Fianamoil, nepos Duncha Rex Dalriada, et Flan Mac Cinfoala Mac Suivne, jugulati ſunt.

706. *The Deſtruction of Dunaila by Selvach.* Jugulatio generis Cathboth.

702. Bellum Campi Cuilni, inter Ulſter et Britones.

703. Adomnanus 78 anno æt., ſuæ abbatiæ, pauſat. Aldfrith Mac Offa, ſapiens Rex Saxonum, moritur.

705. Brude Mac Derile moritur.

706. Duo terræ motus in eadem ſeptimana, in aquilonari parte Hiberniæ.

707. Canis Cuarain, Rex Cruithne, jugulatus.

709. *A ſkirmiſh given by the Conels, where the two ſons of Nechtain Mac Doirgarta.* (ſic) Jugulatus Fiachra Mac Dungarte a Cruithne.

710. Strages Pictorum in campo Manan, apud Saxones, ubi Finguin filius Delaroith in mala morte finivit. Congreſſio Britonum et Dalriada, apud Longecoleth, ubi Britones devicti.

711. Coide epiſcopus Iæ pauſat.

712. Cinio Mac Derili, et filius Mathgennan jugulati. Tolarg, filius Droſtani, ligatur apud fratrem ſuum Nechtain Regem.

713. Dun Olla conſtruitur apud Selvaon, *and deſtroyed by his daughter Alena.*

715. Jugulatio Regis Saxonum Direct fil Aldfrith nepotis Offa. Garrat filii Deliroith mors. Fogartach nepos Cerua iterum regnat.

716. Duncha Mac Cinfaola, abbas Iæ, obiit. Expulſio familiæ Iæ trans Dorſum Britanniæ, a Nectano Rege. Congreſſio Dalruda et Britonum, in lapide qui vocatur Minmro, et Britones devicti ſunt.

718. Jugulatio Droſtan. Bellum Fingline, inter duos filios Ferchair Fada; in quo Anfcellach jugulatus eſt v. feria Idus Septembris. Maritimum Ardaneſſe inter Dunca Beg, cum genere Iavrair, et Celvecum cum genere Loiarn; et verſum eſt contra Selvacum, pridie Nonas Sept. die VI. feriæ: in quo quidam comites eeciderunt.

720. *Little Duncha, king of Cintire, dies.*

721. Bile Mac Eilphin, Rex Alocluaithe, moritur. Ferdacrich Mac Corgula obiit. Felim principatum Iæ obtinuit.

722. Clericatus Selvaich.

723. Faolon Mac Doirhene, abbas Iæ, dormit. Cillinus Largus hic *(ſic)* in principatum Iæ ſucceſſit.

724. Filius Druis conſtringitur. Congal Mac Maille anfa Brecc Fortren, et Oan princeps Ega, mortui.

725. Netan Mac Derile conſtringitur a Droſt Rege. Tolargan Maphan moritur.

726. Airgialla inter Selvacum, et familiam Egchtagh nepotis Domnail. *Reliques of Adomnan transferred into Ireland, and the law renewed.*

727. Bellum Monacrib inter Pictos invicem, ubi Eneas victor fuit; et multi ex parte Elpini Regis peremti ſunt. Bellum lacrimabile inter eoſdem geſtum eſt, juxta caſtellum Crei, ubi Elpinus effugit.

728. Bellum Monacurna, juxta ſtagnum Loga, inter hoſtem Nechtain, et exercitum Anguſa: et exactatores Nechtain ceciderunt, viz. Riceat Mac Moneit, et filius ejus. Fingain Mac Droſtain, Fenach Mac Fingair, et quidam Mudti, cum familia Aonguſa, triumphaverunt. Bellum Droma Derg Blathug, in regionibus

bus Pictorum, inter Aongum et Droſt Regem Pictorum; et occidit Droſt.

729. Reverſio reliquarum Adomnani de Hibernia. Bran filius Eugain, et Selvach, mortui ſunt. Oithecta Mac Aithecta, fil. Biath, et Aongus Mac Boie Bairchquire, interfectio.

730. Bellum inter Cruithne et Dalriada, apud Marbuilg, ubi Cruithne devicti. Bellum inter filium Aonguſa, et filium Conguſa; ſed Bruide vicit, Talorcon fugiente.

732. Dungal Mac Selvaich dehonoravit Forai * cum Brudonem ex ea traxit; et eadem vice inſulam Sigi invaſit. Muireoch Mac Imfcellai regnum generis Loairn aſſeruit.

733. Talorg Mac Conguſa, a fratre ſuo victus eſt, et traditur in manus Pictorum; et ab illis magna demerſus eſt. *(ſic)* Talorgan filius Droſtani comprehenſus, alligatur juxta arcem Olia. Don Lethfin deſtruitur. Poſt et in Hiberniam a poteſtate Aonguſa fugatus eſt.

735. Aongus Mac Ferguſa, rex Pictorum, vaſtavit regiones Dalriada: et obtinuit Dunat, et combuſſit Creio; et duos filios Selvaich catenis alligavit, viz. Dongal et Ferach. Et paulo poſt Brudeus Mac Anguſa Mac Ferguſa obiit. Bellum Twini Ouirbre [*at Calaros upper line:* ſic MS. interpolatio] inter Dalriada et Fortrin; et Talorgan, Mac Ferguſa, Mac Aimcellai fugientem, cum exercitu perſequitur. In qua congreſſione multi nobiles conceciderunt.

738. Talorgan Mac Droſtan, Rex Ahafoitle, demerſus eſt ab Aongus.

739. Cubretan Mac Conguſa moritur.

740. Bellum Droma Cathvaoil, inter Cruithne et Dalriada, a Jurechtach. Percuſſio Dalriada ab Eneas Mac Ferguſa.

746. Ruman Mac Colmain, poeta optimus quievit. *Death of Dunlaing Mac Dunchon, king of the Sept of Argal.*

748. Jugulatio Cathaiſai Mac Aillila, *at Ruhbehech, king of the Cruithines.* Combuſtio Killemore a Hugone Mac Aongus.

749. Bellum Cato hîc inter Pictones et Britones; in quo cecidit Talorgan Mac Ferguſa frater Aonguſa.

751. Mors Cillim Drochti, anchoritæ Iæ.

753. Slevene abbas Iæ in Hiberniam venit.

* The name of a place. So at 1038 we find "diſhonouring Ardmach." An Iriciſm.

760. Mors

760. Mors Aonguſa Mac Ferguſa Regis Pictorum.

762. Bruide Rex Fortren moritur.

763. Mors Cormach Mac Aillila abbatis monaſterii Buti. (*et an.* 766, Buite.)

765. Loarn Abbas Cluona quievit. Suivne abbas Iæ in Hiberniam venit.

767. *Battle at Fortren between Aod and Cinaoh* . . . . . (defect in MS.)

768. Quies Murgailc Mac Inea, abbatis Rechraine.

771. Mors Suivne abbatis Iæ.

772. Aod Mac Cairbre, princeps Rechraiñ, mort.

773. Flahruo Mac Fiachrach, Rex Cruithne, mort.

774. Mors Cinaon Regis Pictorum.

775. Bellum Druing, iterum in eodem anno, inter Dalnarai; in quo cecidit Cineoh Clairge Mac Cahaſai, et Dungal O Ferguſa Fortrain. Tomaltach Mac Jurechtai, et Hacha Mac Fiachna victores erant.

779. Combuſtio Alocluohe in Kalen. Jan. *Eilpin king of Saxons died.*

780. *Fergus Mac Eachach king of Dalriada died.*

781. Duſtalorg, Rex Pictorum citra Monah, mort.

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788. Battle between the Pightes, where Donall Mac Teige was vanquiſhed, yet went away; and Conſtantin was conqueror.

789. The battle of Donall and Conſtantin is written here, in other books.

791. Doncorcai, king of Dalriada, died.

793. The waſting of all the iſlands of Britain, by the gentiles.

794. Burning of Rechrain by gentiles.

795. Died Offa, the good king of England.

797. Spoils of the ſea, between Ireland and Scotland, by the gentiles.

799. *Belliolum inter genus Laoire, et genus Ardgail, in quo cecidit Fiangalach Mac Dunlaing. Conel Mac Nell, et Congalach Mac Aongus, victores erant.*

800. *Breſal Mac Segeni, abb. Aoi (Hyona) anno principatus ſui xxx. dormivit.*

* After this the text being chiefly Iriſh, the Engliſh tranſlation becomes principal, and is given in Roman letter.

801. Aoi of Columcille burnt by the gentiles.

805. *Familia Aoi occiſa eſt a gentibus ad lxviii.*

806. The killing of Conall Mac Aoain at Kintire. The building of a new cittie of Colum Cillies at Kelle.

807. Killing of Aod Mac Conor, in the land of Cova, by the Cruithins.

811. Aongus Mac Dunlaing, king of kindred Ardgail, died.

812. Charles king of France, emperor of whole Europe, in peace died.

814. Cellach Mac Congail, abbot of Aoi, died.

815. Conan Mac-Ruorah, king of Britons, died.

816. Maolduin Mac Cinfaola, chief of Rathboh, of the family of Colum Cille, died. The men of Columb Cille went to Tarach to curſe Aod. Malduin king of Offory died.

819. Conſtantin Mac Fergus, king of Fortren, died.

820. Coinulf king of Saxons died.

824. The martirizing of Blahmac Mac Flain, in Aoi Colum Cille, by the gentiles.

828. Diarmaid, abbot of Aoi, went into Scotland, with Columcille's reliques.

830. Diarmaid came into Ireland, with Columcille's reliques.

833. Aongus Mac Fergus, king of Fortren, died.

837. *Subita morte vitam finivit Maolcron Rex Lochlein.*

838. Battle by the gentiles upon Fortren men; wherein fell Owen Mac Aongus, and Bran Mac Aongus, Aod Mac Boan, *et alii pœne innumerabiles.*

848. Juraſtach, abbot of Aoi, came into Ireland with Colum Cille's oathes, or ſanctified things.

850. " white Fingalians."

851. Battle between the white gentiles and black gentiles.

852. Aulaiv, king of Lochlin, came into Ireland; and all the foreigners of Ireland ſubmitted to him, and had rent from the Iriſh.

853. The heir* of Colum Cille, *ſapiens optimus IV. Idus Martii apud Saxones martirizatus eſt.*

855. Aclon flight by Aod Mac Neil upon the Engliſh-Iriſh, and great ſlaughter of them. Lorm, king of the black gentiles, killed by Marai Mac Meirmin, king of Wales.

* Coarb? See An. 926.

856. Cuhal-

856. Cuhal-Fin, with his Engliſh-Iriſh, put to flight by Ivar.

857. Cinaoh Mac Ailpin king of Pights, and Adulf king of Saxons, *mortui ſunt.*

860. Gormlaih daughter to Donogh, *ameniſſima regina Scotorum, poſt penitentiam obiit.*

861. Donal Mac Ailpin, king of Pights, died.

864. Tuahal Mac Artguſa, archbiſhop of Fortren, and abbot of Dun Callen, *dormivit.*

865. Aulaiv and his nobilitie went to Fortren, together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland; and ſpoiled all the Cruthens, and brought their hoſtages with them.

866. Battle on the Saxons of the north at the citie Euroc (*York*) by the black foreigners, wherein fell Ailli king of Saxons of the north.

869. *Obſeſſio Aſcluahe a Nordmannis: id eſt Aulaiv et Ivar, duo reges Normannorum, obſiderunt arcem illum; et deſtruxerunt, in fine IV. menſium, arcem, et prædaverunt.*

870. Aulaiv and Ivar came again to Dublin out of Scotland; and brought with them great booties from Engliſhmen, Britons, and Pights, in their two hundred ſhips, with many of their people captives.

871. Artga king of Britains of Strah-Cluothe, *conſilio Conſtantini Mac Cinaoch, occiſus eſt.*

872. *Ivar, Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britanniæ, vitam finivit.* Flaivertagh prince of Dun Caillin *mort.*

874. The coming of the Pights upon the Black Gals, where great ſlaughter of the Pights was had. Oſtin Mac Aulaiv king of Nordmans was [ſlain?] by the Albanich.

875. *Conſtantin Mac Cinach, Rex Pictorum, mort.*

876. Roary Mac Murmin, king of Britons, came into Ireland, for refuge from Black gentiles.

877. Roary ſon of Murmin, king of Britons, killed by Saxons. *Aod Mac Cinach Rex Pictorum a ſociis ſuis occiſus eſt.* The ſhrine of Colum Cille, and his oathes or reliques, brought into Ireland, for refuge from the gentiles.

879. Ferach Mac Cormaic abbot of Aoi died.

890. Flan Mac Maoiledrin abbot of Aoi *in pace dormivit.*

899. Daniel Mac Conſtantin, king of Scotland, died.

903. Ivar Chivar killed by the men of Fortren, with a great ſlaughter about him.

912. Maol-

912. Maolmor Mac Lanirke, daughter to Cinach Mac Ailpin, died.

917. Maolthſin, prince biſhop of Roſorde; Egnech prince of Arain; Daniel of Elnon, Cairbhe a great Chronicler, *in pace dormivit.* The gentiles of Loch-eachaoch left Ireland, and went for Scotland. The men of Scotland, with aſſiſtance of the North Saxons, prepared before them. The gentiles divided themſelves into four battles, viz. one by Godfrey Oh Ivar; another by the two earls; the third by the young lords; and the fourth by Ranall Mac Bioloch, that the Scots did not ſee. But the Scots overthrew the three they ſaw, that they had a great ſlaughter of them about Ottir and Gragava. But Ranall gave the onſet behind the Scotts, that he had the killing of many of them; only that neither king, nor murmor, of them was loſt in the conflict. The night diſcharged the battle. *Ealflech famoſiſſima regina Saxonum mort.*

926. Maolbride Mac Dormain Coarb * of Patrick, and Colum Cille, *felici ſenectute quievit.*

927. Baochin, Coarb of Brenainbuor, *quievit.*

928. "Coarb of Comgal."

930. "Coarb of Ciarain." 931. "Coarb of Fechin-favair."

937. Dubharh, Coarb of Colum Cille *et* Adomnan, *in pace quievit.*

938. Adalſten king of Saxons, the moſt majeſtical father of the weſtern world, *ſecura morte moritur.* Finechta Mac Cellay, Coarb of Daire, *quievit.*

949. Aiel king of Wales died.

951. Conſtantine Mac Aod king of Scotland [died.] A battle upon Scots, Welch, and Saxons, by gentiles.

953. Maolcolum Mac Donal, king of Scotland, killed. Revartach Coarb of Columcill and Adomnan, *pauſavit.*

958. Duvduin Coarb of Columcill *mort.*

964. Battle between Scotſmen about Etir, where many ſlain about Donoch abbot of Duncalten.

966. Duv Mac Maolcolum, king of Scotland, killed by Scotſmen themſelves.

* In the corruption of the middle ages eccleſiaſtic dignities were often hereditary; and the Coarb is either the heir; or the perſon who has the title, but not the actual poſſeſſion. But ſee alſo Ware Ant. Hib. c. 17, *De Corbis,* who ſuſpects a Coarb the ſame as a lay abbot.

970. Culen

970. Culen Illuile, king of Scotland, killed by Britons in open battle.

974. Hector [Edgar] Mac Edmond, king of Saxons, *mort.* Daniel Mac Owen, king of Wales, in pilgrimage.

976. Aulaiv Mac Alaiv, king of Scotland, killed by Cinaoh Mac Donell.

979. Mugron, Coarb of Columbcill in Scotland and Ireland, *felicem vitam finivit.*

985. The foreigners came into the borders of Dalriada in three ſhips; where 140 of them were hanged, and the reſt baniſhed. Columcill rifled on Chriſtmas eve by the foreigners, who killed the abbot, and 15 of the learned of the church.

986. The battle of Manan by Mac Aralt, and the foreigners, *ubi mille occiſi ſunt.*

988. Gofry Mac Aralt, king of Inſe Gall, killed by Dalriada. Duncha O Robucan, Coarb of Columcill, *mort.* Dubdalech, Coarb of Patrick, took the Coarb Patrick upon him, by advice of Ireland and Scotland.

994. Cinaoh Mac Maolcolum, king of Scotland, killed *per dolum.* Donach Patrick rifled by gentiles of Dublin.

996. Maolaohum Mac Daniel, king of North Wales, died.

997. Patrick, Coarb of Columcill, in the 83d year of his age, died.

1004. Maolbryd O Ryneve, abbot of Aoi, *mor.* A battle between Scots at Monedir, where the king of Scotland, Cinaoh Mac Duiv *, was ſlain.

1005. Battle between Scotſmen and Saxons, where Scotſmen were diſcomfitted, with a great ſlaughter of their good men.

1006. Mureah Mac Crithan renounced the Coarbſhip of Columcill for God.

1008. Clothna Mac Aongus, chief poet of Ireland, died.

1009. Maolonham o Cervall, chief learned of Ireland, [and] Martan Mac Cinedy, Coarb of Columcill, died.

1014. *Hic eſt* 582 *annus ab adventu Sancti Patricii ad baptizandos Scotos.* Maoluin Mac Eocha, Patrick's

* Grim was ſon of Kinat Mac Duff. *Reg. St. And.* In No. IV. Innes, this king is only called "Chinet fil. Duf." It ſeems clear that *Grim* is only an epithet for Kenneth V. ſon of Duff, inſtead of being ſon of that Kenneth.

Coarb,

Coarb, went to Sord Columcill * with learned men, and reliques; and brought from thence the body of Bryan, &c. and buried them in Armagh.

1020. Finlogh Mac Roary, king of Scotland, *a ſuis occiſus.*

1023. Henrich king of the world died.

1027. Doncha Mac Gillmochona, Coarb of Sechnail, *ſapientiſſimus Scotorum in Colonia quievit.*

1028. Sitrick Mac Aulaiv, king of Galls, and Flanagan Cellai, king of Bregh, went to Rome.

1029. Maolbride O Brolohan, Chief Maſon of Ireland, died.

1030. Cumara Mac Liag, chief poet of Ireland, died.

1032. Maolbryd, Murmor of Mureve, burnt with 50 men about him.

1033. The ſon of Mac Boet Mac Cinaoh, killed by Maolcolum Mac Cinaoh. Hugh Mac Flavertai O Nell, king of Ailech, and heir of Ireland, *poſt penitentiam mort. in St. Andrewes eccl.*

1034. Maolcolum Mac Cinaoh, king of Scotland, died. Maenia O Huchtan, lector of Kells, drowned coming from Scotland with Culevar Columcill's book, and 3 Mms (*ſic*) or Sroearnis, reliques of St. Patrick, and 30 men with them. Suivne Mac Hugh, king of Engliſh-Iriſh, *aliter* Fingall, *mort.*

1035. Cnut Mac Suain, king of Saxons, died. The Sord of Columcills burnt by Conor O Maolechlan in revenge.

1038. Battle between Luana king of Allaxons, and Odo king of France, where a thouſand and more periſhed.

1039. Iago king of Britain *a ſuis occiſus.* Macina, Coarb of Buth, *epiſcopus, et plenus dierum, ob.*

1040. Malmure O Huchtan, Coarb of Columcill, *dormivit.* Doncha Mac Crinan, king of Scotland, *a ſuis occiſus eſt.* Aralt king of Saxons of Gills *ob.*

1045. Battle between the Scots themſelves, where fell Cronan abbot of Duncaillen.

1050. Maolay lector of Kells, *ſapientiſſimus omnium Hibernenſium, obiit.*

1054. A battle between Scots and Saxons, where 3000 of Scots, and 1500 of Saxons were ſlain, with Dolfin Mac Finlor.

* *Surdum Sancti Columbæ*, Sourd abbey, five miles from Dublin, founded by St. Columba.

1056. Flan

1056. Flan of Monaſter, Arch Lector, and Chief Chronicler, of Ireland, *in vita eterna quievit.*

1057. Rovertach Mac Donell, Coarb of Columcill, *in Domino dormivit.*

1058. Lulach Mac Gillcomgain, Archking of Scotland, killed by Maolcolumb Mac Duncha in battle.—— Magbethai Mac Finloich, Archking of Scotland, killed by Melſechlin Mac Doncha in battle.

NUMBER II. *The Albanic* DUAN, *with tranſlations.*

DUAN ALBANACH.

A eolcha Alban uile,
O ye learned Albanians all,
A ſhluagh feta foltbhuidle;
ye hoſt learned yellow haired;
Cia ceud ghabhail an eol duibh,
who firſt poſſeſſed to knowledge their,
Ro ghabhſadar Alban bhruigh.
they poſſeſſed Albanian lands.

Albanus ro ghabh lia a ſhlogh,
Albanus poſſeſſed with his army;
Macſein oirdhearc Iſiacon,
The ſon noble of Iſiacon,
Brathair do Bhritus gan bhrath
Brother of Britus without ——*
O raitear Alba eathrach.
as it is ſaid Alba between.
Ro ionnarb a bhrathair bras
He baniſhed his brother Bras
Britus tar mhuir Nicht namhnus.
Britus acroſs the ſea Nichtean. ——
Ro ghabh Britus Albain ain,
— *poſſeſſed Britus Alban the ſame,*
Go rinn fiadhnach Fothudain.
to the plains of the hunter Fothudain.
Foda iar mBritus mblaith mbil,
long after Britus flouriſhed mildly,
Ro ghabhſad clanna Nemhidh;
— *poſſeſſed the ſons of Nemidius,*

* The words untranſlated are unknown to the tranſlator.

Erglan iar dteacht as a luing,
Erglan after coming out of his ſhip,
Do aithle toghla tuir Conaing.
— ——— ——— tower of Conaing.

Cruithnigh ro ghabhſad iardain,
The Picts poſſeſſed ———
Iar dtiachtain a hEreann mhuigh.
after they came from Ireland plains.
Dech righ, tri fichid righ, ran,
Ten kings, three twenty kings, reigned,
Ghabhſad diobh an Cruithean chlar:
they poſſeſſed to themſelves the Pictland plains:
Cathluan an cedrigh dhiobh ſoin,
Cathluan the firſt king of them ——,
Aiſneidhim dhibh go demhin;
——— of them moſt certainly;
Rob e an righ dedhionach dhibh
He was the king laſt of them
An cur calma Cuſandin.
the champion famous Conſtantine.

Clanna Eachach, ina ndiaidh,
The children of Eochy, them after,
Ghabſad Albain iar nairdghiaidh,
poſſeſſed Albany after by their high power,

Clanna Chonaire an chaomh fhir,
The children of Chonaire the gentle man.
Toghaide na tren Ghaodhil;
Raiſed the ſtrong Iriſh;
Tri mic Eirc, mhic Eachach ait,
three ſons of Erc, the ſon of Eachach the great,
Triar fuair beannachtain Phadraic;
the three got the bleſſing of Patrick;
Ghabſad Albain ard a ngus;
Poſſeſſed Alban the great likewiſe;
Loarn, Fergus, is Aongus.
Loarn, Fergus, and Aongus.

Dech mbliadhna Loarn ler bladh
Ten years Loarn flouriſhed
I bhflaitheas iarthair Alban.
in the government of Weſt Albany.

Tar

Tar es Loairn fhel go ngus
After Loarn a ſpace likewiſe
Seacht mbliadhna ficheat Fergus.
ſeven and twenty years Fergus.
Domhanghart, mac dFheargus ard,
Domhangart, ſon of Fergus the great,
Aireamh chuig mbhadhan mbiothgharg.
reckoned five years in troubles.
A ceathair ficheat, gan troid,
four twenty, without wars,
To Chomhghall mhic Domhanghairt.
to Chomgall the ſon of Domhangairt.
Da bhliadhain, chonnail gan tar,
two years cloſe and even, without reproach,
Tar eis Chomhghaill do Ghabhran.
After Chomhghaill to Ghabhran.
Tri bliadhna fo chuig, gan roinn,
Three years by five without diviſion,
Ba righ Conall mhic Comhghaill.
was king Conall the ſon of Comhghaill.
Cethre bliadhna ficheat thall,
Four years twenty over,
Ba righ Aodhan na niolrann.
He was king Aodhan of extended plains.
Dech mbliadhna fo ſheacht, ſeol ngle,
Ten years by ſeven, ſpace bright,
Ibhflaitheas Eachach buidhe.
reigned Eochach the yellow.
Conchad cearr raithe reil blath.
Conchad —— quarter ruled happily.
A ſe deg dia mhac Fearchair.
Sixteen after the ſon of Fearchair.
Tar eis Fearchair, feaghaid rainn,
after Fearchair as the poets ſing,
Cethre bliadhna deg Domhnaill.
Four years ten Domhnaill.
Tar eis Domnaill bhric na mbla
After Domnaill ſpotted the flouriſhing
Conall, Dongall, deich mbliadhna.
Conall, Dongall, ten years.
Tri bliadhna deg Domhnaill duinn,
Three years ten Domhnaill the brown,

Tar eis Donghail is Chonuill.
After Donghaill and Chonaill.
Maolduin, mhic Conaill na gcreach,
Maoluuin, the ſon of Conaill of the hoſtages,
A ſeacht deg go dlightheach.
ſeven ten — lawfully.
Fearchair fada, (feagha leat),
Fearchair the long, (look with yourſelf) *
Do chaith bliadhain ar fhicheat.
He ſpent one year on twenty.
Da bhliadhain Eachach na neach;
two years Eachach of the horſes,
Ra ba calman an rightheach.
He was powerful in his houſhold.
Aoin bhliadhain ba flaith iardain
One year was chief after
Ainbcheallach maith, mhic Fearchair. † 64
Ainbhcallach the good, the ſon of Fearchair.
* * * * *
[*Selvac and Achy wanting.*]
* * * * *
Tri bliadhna Mureadhaigh mhaith.
Three years Mureadhaigh the good.
Triochod do Aodh na Ardfhlaith.
Thirty to Hugh the high king.
Aceathair ficheat, nior fhann,
Four twenty, without weakneſs,
Do bhliadnaibh do chaith Domhnall.
of years he ſpent Domhnall.
* * * * *
[*Fergus and Doncorcai wanting.*]
* * * * *
Dha bhliadhain Conaill ceim ngle.
Two years Conaill ſtep clear.
Sa ceathair Conaill ele.
and four Conaill other.
Naoi mbliadhna Conſtantin chain.
Nine years Conſtantine eloquent.
A naoi Aonghus ar Albain.
Nine Aonghus on Albain.

* Take this with you.

† Here the orginal inſerts Dungal and Alpin: but they are tranſpoſed to their proper place, ver. 79.

Cei-

Ceithre bliadhna Aodha ain.
Four years Hugh muſical.
Sa trì deg Eoganain.
and three ten Eoganain.
Seacht mbliadhna flaith Dunghal den.
ſeven years the chief Dunghall the brown.
Agus a ceathair do Alpen.
and four to Alpin.

Triocha bliadhain Chionaoith chruaidh.
Thirty years Chaoinaoth the hardy.
A ceathair Dhomhnaill dhreachruaid.
Four Dhomnaill ruddy countenance.
Triocha bliadhain, gona bhrigh,
Thirty years with his power,
Don churaidh do Chonſtantin.
to the champion to Conſtantine.
Da bliadhain, (ba daor a dhath),
two years, (was hard complexioned times),
Da bhrathair do Aodh flionnſgothach *.
to his brother to Hugh the fair haired.
Domhnall, mhic Conſtantin chain,
Domhnall, the ſon of Conſtantine the eloquent,
Ro chaith bliadhain fa cheathair.
Spent years one and four.
Conſtantin ba calma a ghleac,
Conſtantine was powerful and expert,
Ro chaith a ſe is da fhicheat.
He ſpent ſix and forty.
Maolcholum ceithre bliadhna.
Maolcholum four years.
Iondolbh a hocht airdriaghla.
Iondolph eight high ruler.
Seacht mbliadhna Dubhoda den.
Seven years Dubhoda the brown.
Agus a ceathair Culen.
And four Culen.
A ſeacht fithcheat, os gach cloinn,
ſeven twenty, over each clan,

* Here Grig, or Achy, is wanting. The bard probably regarded Grig as an uſurper, or no king, (ſee *Chron. Pict.*); and Achy as a minor in Grig's power.

Do Chionaoth mhic Maoilcholuim.
to Chinaoth the ſon of Maolcholim.
Seacht mbliadhna Conſtantin cluin.
Seven years Conſtantine ——.
Agus a ceathair Macduibh.
And four Macduff.
Trocha bliadhain, breacaid rainn,
Thirty years, ſpotted reign,
Ba righ Manaidh Maolcholaim.
was king —— Maolcholaim.
Se bliadhna Donnchadh ghlain gooith.
Six years Donchadh cleán breath.
Seacht mbliadna deg mac Fionlaoich.
Seven years ten the ſon of Fionlaoich.
Tar is Micbeatha go mbloidh
After Macbeatha — ——
Seacht mbliadhna i bfhlaitheas Lulaigh.
Seven years in power Lulaigh.
Maholum, a noſa as righ,
Maolcholum, who is king,
Mac Donnchaidh datha drechbhi.
The ſon of Donchaidh —— ——
A re nocha nfhidir neach,
And how long he'll reign no one knows,
Acht an teolach as eolach.
But the knower of knowledge.

Dha righ for chaogad cluine
Two kings by fifty ——,
Go mac Donnchaidh dreachruire,
to the ſon of Donchaidh pleaſant countenance,
Do ſhiol Eirc, ardghlain, an oir,
of the ſeed of Eirch, high, and clear of gold,
Ghabhſad Albain, a eolaigh.
poſſeſſed Albany, O ye learned.

A fru

A free tranſlation of the ſame, with ſome remarks, by Mr. O'Conor.

Ye knowing men of Alba, ye comely hoſts of the yellow treſſes, know ye the firſt poſſeſſions of that country?

Albanus of the numerous combatants was the firſt poſſeſſor. He was the ſon of Iſiacon *. From him is derived the name of Alba. Britus was his brother. Britus baniſhed his brother acroſs the Iſtian ſea. Britus ſeized upon Alba, to the limits of the hunter Fothadan.

Long after the celebrated Britus the Nemedians ſettled here, under auſpices of Erglan. It was after the ſiege of Tor Conang.

In a latter period Cruthnidh, (pronounce Crunii) i. e. the Picts, ſeized upon Alba, after quitting Ireland. Seventy of their monarchs reigned over Cruthenland (North Britain), from Cathluan to the valiant Conſtantin.

After that period the deſcendants of Conary the mild, (king of Ireland, A. D. 220) ſettled in that country. And in later time the grandſons of Achay, (ſurnamed Munrevar,) enlarged their borders after a ſignal victory. They were the three ſons of Erk; Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, who obtained the benediction of St. Patrick. Memorable were thoſe victorious Gaedhils, (pronounced Gaëils.)

Loarn, of the ſhining countenance, ruled 10 years over the weſt of Alba. After him Fergus 27 years. Domangard ſon of Fergus 4 years, in turbulence. Comgal his brother 24 years in peace. Gauran ſon of Domangard reigned 2 years, without reproach. Conal, ſon of Comgal 15 years. Aedan, of the extended territories, reigned 24 years. Achay the yellow, or ſwarthy, 17 years. Concad Kerr (the ſilent) three months; and Ferchar his ſon 16 years. Domnald ſurnamed Breac, or the ſpeckled, 14 years. Conal and

* The Hiſicion of Nennius, cap. 12, 13. Eccard in his *Orig. Germ.* thinks the Hiſicion of Nennius Tuiſco the father of the Germans; and his Armenon, Arminius.

Dongal jointly 10 years. Domnald Duin 13 years. Malduin ſon of Conal 17 years. Ferchar Fada (the tall) 21 years. Achay the valiant 2 years. Anbkellach ſon of Ferchar 1 year. Muriach 3 years. Aodh 30. Domhnald 24. Conal 2: and another Conal 4. Conſtantin the good 9. Angus 9. Aod 4. Eoganan 13. Dungal 7. Alpin 4.

KENETH the hardy 30 years. Domnald the ruddy complexioned 4. The hero Conſtantin 30. Aodh the fairhaired, Conſtantin's brother, 2. Domnald ſon of Conſtantin 5. Conſtantin ſon of Aodh 46. Malcolm 4. Indolph 8. Dubhoda 7. Culen 4. Keneth ſon of Malcolm 27. Conſtantin 7. Macduff 4. Malcolm 30. Donchad 6. The ſon of Finlauch (Macbeth) 17. Lulach, 7 months.

Malcolm, ſon of Donchad, is the preſent king. God alone knows how long he is to reign.

To the preſent time, of the ſon of Donchad the lively-faced, 52 kings of the race of Erk have reigned over Alba, (or Albany.)

Remarks.

Of the Nemedians, and the ſiege of Tor-Conang, (a ſtrong place on Tiry iſland, in the county of Donagall,) an account, moſtly fabulous, is given in the Iriſh book of Invaſions. A more credible account is there given of the ſettlement of the Cruthnii, or Picts, in North Britain, ſome ages before the Chriſtian æra.

Conary the mild, king of Ireland, A. D. 220, was a prince of the part of Munſter now called the county of Kerry. He left three ſons. The eldeſt Carbry Riada, or the long-armed, aſſiſted his couſin-german, Cormac king of Ireland, in his invaſion of North Britain: and, on concluding a treaty with the Picts, the Iriſh monarch obtained in that country a ſettlement for Carbry Riada, his couſin, about the year 260.

The defects and derangements in the Duan are only viſible from the year 719 to 895. The loſs of a genuine copy of the whole is to be regretted. Thus far Mr. O'Conor.

Only

Only one ancient copy of this poem has yet been found; from which a number of modern copies have been made. Mr. O'Flaherty's copy was equally defective with Mr. O'Conor's. After Anbkellach, Dungal and Alpin were inſerted by tranſpoſition; and Mr. O'Conor thinks the poem corrupted and moderniſed after that time. But a gentleman, well verſed in the Iriſh, informs me that it ſeems all equally ancient, and by one hand; ſo that there is room to ſuſpect many of the errors to be miſtakes of the bard who compoſed it.

This poem is quoted in the laſt century by Ward in his *Vita Rumoldi*, p. 372; by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 115; and by O'Flaherty often in his *Ogygia*. Sir George Mackenzie refers to it, p. 150, of his Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal line. A copy of it is ſaid to be in the Pſalter of Caſhel, now miſſing, but thought to be in the Iriſh college at Paris.

NUMBER III. *The ſucceſſion of Scotiſh Kings, inſerted in the Chronicle of Melroſe*; * *comprizing the* Chronicon Elegiacum. Gale et Fulman Scriptores Angl. Oxon. 1684, tom. I. ad finem, *p.* 595—598.

Annalibus Melroſenſis Cœnobii (MS. in bibl. Cotton.) ſequentia ſuis locis inſerta ſunt, alia manu.

ANNO 741 [a] obiit Ewain Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Murezaut [b] filius ejus.

744. Obiit Murezaut Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Ewain filius ejus.

747. Obiit Ewen Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Hed Albus filius ejus.

777. Obiit Hed Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Fergus filius ejus.

780. Obiit Fergus Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Selvad filius ejus.

804. Obiit Selvad Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Eokal Venenoſus.

834. Obiit Eokal Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Dungal filius ejus.

841. Obiit Dungal Rex Scottorum: Alpinus filius Eokal ei ſucceſſit.

843. Obiit Alpinus Rex Scottorum, cui ſucceſſit Kined filius ejus; de quo dicitur:

Primus in Albania fertur regnaſſe Kinedhus,
Filius Alpini, prælia multa gerens.
Expulſis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis;
Atque Fortemet [c] mortuus ille fuit.

Iſte vocatus eſt Rex Primus, non quia fuit, ſed quia primus Leges Scoticanas inſtituit, quas vocant Leges Mac Alpin.

[a] Altius non incipit quia Melroſenſes Annales ſunt Continuatio Bedæ. [b] Murdac. [c] vel Forteivet.

* By the Abbot of Dundrainan: in the thirteenth century, as the writing ſhews.

859. Obiit

859. Obiit Kinedus Rex Scotorum, cui ſucceſſit Dovenaldus; de quo dicitur:

Rex Dovenaldus ei ſucceſſit quatuor annis;
In bello miles ſtrenuus ille fuit.
Regis prædicti frater fuit ille Kinedi;
Qui Sconæ fertur ſubditus eſſe neci.

863. Obiit Dovenaldus Rex Scottorum.

Fit Conſtantinus, poſt hunc, Rex quinque ter annis;
Regis Kinedi filius ille fuit.
In bello pugnans Dacorum corruit armis;
Nomine Nigra Specus eſt ubi pugna fuit.

878. Occiditur Conſtantinus Rex Scotorum. [Fit] Rex Scotorum Hed frater ejus.

Ejuſdem frater regnaverat Albipes Edhus,
Qui Grig Dofnalidæ ſaucius enſe perit.
Hic poſtquam primum Regni compleverat annum,
Juſtam Calun[a] vitam vulnere finierat.

879. Rex Scotorum Het occidentur[b]; poſt quem,

Grig ſua jura gerens annis deca Rex fit et octo,
In Dunduren [c] morte retentus erat.
Qui dedit Eccleſiæ libertates Scoticanæ,
Quæ ſub Pictorum lege redacta fuit.
Hujus ad imperium fuit Anglica tota peracta;
Quod non leva dedit ſors ſibi bella terens.

897. Obiit Grig Scottorum Rex.

Poſt hunc in Scotia regnavit Rex Dovenaldus,
Hic Conſtantino filius ortus erat.
In villa fertur Rex iſte periſſe Forenſi,
Undecimo Regni ſole rotante ſui.

908. Periit Dofnaldus Rex Scottorum; poſt quem,

Conſtantinus idem, cujus pater Hed fuit Albus,
Bis deca Rex annis vixerat, atque decem.
Andreæ ſancti fuit hic quinquennis in urbe,
Religionis ubi jure fruens obiit.

943. Obiit Conſtantinus Rex Scottorum.

Huic rex Malcolmus ſucceſſit ter tribus annis,
Regis Dofnaldi filius ille fuit.
Interfecerunt in ulum[d] hunc Moravienſes,
Gentis apoſtaticæ fraude doloque cadit.

952. Rex Scottorum Malcolmus interficitur.

Poſt hunc Indulfus totidem regnaverat annis,
Ens Conſtantini filius Edſaydæ.
In bello pugnans, ad fluminis oſtia Collin,
Dacorum gladiis protinus occubuit.

[a] In Stratalun. [b] f. occiditur. [c] MS. in Dunduren pb; i. e. probus. [d] MS. ī ūlū hc̄.

961. Rex

961. Rex Scottorum Indulfus occiditur; poſt quem,
Quatuor et ſemis Rex Duf reghavit ariſtis,
Malcolmo natus Regia jura gerens.
Hunc interfecit gens perfida Moravienſis,
Cujus erat gladiis cæſus in urbe Fores.
Sol abdit radios, ipſo ſub ponte latente,
Quo fuit abſconſus, quoque repertus erat.

965. Rex Duf Scottorum interficitur. Poſt quem,
Filius Indulfi totidem quoque Rex fuit annis,
Nomine Culenus, vir fuit inſipiens.
Fertur apud Lovias illum truncaſſe Radhardus,
Pro rapta nata quam ſibi rex rapuit.

969. Rex Scottorum Culenus perimitur. Poſt quem,
Inclytus in Scotia fertur regnaſſe Kinedus,
Malcolmi natus, quatuor et deca bis.
Iſte Fotherkernæ telis fit et arte peremptus,
Natæ Cuncari Fimberhele fraude cadens.

994. Rex Scottorum Kined occiditur; poſt quem,
Rex Conſtantinus, Culeno filius ortus,
Ad caput amnis Aven enſe peremptus erat,
In Tegalere; regens uno Rex et ſemis annis,
Ipſum Kinedus Malcolonida ferit.

995. Rex Scottorum Conſtantinus necatur. Poſt quem,
Annorum ſpatio Rex Grim regnaverat octo.
Kinedi n . . . . [a] qui genitus Duf erat.
Quo truncatus erat Bardorum Campus habetur,
A nato Kined nomine Malcolomi.

1003. Rex Scottorum Grim necatur. Poſt quem,
In vico Glannis [b] rapuit mors libera regem,
Sub pede proſtratis hoſtibus ille perit.
Abbatis Crini, jam dicti filia Regis,
Uxor erat Bethoc [c] nomine digna ſibi.

1034. Obiit Malcolmus Rex Scottorum; et Duncanus nepos ejus ei ſucceſſit. Iſte Malcolmus non habuit filium, ſed filiam, quæ erat uxor Abbatis Duncaneli Crini; et,

Ex illa genuit Duncanum nomine natum,
Qui ſenis annis Rex erat Albaniæ.
A Finleg natus percuſſit eum Macabeta;
Vulnere lethali Rex apud Elgin obit.

1039. Obiit Duncanus rex Scottorum, cujus regnum Macbet ſibi uſurpavit.

Rex Macabeda decem Scotiæ ſeptemque ſit annis,
In cujus regno fertile tempus erat.
Hunc tamen in Luſnant truncavit morte crudeli,
Duncani natus nomine Malcolmus.

[a] An nato? [b] Glannis. [c] Bechoc.

1055.

1055. Lulach quatuor menſes et dimidium regnavit.

Menſibus infelix Lulach tribus extiterat Rex:
Armis ejuſdem Malcolomi cecidit.
Fata viri fuerant in Stratbolgin, apud Eſſeg:
Heu ſic incaute Rex miſer occubuit!

Hos in pace viros tenet inſula Iona ſepultos,
In tumulo Regum Judicis uſque diem.

1056. Malcolmus filius Dunecani ſuſcepit regnum Scotiæ jure hæreditario.

Ter deca ſexque valens annis, et menſibus octo,
Malcolmus decus Rex erat in Scotia.
Anglorum gladiis in bello ſternitur heros:
Hic Rex in Scotia primus humatus erat.

1093. Dovenaldus regnum Scotiæ invaſit: de quo dicitur:

Menſibus in regno ſex regnavit Dovenaldus,
Malcolmus Regis frater, in Albania.
Abſtulit hinc regnum Duncanus Malcolomides;
Menſibus et totidem rex erat in Scotia.
Hic fuit occiſus Mernenſibus in Monodedhno[a],
De male vivendo plebs premit omnis eum.

Rurſus Dofnaldus, Duncano rege perempto,
Ternis Rex annis regia jura tenet.
Captus ab Edgaro, vita privatus; at ille
Roſcolpin obiit, oſſaque Iona tenet.

Poſt hunc Edgarus regnavit ter tribus annis;
Rex Edenburgo fertur obiiſſe probus.

Regis Alexandri regnum duravit ariſtis
Quinque bis et ſeptem, menſibus atque octo.
In Scotia tota poſtquam pax firma vigebat,
Fertur apud Strivelin mors rapuiſſe regem.

Bis deca Rex annis David fuit atque novenis,
In Scotia, caute provida proſpiciens.
Poſtquam caſtellis regnum munivit, et armis,
Rex Carduillæ fertur obiiſſe ſenex.

Inclytus in Scotia regnavit Malcolomus Rex,
Bis ſenis annis, menſibus atque tribus.
Non ſatis in regno jam tunc pax firma vigebat:
Fertur apud Gedewrhe Rex ſine labe mori.

Quattuor hi Reges jam tunc in pace ſepulti,
In tumba reſident Rex ubi Malcolomus.

[a] Alii appellant Monethefoen.

Various readings and additions of the MS. Succeſſio Regum Scotorum (*Bib. Bodl.* C. IV. 3.) *with that publiſhed in* Gale *and* Fulman, Scriptores Quindecim. *The MS. is* Sæc. XIII.

Fulman, p. 595.

Line 1. Kynetus.
3. bis—ſex.
4. Fortemet—Sterthemoth.
7. Kynedi—Kyneti.
8. Sconæ—Scociæ.
9. quinque ter annis—bis ter in annis.
10. Kinedi—Kyneti.

p. 596.

1. Albipes Edhus—Allipes Ethus.
2. Grig Dofnalidæ—Girt Dungalide.
4. Calun—Calim.
5. Girg ſua vita gerens annis deca tetra et octo.
6. In terundurne probus.
7. Qui—hic.
9. Anglica—Anglia.
12. Hic—qui.
15. Idem—item. Hed—Edh.
20. Dofnaldi—Donaldi.
21. Interfecerunt hunc ulrum Moravienſes.
24. Edſaydæ—Ethaide.
25. Collin—Colli.
27. Semis—Senis. Ariſtis—areſtis.
35. Lovias—Lemias.
37. Kinedus—Kynedus.

p. 597.

1. Iſte Forchirkern telis et arte peremptus.
2. Cuncari Fimberhele—Cumcari Fimglene.
4. Aveni—Amon.
5. In Tegalere—Jus regale. Annis—anno.
6. Malcolonida—Malcolomida.
7. Grim—Grym.
8. Kyneti natus quem genuit Duf erat.

Line

Line 9. campus habetur—tempus habetur.
10. Kined—Kyneth.
Iceni Malcolmus deca ter regnavit ariſtis;
In pugnis miles bellicus, atque probus.
11. Glannis—Glamnes. Libera—improba.
12. proſtratis—paratis. perit—ruit.
13. Abbatis—Albertis.
14. Bethoc—Betholk.
17. Finleg—Finleth. Macabeta—Machabeda.
18. Vulnere—Funere. Elgin—Elgyn.
19. Macabeta—Machabeda.
21. Tamen in Lufnant—in Lumphanan.
23. Lulach—Lutatus, *or* Lucatus.
25. Eſſeg—Eſſy.
26. occubuit—opprimitur.
29. ſexque—quinque.
30. decus—dictus.
34. Malcolmus—Malcolmi.
35. Malcolomides—Malcolomido.

p. 598.

1. fuit—erat. Mernenſibus—Mermenſibus.
Monodedhno—Monehedne.
2. De—Set.
3. Doſnaldus—Dovenaldus.
5. Edgaro—Edgario. Vita privatus—viſu privatur.
6. Roſcolpin—Roſcolbyn.
8. Edinburgo—Edingburgo.
9. ariſtis—areſtis.
10. octo—tribus.
11. firma—form.
12. regem—virum.
16. Carduillæ—Cadimille.

[DAVID I. 1124.]

Iſtius in regno quidam fuit inſidiator,
Quem cum cepiſſet, lumine privat eum.
Hunc ex pane cibat: cui regis nata ſolebat
Currere ludendo; quam fodit ultor atrox.
Cum videt hatæ pregnans regina cruorem,
Anxia quem peperit ut caro nuda fuit.
Ille comes fuerat Henricus, ductor ad arma;
Malcolmi, Wilhelmi pater, atque David:

[MAL-

[MALCOM IV. 1153.]

Conditus in Kelton prevenit morte parentem.
  Malcolmi laudem vita pudica perit.
Hic ſucceſſit avo tractando regia ſeptra.
  Bis ſenis, *&c. as line* 18; *the 17th being omitted.*
20. Gedewrhe—Gedwdte.
21. tunc—ſunt.
22. tumba reſident—tumbaque jacent.
    Malcolomus—Malcolmus.

[WILLIELMUS 1165.]

Flos regum, regnique vigor; decus omne virorum,
  Wilelmus, celum, rex probus, ingreditur.
Annis in regno jam quinquaginta peractis,
  In Strivilino mors rapit atra ſenem.
Pridie rex obiit Nonas, in pace, Decembris:
  Qui Prodocenſi conditur almus humo.

[ALEXANDER II. 1214.]

Tunc agitur regimen facientis regia ſeptra
  Regis Alexandri, nobilis et pii.
Cleri protector; rigidi quoque juris amator;
  Munificuſque dator; inclitus iſte fuit.
Ter deca, cum quinque, regni cum fecerat, annis;
  Fuit in Ergadia: ſet ſine fine manet.
Fine caret jure, cujus probitatis honeſtas
  Per famam vivit; per bona facta viget.
Ergadia moritur Octo cum fecerat Idus
  Julius. Ac Melros oſſa ſepulta tenet.

[ALEXANDER III. 1249.]

Nomen habet patris; utinam patris acta ſequatur
  Filius, Albani qui modo ſceptra tenet.

NUMBER IV. *Kings of Norway.*

THE hiſtory of Norway has had a ſingular fate; for while in that of Denmark, and Sweden, writers and materials are wanting, till a late period, the Norwegian, on the contrary, labours under an exceſs of materials; owing to the number of Icelandic Sagas, chiefly relating to Norway, the parent country of Iceland. Snorro's hiſtory, in particular, is merely that of Norway; tho his firſt book contains the Swediſh kings, down to the conqueſt of Sweden by Ivar Vidfatme king of Denmark, about the year 760; becauſe thoſe princes, who gained the command of all Norway, were deſcended from the Swediſh race. The work of Snorro is very prolix, and full of private anecdotes; being, like the other Sagas, Memoirs, and not Hiſtory.

Twenty, or more, petty monarchies prevailed in Norway, till the ninth century. About the year 760 Ingiald, king of Sweden, was vanquiſhed by Ivar king of Denmark. Olaf, ſon of Ingiald, retired to the north-weſt of Sweden; and founded a kingdom. His ſon Halfdan Whitbein, by the help of many Swediſh refugees, ſubdued a great part of the ſouth-eaſt of Norway, about preſent Chriſtiana. To him ſucceeded Eyſtein, his ſon, king of the ſaid part of Norway, anciently called Raumarik and Weſtfold. His ſon was Halfdan; and Halfdan's ſon Gudreyd; next Olaf ſon of Gudreyd, and Ragnvald ſon of Olaf; all ſucceſſive kings of the ſame territory. Then followed Halfdan Swart brother of Olaf, and ſon of Gudreyd, with whom the real hiſtory of Norway dawns. It is remarkable that Snorro, who gives the above account, makes every king father and ſon, till the real hiſtory begins; when no ſuch ſucceſſion is found, but various contingencies happen. Now as it is impoſſible that ſucceſſion ſhould be regular in a barbaric kingdom, and irregular as it became civilized, Snorro's genealogies are certainly falſe, till the real hiſtory dawns. The names may be

real: but that every king ſucceeded his father is fictitious in itſelf; and inconſiſtent with all real accounts of the barbaric government of the Goths.

About 870 Halfdan Swart, king of Weſtfold and Raumarik, ſubdued two or three other petty kingdoms.

About 900 HARALD I. *Harfagre* ſucceeded his father Halfdan Swart: and about 910 conquering the ſeveral petty kingdoms, became maſter of all Norway. He died in 936.

936. *Eric I. Blodox*, a ſon of Harald, attempted to ſeize the kingdom; but was forced to retire to England.

937. HAKON I. the Good, a ſon of Harald, who had been educated in England by king Athelſtan, was choſen king. He was a Chriſtian, but could not convert his ſubjects; and was ſlain in 963, after reigning 26 years.

963. HARALD II. *Grafeld*, ſon of Eric Blodox, and his brothers, got the ſovereignty. But *Hakon*, a powerful earl, held Drontheim, the province in which the capital ſtood, ſince Norway became one kingdom. In 970 earl Hakon was forced to fly to Denmark. King Harald was ſlain in 977.

978. *Hakon* was made EARL of Norway by the Daniſh king, upon homage. This earldom laſted till 996, when Hakon was ſlain.

996. OLAF I. *Trygvaſon*, a deſcendant of Harald Harfagre, coming from Ireland, aſſumed the kingdom. Tho he reigned only four years, he is much celebrated by northern hiſtory. He was certainly a great prince; and with much courage and conduct forced his whole ſubjects to become Chriſtians. Iceland was alſo converted; and Vinland a part of North America diſcovered; during this ſhort, but glorious reign. He was killed in a ſea fight, againſt the kings of Denmark and Sweden, in the year 1000.

1000. Norway was partly ſubject to Denmark and Sweden; partly to earl *Eric*, ſon of earl Hakon. In 1012 earl Eric went to England.

1014. OLAF II. the Saint, a relation of Olaf Trygvaſon, coming from England aſſumed the ſcepter of Norway. This ſaint was of the church militant, for his long reign is full of incidents, and enterprize; and occupies a fourth part of Snorro's work. Olaf was ſlain fighting againſt the Danes, Auguſt 1030. He is the patron ſaint of Norway.

1030. *Swein*, ſon of Canute the great, king of England and Denmark, ruled Norway till 1035; when he fled to Hardaknut his brother in Denmark.

1035. MAGNUS I. the GOOD, ſon of Olaf the ſaint, was choſen king of Norway: Having agreed with Hardaknut, king of Denmark, that he who ſurvived ſhould inherit the dominions of the other, in 1041 Magnus the good became KING OF NORWAY AND DENMARK. He died in 1047: and Swein, a deſcendant of Canute the Great, acquired the crown of Denmark.

1047. HARALD III. *Hardrad*, brother of Olaf the Saint, became king of Norway. After reigning 19 years, he was ſlain in a battle againſt Harold king of England, 25 Sept. 1066 *.

1067. OLAF III. *Kyrre*, or the Peaceable, ſon of Harald Hardrad, began his reign. In 1069 he founded Biorgen or Bergen; and built a ſtone church there; and improved the old wooden one. In 1077 he built a ſtone church at Nidaros, now Drontheim, and placed the relics of St. Olaf in it. He died 22 Sept. 1093, after a happy reign of 26 years.

1093. MAGNUS II. *Bærfetta*, ſon of Olaf Kyrre became king. *Hakon* was however choſen king of part of Norway, but died in 1095. In 1098 Magnus undertook his famous expedition to the Orkneys, and Hebudes, which he ſubdued. In 1102 he went on another expedition: and was ſlain in Ireland in 1103.

1103. SIGURD I. *Jorſalafar*, EYSTEIN, and OLAF, the three ſons of Magnus Bærfetta, reign together. Sigurd is famed for his expedition into the Mediterranean, and valiant actions in diſtant realms, 1107—1111. In 1116 Olaf died. Eyſtein in 1123. Sigurd in 1130.

1130. MAGNUS III. *Blinda*, ſon of Sigurd, became king of Norway. But half of the kingdom was aſſigned to *Harald Gil*, ſon of Magnus Bærfetta. In 1134 Harald is defeated by Magnus; but returning with aſſiſtance from Denmark, he takes Magnus captive, caſtrates him, and puts out his eyes.

1135. HARALD IV. *Gil*, reigned one year; and was ſlain in a conſpiracy.

1136. SIGURD II. and INGI I. ſons of Harald Gil, are made kings. In 1142 EYSTEIN, another ſon of Harald Gil, coming from Scotland is alſo made king

* The hiſtory of Norway being little known, the author was induced to continue the ſeries to the end.

with his brothers. In 1153 Eyſtein ravaged the eaſtern ſhores of Scotland and England, burned Aberdeen, &c. Drontheim or Nidaros was, in 1152, made an archiepiſcopal ſee by the Pope. In 1155 Sigurd was ſlain, in a battle with Ingi his brother. Eyſtein fell in 1157; and HAKON was choſen in his ſtead. Ingi was ſlain in 1161.

1161. HAKON II. *Herdabreid*, ſon of Sigurd, becomes king of Norway: ſlain in 1162.

1162. MAGNUS IV. ſon of Erling an earl, was choſen king. *Sigurd*, ſon of Sigurd, reigned over a province or two. In 1175 the famous faction of the Birkabeins appeared in Vika, or the ſouth-eaſt of Norway; and continued long to give, and take away, the royalty. In 1176 they made *Eyſtein*, ſon of Eyſtein, king: who being ſlain in 1177, they appointed SVERIR in his ſtead.

*** *Thus far from the chronology of the Three Firſt Volumes of Snorro, lately printed at Copenhagen* *.

1177. SUERIR was elected king by the Birkbeins; after great tumult, and many battles with Erling, and Magnus ſon of Erling, he at laſt became king of Norway. He was long infeſted by the Baglar, a powerful faction, whom he at length ſuppreſſed. He reigned 25 years; and died in 1202.

1202. HAKON III. ſon of Suerir, reigned 2 years; died 1204.

1204. GUTHORM *Sigurdſon*, grandſon of Suerir, an infant of four years of age. Hakon Galin, and Peter Steiper, governed for him. Died 1205.

1205. INGI II. *Baarſon*, infeſted by Erling chief of the Baglar, and by Philip who ſucceeded Erling. He gave part of his kingdom to Philip; and ſo appeaſed the Baglar. Reigned 12 years. Died 1217.

1217. HAKON IV. † *Hakonſon*, a boy of thirteen. He gave part of his kingdom to Earl Skuli, his father-

* The reſt is from an abſtract of Norwegian hiſtory, at the end of *Rami Nori Regnum*. Snorro ends at Suerir. The hiſtory of Norway after this is taken from Icelandic hiſtories of different reigns, as *Sueris-ſaga*, *Hakon ſaga*, &c. and from charters. The fourth volume of Torfæus begins at Suerir; but his chronology is inaccurate, and he rarely quotes authorities. Norway has no native hiſtorian; for Theodoric the monk, who ends at Suerir, was ſurely a German.

† Torfæus is ſo inaccurate as to call this Hakon II. and the *next* Hakon VI.

in-

in-law, to avoid ſedition: but the Earl rebelling, Hakon cruſhed him; and after reigned in peace. He carried on a war againſt Scotland, with little ſucceſs: died on the expedition; and was buried at Drontheim or Nidaros, 1263, after reigning 47 years.

1263. MAGNUS V. ſon of Hakon, had been declared king in 1259, four years before his father's death. His virtues equalled his father's. He cultivated peace, and reformed the laws; whence he was called *Lagebetter*. He died 1280, after reigning 21 years.

1280. ERIC II. ſon of Magnus, carried on a long war againſt the Danes. Reigned 19 years: died 1299.

1299. HAKON V. another ſon of Magnus, continued the war with the Danes: reigned 20 years; died 1319.

1319. MAGNUS VI. *Smeck*, ſon of Eric, made king of Norway and Sweden, when a child; and added to his realm the province of Sconen in Denmark. He gave Sweden to his ſon Eric; and Norway to his ſon Hakon. Eric having died, the Swedes rebelled againſt Magnus; and put him in priſon, in the 46th year of his reign. Being delivered by his ſon Hakon in 1371, he paſſed the remainder of his life in Norway. He periſhed in paſſing the bay of Bomelfiord, 1374.

1374. HAKON VI. ſon of Magnus, had Norway during the life of his father: whom to redeem from captivity, he carried on a long war againſt the Swedes. He took to wife Margaret, daughter of Waldemar king of Denmark: and died in 1380, after reigning 25 years.

1381. OLAF IV. ſon of Hakon VI. was firſt choſen king of Denmark, 1376, and on the death of his father acceded to Norway, 1381. He died without children 1387: and thus left both his kingdoms to his mother Margaret; who added a third by conquering Albert king of Sweden. Sweden was delivered from the Danes by Guſtaf Waſe, 1523: but Norway has, ever ſince 1387, remained attached to Denmark *.

* The *Baglar*, a faction raiſed by the clergy, diſturbed Norway much in the 13th century. Magnus V. excluded the deputies of the people from the National Aſſembly; which after conſiſted only of nobles and clergy, ſo that the power of the king, and of the people, was loſt. He alſo introduced hereditary dignities. Magnus VI. living chiefly in Sweden, Norway was left to the power of her nobles, and fell to a condition, from which ſhe never recovered.

NUMBER V. *Kings of Denmark.*

IT may ſafely be denied that even the fabulous part of Daniſh, Swediſh, or Norwegian hiſtory, can be carried to an earlier date, than the year 500 after Chriſt. The number of kings, of whom (according to the ſoundeſt principles of chronology), not more than ten years, at a medium, can be aſſigned to each; inſtead of thirty, or a generation, as abſurdly put by the northern antiquaries; ſerves to aſcertain this epoch. The Slavonic nations of Poland and Ruſſia, who had writers rather before the Scandinavian kingdoms, are yet contented to begin even their fabulous hiſtory in the ſeventh and eighth centuries. In digeſting this ſeries of Daniſh kings, Torfæus is followed, as to the names, preceding the ninth century; his arguments againſt Saxo, concerning that period, being concluſive. But that part is fabulous, not hiſtorical: and when Torfæus comes to the ninth century, he errs by ſuppoſing that his Iſlandic ſagas, of ſufficiently fabulous faith to check the fables of Saxo, could be ſet againſt Eginhart, Adam of Bremen, and others, who wrote centuries before any of theſe Iſlandic Sagas were imagined. Adam of Bremen gives the ſucceſſion of many Daniſh and Swediſh kings, of the ninth and tenth centuries: and his authority is here followed, as a far nearer writer, both in time and place, than thoſe Sagas; which being written in Iceland, ſhew a peculiar ignorance concerning Denmark, the moſt ſoutherly of the Scandinavian kingdoms. As Adam is confeſſedly right in his account of Swediſh kings, he is certainly ſo in that of the Daniſh; nor is to be ſuppoſed that he took kings of Jutland for thoſe of Denmark, as ſome Daniſh antiquaries dream; for he diſtinguiſhes Jutland by its own name, or by that of *Dania Ciſmarina*, as diſtinct from Denmark, or Sealand, whoſe kings he mentions. And as he precedes Saxo by a whole century, and the Iſlandic ſagas by two, and had his accounts from Swein II. king of Denmark himſelf; he deſerves more faith, by every rule of hiſtoric authority, than any later writer.

From

From Torfæus and Mallet.

Skiold, *ſay about* A. D. 500,
Fridlef I,
Frodi I,
Fridlef II,
Havar,
Frodi II,
Vermund,
Olaf I,
Dan,
Frodi III.
Halfdan I, *about* A. D. 610,
Fridlef III.
Olaf II,
Frodi IV,
Ingiald,
Halfdan II.
Frodi V,
Helgo.
Hrolf Krak about A. D. 700.
Interreign of uncertain length, the kingdom being ſplit in diviſions *.
Ivar Vidfatme 750.

From ancient French and German writers, Eginhart, Adam of Bremen, &c.

Heriold, (perhaps the ſame with the Harald Hyldet- and of Icelandic ſagas), A. D. 770,
Sigfrid, 776: (perhaps the Sigurd Ring of Icelandic accounts.)
Godfrid, 800.
Heming, 810.
Heriold and Reginfrid, 812. (This laſt is perhaps Regnar Lodbrog, who muſt have flouriſhed about 820; as in 870 his grandſons ſlew St. Edmund the king. Adam of Bremen, p. 14. mentions *Inguar filius Lodparchi*, about 865, as ravaging France.)

* Torfæus in his *Series*, p. 236, here inſerts *Hroar*, *Valdar*, *Harald*, *Halfdan*, as anceſtors of Ivar Vidfatme, but not as kings of Denmark, as appears from the after part of his work.

Horic I. 827.
Horic II. 854.
Sigifrid 870.
Helgo.
Olaf king of Sweden conquered Denmark, about 895.
Ehnob, Gurd, } his ſons.
Sigeric.
Hardegon of Norway.
Hardeknut.

After this all accounts agree.

Gurm, or Gormo, 920.
Harald Blaatand, 945.
Swein I. 985.
Canute the Great, 1014.
Hardaknut, 1035.
Magnus the Good, 1041.
Swein II. 1047 to 1074.

NUMBER VI. *Kings of Sweden.*

THE more ancient Swediſh kings are from Snorro; who goes down to Ivar Vidfatme, about A. D. 760, in a clear ſucceſſion. After which they are drawn from Adam of Bremen; from ſcattered parts of Snorro; and from the *Series Regum Daniæ* of Torfæus; the Swedes having no native hiſtory, till the fourteenth century. Odin and Niord are mythologic, and have no place here.

Fiolner, cotemporary with Frodi I. king of Denmark, about A. D. 520.
Svedger.
Vanland.
Viſbur.
Domald.
Domar.
Dyggvi.
Dag.
Agni, about A. D. 600.
Alrek, Eirek, } together.
Alfr, Yngvi, } together.
Hugleik.
Haki.
Jorund.
Ani.
Egil.
Ottar.
Adils, cotemporary with Hrolf Krak according to Snorro, about A. D. 700.
Eyſten.
Yngvar.
Aunund.
Ingiald.

Ivar

Ivar Vidfalme, king of Denmark, conquers Sweden about A. D. 760, and Snorro's ſeries cloſes; he now proceeding to Norwegian hiſtory. Adam of Bremen begins with Biorn A. D. 829: and from Ivar Vidfatme to Biorn the ſeries is very obſcure. Snorro does not even mention one king of Upſal or Sweden, after Ingiald, till the time of Harald Harfagre king of Norway, or about the year 910 when Eric occurs*.

From Adam of Bremen.

Biorn I. 829.
Amund I. 840.
Olaf I. 850.
Biorn † II. 855.
Eric I. 870.
Olaf II. 890, conquers Denmark. *Adam*, p. 16.
Eric II. 908.
Ring, 920.
Eric III.
Amund II. 950.
Stenkil I.
Eric IV. 970.
Olaf III. Skotkonung, 990.
Amund Jacob, 1019.
Haken, 1041.
Stenkil II. 1059.
Ingi the Pious, 1066.

After this the ſeries is clear, as the Daniſh is after Gormo 920.

* It is ſaid, from Icelandic Sagas, that the Danes held Sweden in ſubjection for a long time; and the kings were generally thoſe of Denmark. From Lagerbring's Hiſtory of Sweden the following Icelandic ſeries appears.
Harald Hildetand, grandſon of Ivar by a daughter.
Sigurd Ring, nephew of the laſt.
Regnar Lodbrog, ſon of Sigurd Ring.
But this ſucceſſion is very doubtful.

† Thoſe in Italic letter are not named by Adam.

NUMBER VII. *Earls of the Orkneys.*

THE first number on the right hand is the page of Torfæus, and the second that of the Orkneyinga Saga, in which the history of each may be found *.

From Torfæus, and the Orkn. Saga.		*From the Diploma in Wallace's Orkneys.*	
Ab. 920.	Rognwald.	Rognald.	7. 3.
920.	Sigurd I.	Sivard.	12. 3.
	Guttorm.	Gothurn.	12. 3.
	Hallad.		17. —
	Einar Torf.	Egvard Turffeid.	18. 3.
936.	Arnkell. }		22. 3.
	Erlend. }		22. 3.
940.	Thorfin Hausakliufur.	Thurwider Gedclevar.	24. 3.
970.	Arnfin. }		24. 5.
	Havard. } sons of		24. 5.
	Liot. } Thorfin.		24. 5.
	Skuli. }		24. 5.
980.	Laudver. }	Hlauderver.	24. 5.
996.	Sigurd II. slain 1014.	Sivard.	27. 5.
1014.	Sumarlid. } sons of		45. 5.
	Einar. } Sigurd.		45. 5.
	Brusi. }		45. 5.
	Thorfin, made Earl about 1028.	Thurfin, son of Sigurd II. by a daughter of Malcom, king of Scotland.	51. 5.
	Rognvald.		55. 45.
1064.	Paul. }	Erlin. }	67. 91.
	Erlend. }	Paul. }	67. 91.
1099.	Erling.	Erlin II.	— 116.

* At the end of Orkneyinga Saga is a bad list of the Earls, in which Cormac a monk who preached in the Orkneys, is given as of the number!

Ab.

Ab. 1103.	Hacon. Magnus I. (Sanctus) slain by Hacon 1110.	Hacoin. Magnus I.	90. 141. 86. 132.
1115.	Harald I. to 1136.		91. 141.
	Paul.		91. 141.
	Koli, or Rognvald 1130—1159.	Roland.	98. 169.
	Erlend to 1158.	Eric.	129. 327.
	Harald II. son of Madad, Earl of Athole, 1150—1198.	Harild *.	113. 231.
	Harald III. *Ungi*, 1190—1191.		145. 407.
1198.	David, to 1215.		
	Ion, to 1231.	John.	154. 419.
1231.	Magnus II.	Magnus II. from whom Alex. took Sutherland.	163.
1239.	Gibbon.	Gilbert I.	165.
1256.		Gilbert II.	
1267.	Magnus III.	Magnus III.	172.
1274.	Magnus IV.	Magnus IV.	172.
1284.	Ion.	John.	172.
1305.	Magnus V.	Magnus V. Malis Comes de Stratherne.	

* Here is a defect in the Diploma, evidently owing to the compiler miſtaking Harald I. and II. for the ſame perſon; a common cauſe of error in old chronicles. The Orkneyinga Saga, being written ſo near the time, is full and veracious concerning theſe omitted earls. It ends with Jon: and the account of Torfæus after is very lame, ſo that the Diploma deſerves much credit. To Magnus V. he adds an *Argiſel* 1343, who witneſſes a charter that year; but had ſurely only the title; and an *Eringiſl*, 1357, apparently the ſame perſon. See Orcades, p. 173.

NUMBER VIII. *Some themes for diſſertations on Scotiſh hiſtory.*

*** Scotland is certainly that country in Europe, if we only except Ireland, in which national hiſtory, and antiquities, are moſt neglected. If any taſte for the ſubject ſhould ever ariſe, ſuch themes as the following may be expected to be treated in Latin, the univerſal language of the learned. On the continent there is not a country, which cannot boaſt of many of the kind.

De primis Scotiæ habitatoribus.
De regno Strathclydenſi.
De regno Cumbriæ.
De origine Caledonum vel Pictorum.
De nominibus montium, fluminum, oppidorum in Scotia.
De Provincia Veſpaſiana.
De regiæ ſucceſſionis jure apud Pictos.
De ſtirpe regali Pictorum.
De chronologia regum Pictorum.
De lingua Pictica.
De moribus Pictorum.
De origine Dalriadorum.
De Attacottis.
De regno, et regibus, Dalriadorum.
De anno quo Selvacus regnum accepit.
De defectione ſtirpis regalis Dalriadinæ, circa A. D. 740.
De genealogia Kennethi filii Alpini.
De parte obſcura hiſtoriæ Dalriadinæ, ab A. D. 740, ad A. D. 843.
De moribus et lingua Dalriadorum.
De unione Pictorum et Dalriadorum, ſub Kenneth Alpini filio.
De anno quo Kennethus Alpini f. mortuus eſt.
D tempore quo Norvegi Hebudes et Orcades occuparunt.
De rebus geſtis Malcolmi Secundi.
De anno quo Macbethus occiſus eſt.

De

De patre Malcolmi tertii.
An Laudonia ad Angliam vel ad Scotiam pertinebat?
Cur et quando Pictinia nomen novum Scotiæ accepit?
De converſione Pictorum, vel Scotorum hodiernorum.
De fundatione eccleſiæ Abernethenſis.
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A DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SCYTHIANS OR GOTHS.

BEING

AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE ANCIENT AND MODERN

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

BY *JOHN PINKERTON.*

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PREFACE.

BEING occupied with a moſt laborious reſearch into the hiſtory of Scotland, preceding the year 1056, the author found it incontrovertibly ſettled from Tacitus, Beda, and the whole ancient accounts, that the *Caledonii* or *Picti*, the ancient and ſtill chief inhabitants of that country, came to it from German Scythia, or Scandinavia. This led him to enquire how the Scythians came to give their name even to the moſt northern parts of Germany, from the earlieſt days of Grecian literature, down to a very late period. He found that the firſt Greek authors had certain knowlege that the Scythians had proceeded from Little, or Ancient, Scythia on the Euxine, even to the extremity of Germany, peopling the whole intervening country; and that the Latin claſſics had the ſame knowlege. But that the reaſon why Iſidorus, Beda, Paulus Diaconus, the Geographer of Ravenna, and innumerable writers of the middle ages, call Scandinavia peculiarly Scythia, was that Jornandes, who wrote about 530, had imagined that the moſt ancient Scythians proceeded from it about 4000 years before Chriſt. Hence, in the darkneſs of the middle ages, Scandinavia was regarded as the true Scythia, or Scythia Antiqua.

As the author was reſolved, if a Spaniſh proverb may be uſed, to *leave nothing in the inkhorn*, knowing that, without going to the very bottom of a ſubject like this, no point of it can be clear, he began a courſe of reading all the authors that could anywiſe illuſtrate the early population of Europe. Proceeding chronologically thro the Greek and Roman writers, and the moſt important ones of the middle ages, he reſerved modern authors to the laſt, that they might miniſter no matter of prejudice; for truth can only be had pure in it's fountains. This great labour, as indexes were never conſulted, ſave in moral authors, as Ariſtotle, Plato, &c. or others who could have almoſt nothing on the ſubject, conſumed more than a year tho eight hours a day were almoſt conſtantly alloted to it; and ſuch cloſe attention goes a great way in a little time. After this courſe of ancient reading he proceeded to the moderns, and found himſelf in quite a new world indeed! For a ſubject, ſo capable of ſuperabundant illuſtration from the multitude of authorities, if induſtry alone, with ſome degree of clear judgement, be applied, has been totally loſt in a maſs of ſuperficiality and error. For error is the conſtant, and inevitable, produce of ſuperficiality. The truth is always at the bottom; and if a man does not know all upon an antiquarian ſubject, he knows nothing: nay leſs than nothing, inaſmuch as error is worſe than ignorance. When all is redd upon ſuch a theme, it is alſo a great pleaſure to reflect that the truth muſt be known; for ancient authorities are facts in hiſtory, and

and incontrovertible: one may be oppoſed to another; but when all concur, for any modern to oppoſe is in utter frenzy to daſh his head againſt the wall of a caſtle. After reading all upon ſuch a ſubject one is therefore thoroughly maſter of it; and no information can remain that can infringe the abſolute knowlege acquired. Antiquarian re, ſearches, when complete, are infallible; for no new facts can occur in antiquity. To talk of opinion, upon ſuch ſubjects, is to talk as a child; for opinion can never alter facts: a man may opine that ſnow is black, or that a Scythian is a Celt; but he will be left to his deluſion, while the facts remain to eternity.

Perhaps a more arduous taſk never was undertaken than what is here ſubmitted to the reader. The materials collected would have compoſed a vaſt volume; but this was foreign to the author's intention. The toil of compreſſing was far more great, than that of dilating would have been. A vaſt volume might have been written in half the time employed in theſe few pages. But great advantages attend the progreſs of ſcience, from concentrating into one ſtrong focus a number of ſcattered beams. Error is melted by the fierce light; and vaniſhes beneath it's power. Would to heaven we had fewer large books, and more ſmall ones! No greater advantage could ariſe to ſcience, than if authors would follow the example of Tacitus, who, as Monteſquieu well obſerves, ABRIDGED ALL BECAUSE HE SAW ALL.

The learned have on no ſubject fallen into ſo numerous, and groſs, errors as with regard to the Scythians. They have been confounded with the Celts, tho all the ancient writers oppoſe this; and diſtinguiſh no two races of men more widely than Scythians and Celts. They have been taken for Sarmatians, tho all the ancients alſo oppoſe this; and, from the days of Herodotus, eſpecially diſtinguiſh the Scythians from the Sarmatians. They have been, by late authors of the firſt fame, confounded with Tartars, an error of all others the moſt ridiculous: for the Tartars were abſolutely unknown to the ancients, till the Huns, who were indeed ſtrictly ſpeaking Monguls not Tartars *, appeared and ſeized on the countries of the eaſtern Scythæ. Theſe points are diſcuſſed in this eſſay. But, that the reader may proceed to it with clear and preciſe ideas, he may be here told, what he will find fully diſplayed in it, namely, that the

* The name *Tartar*, as vague with us as Indian, is in fact of ſmall extent. It is not more ancient than the 12th centurry; and was originally that of a ſmall nation conquered by the Monguls under Zenghizcan; but by a caprice uſual in names is given by us to almoſt half of Aſia! The Uſbeks are now the chief Tartar nation. The Kalmucs are not Tartars, but Monguls, a vaſt people of a different language. The Turks are of the ſame race with the Huns; Monguls, not Tartars, according to De Guignes. The Tunguſians, another vaſt people, are quite diſtinct from the Tartars. On the eaſt of the Lena the nations are from America, and differ from all the other Aſiatics, as the rev. Mr. Tooke ſhews in his *Ruſſia*. See *De Guignes Hiſt. des Huns*; *Tooke's Ruſſia*; *D'Anville, Geographie*, &c.

Scythians

Scythians were neither Celts, Sarmatians, nor Tartars, no more than a horſe is an elephant, a lion or a tiger, but a horſe; ſo the Scythians were Scythians, a diſtinct, peculiar, and marked people, firſt called Scythians by the Greeks, who retained that name for them till the deſtruction of Conſtantinople in the 15th century; while the Latins, upon forming a diſagreeable acquaintance with them, called them Goths, as they alſo called themſelves.

Now, tho almoſt all Europe be poſſeſſed by the deſcendents of the Goths, a people from whom, as ſhall be ſhewn, the Greeks and Romans alſo ſprung; and the Goths tranſcended, even when barbarians, all nations in wiſdom and war: yet ſuch is our ignorance, who are at preſent but ſlowly eloping from barbariſm, that the name of Goth, the ſacred name of our fathers *, is an object of deteſtation! This ſchool-boy idea prevails to this hour in the firſt writers; ſo true is the remark of Dryden,

Men are but children of a larger growth.

It ſprings ſolely from our love for Rome, (itſelf a Gothic ſtate,) which we draw from Roman writers at ſchool; and our knowlege that the other Goths deſtroyed the Roman empire. Inſtead of turning our admiration to that great people, who could annihilate ſo potent an empire; inſtead of bleſſing

* The Count du Buat forcibly expreſſes this in his firſt ſentence, 'Les anciens peuples de l'Europe que nous appellons Barbares et qui ſont nos Peres.' *Hiſt. Anc. des Peuples de l'Europe*, Paris, 1772. *Tome* 1.

the period that delivered all kingdoms from the dominion of one; we execrate our progenitors, to whom we are indebted for all our preſent happineſs! We look on the Goths as enemies of ſcience, without once reflecting that wiſdom is at any time ſuperior to ſcience; and that the Goths only deſpiſed the ſcience prevalent on the decline of Rome, which was folly, and is regarded as ſuch by us at preſent.

How different was the opinion entertained of the Goths by the Greeks and Romans! What applauſe of the juſtice, of the fortitude, of the temperance, of the wiſdom, of the Scythians, in the Grecian page, from Herodotus to the lateſt period! What applauſe of the ſame virtues of the ſame people, under the names of Scythians or Goths, in the Roman works, even after they had ſeized the Roman empire! Let us attend to the laſt a little, as more immediately concerning us; and that we may know how ſhockingly we err in our puerile diſeſteem of our fathers. Read Auguſtin *de Civitate Dei, lib.* I. *capp.* 1, *et* 7. on their clemency; and *lib.* III. 29. where he ſays that the Goths on taking Rome ſpared ſo many of the ſenators that it is more a wonder that they ſlew ſome. Oroſius, *lib.* VII. tells, that, tho deſirous of prey, they abſtained from blood: and *c. ult.* calls Alaric 'the mildeſt of kings.' See the whole fifth and ſeventh books of Salvianus *de Gubernatione Dei.* Hear Theodoric, the Gothic king himſelf, dictating to his ſecretary Caſſiodorus, *Epiſt. lib.* II. 23. and you hear the voice of ſuch kings as render themſelves

themſelves gods to mankind. 'Favour juſtice. Employ courage in the defence of innocence: that, amid the crimes of other nations, you may ſhew the juſtice of the Goths.' And in the ſame book, *Epiſt.* 34. 'Do you imitate our Goths, whoſe courage in battle can only be equalled by their domeſtic modeſty.' And *Epiſt.* 43. 'Let the wars of other kings be crowned with the ſpoils, and ruin, of captured cities. It is our purpoſe, with the help of God, ſo to conquer, that our ſubjects ſhall only grieve that they acquired our protection ſo late.' And, to paſs many ſuch, book VIII. *epiſt.* 14. 'This is the praiſe of the Goths, to preſerve inviolate the laws of humanity *.' Rome, Rome, what were thy laurels to theſe? Great and divine people! it is no wonder that the few virtuous Romans ſhould, as Salvianus ſays, fly to you their enemies, for protection: and that heaven

* Theſe, and many ſimilar paſſages, may be found in the Prolegomena to *Grotii Hiſt. Goth.* Single ſentences of Idatius, of Victor Vitenſis, of the mock Hiſt. Arcana given to Procopius, weigh nothing againſt the number of ſuperior witneſſes in favour of the Goths. The Romans often ſhed more blood in one war than the Goths in conquering the Roman empire. Rude conquerors, tho ever ſo few and merciful, always introduce their laws and manners: but the language of Italy, France, Spain, which is mere Latin corrupted by time, ſufficiently ſhews that very few of the old inhabitants periſhed. The deſolation of ſome parts of Italy was owing to the ſeat of empire being removed to Conſtantinople, and the ſenators abandoning their Italian villas in order to be near the court. So much in anſwer to a reſpectable writer, Dr. Robertſon, who in his *View of Society* prefixt to the hiſtory of Ch. V. has fallen into miſtakes on this ſubject.

ſhould, in your favour, have delivered the world from the tyrannic dotage of Rome.

Such virtues prevailed among the whole Goths, from the extremity of Scandinavia to the Vandals in Africa; the laſt of whom, tho debaſed by an enervate clime, are yet the chief objects of the praiſe of Salvianus. Hoſpitality was particularly ſacred. The Burgundian laws enact, 'Whoever refuſes his houſe or fire to a ſtranger, let him pay a large fine. If any man travelling on his buſineſs aſk lodging of a Burgundian, and it can be proved that he has ſhewn the ſtranger the houſe of a Roman, let the Burgundian pay the ſame fine to the Roman, and an equal fine to the public treaſury.' A remarkable inſtance of regard to hoſpitality alſo occurs in Procopius *Hiſt. lib.* III. *cap.* 35, and *lib.* IV. *c.* 27. concerning the Gepidæ, a celebrated Gothic nation on the weſt of preſent Hungary. An abſtract of it follows. According to Lombardic inſtitutions the crown of Lombardy was, after the death of Vaces, to paſs to Ildiſgal. This prince being however expelled by intrigues retired to the Gepidæ. Audouin, who had ſeized the throne of Lombardy, ſent to demand Ildiſgal of the Gepidæ his neighbours. The emperor Juſtinian ſent an embaſſy to ſupport the requeſt. Toriſin king of the Gepidæ, who had juſt made peace with the Lombards and Romans, called a council, and ſhewed the danger of refuſing. But the council reſolved unanimouſly, *That it would be better for the whole nation, wives and children, to periſh, than commit ſuch a ſacrilege againſt the laws*

of

of hoſpitality. That this continued the caſe among the uncorrupted Goths of Scandinavia appears from Adam of Bremen, a writer of the eleventh century, who ſays all the people of Scandinavia, Danes, Normans, Swedes, are moſt hoſpitable; eſpecially the Swedes, with whom no reproach could be greater than to refuſe lodging to a ſtranger; and Grotius tells, that Charles, an ancient king of Sweden, made a law, that the houſe which refuſed a ſtranger ſhould be burnt to the ground.

Of their wiſdom let Herodotus ſpeak: and Dio, who calls them the wiſeſt of mankind. Of their courage let their enemies tell; and we, their ſons, who are here enjoying the countries which their ſwords won from the Romans their civiliſed brethren, who had conquered all nations yet yielded to them. Of their learning, when, by circumſtances, they advanced in ſociety in different countries, as after explained, let the Greeks, their eldeſt progeny who enjoyed theſe circumſtances, declare; the Romans next; and the modern Europæans, the laſt, but not leaſt, of their ſons. But their learning even in unſocial wilds, and circumſtances of ſociety which precluded attention to elegance, while neceſſity was the law, is a curious ſubject, and ſhall be briefly touched.

Herodotus, *lib.* IV. *c.* 46, ſays, the Scythians were both learned and wiſe. Zamolxis, the early lawgiver of the Goths, is well known; and ſo is Diceneus. Anacharſis was the next Scythic philoſopher: he was of the royal family, his brother Cadreda, and nephew Indathyrſus, being kings

of the Getæ, or Parental Goths, peculiarly ſo called. He lived with Solon, 590 years before Chriſt. Menander, the celebrated founder of the new comedy, and whoſe drama was called the ſchool of wiſdom, was a Goth of Getia, as Strabo, book VII. tells us from his works, and gives us the lines, apparently from one of his prologues.

Παντες μεν οἱ Θρακες, μαλιστα δ' οἱ Γεται
Ἡμεις απαντων, (και γαρ αυτος ευχομαι
Ἐκειθεν ειναι το γενος,) ου σφοδρ' ἐγκρατεις
Ἐσμεν.

For all the Thracians, but the Getæ chief,
(From whom I glory to derive my birth,)
Have never yet been cold to female beauty.

Toxaris, a Scythian, was a learned phyſician, whom Lucian introduces as chief interlocutor in his admirable dialogue entituled *Toxaris*, or, *On Friendſhip*; which is not only the moſt virtuous, but the moſt entertaining, of Lucian's works, being enlivened with many tales and anecdotes. They who would know the virtues of the ancient Scythians are alſo eſpecially referred to it.

As to the later Scythians or Goths, who ſubverted the Roman empire, the hiſtorian of Engliſh poetry, ſhewing our miſtakes as to their hatred of learning and the arts, well obſerves, that, 'their enemies have been their hiſtorians.' Such learning and arts as were then in vogue were, indeed, worthy of their contempt, as of our's now. The Goths knew that a learned king was uſeleſs in their then ſituation of war: and the ſole example that

that can be found of their imagined contempt of letters ſprung from this idea. It occurs in Procopius, *Hiſt. Goth. lib.* I. *c.* 2. where queen Amalaſuntha, wiſhing to teach her ſon Alaric letters, the Gothic chiefs object to it, that arms, and not letters, had been formerly taught to their kings. Surely this paſſage, ſo often brought as a proof of their ignorance, was a proof of their wonted wiſdom as events ſhew. For Theodoric, who was unlearned, was the beſt and greateſt of kings: Theodahat, who was learned, brought the firſt Gothic empire in Italy to utter ruin.

We look at the Goths thro a moſt falſe and imperfect medium, that of the Roman writers of a barbarous age. And we have loſt the nobleſt monuments of their Gothic hiſtory, as Pliny's Twenty Books on the German war: the Gothic hiſtory of Dio: and that of Dexippus, of which Photius, *Cod.* 83, gives a brief hint. Yet even the moſt barbarous writers, in the dotage of Rome, bear ſufficient witneſs of the Gothic glory. The very generals, who alone ſucceeded againſt the Goths, were their countrymen. Stilicho was a Vandal, or German Goth. Beliſarius was a Goth of Thrace. See Claudian and others for the firſt; Procopius *de Bello Vandal. lib.* I. *c.* 11. for the laſt. Inſtead of imitating the barbarous Roman writers in their contempt of the ruder Goths, let us imitate the Goths in their contempt of doting Rome; and hear them expreſs it. "When we would brand an enemy with diſgrace, we call him a Roman, comprehending under this one name of Roman whatever

whatever is baſe, is cowardly, is covetous, is falſe, is vicious." *Luitprandi Legatio, apud Muratori, Script. Ital.* Indeed the contempt we bear to the Goths reſembles that of a ſpendthrift heir to a great and prudent father. It is as fooliſh as that of the Portugueſe for the Caſtillans, ſo well held out by Melchior de Santa Cruz, who tells, that a Caſtillan going into a ſhop in a Portugueſe village, a boy ran and told his mother to come and ſpeak to a Caſtillan. Upon which his mother chid him ſeverely for affronting the gentleman with ſuch a name; while the Spaniard knew it to be his higheſt honour.

It ſhall only be further obſerved, in this preface, that the author's attention to his quotations has been moſt accurate and ſacred. Moſt of them he has compared repeatedly with the originals. This became the more neceſſary, as inaccurate quotations are the grand defects of the literature of this century; if we except Germany and Scandinavia only, where, if an author were to quote falſely, he would go near to endure the character of a ſcoundrel and a liar. Indeed no literary crime is equal to this, for public faith attends an author; and infamy ought always to attend his intentional abuſe of it: nay in part his careleſſneſs; for a man is a very bad member of ſociety who teaches it error, compared to which even ignorance itſelf is knowlege. The miſquotations and miſconſtructions of Pelloutier, and many others, upon ſimilar ſubjects, muſt ſhock every reflecting mind,

mind, for moſt readers take quotations on truſt. The author has ſeldom, if ever, taken a quotation on truſt; but has commonly verified thoſe few which ſtruck him at ſecond-hand with the originals. This plan he earneſtly recommends to ſuch readers as wiſh to attain complete and immediate knowlege of the important facts here developed. For this end a liſt of the books and editions uſed is prefixt. This liſt may alſo ſerve as a directory for thoſe who chuſe to ſtudy the ſubject in it's fountains; and will ſave much trouble; for had the author put down the other books he has peruſed for this deſign, to no purpoſe, as there was nothing in them, the number would have been doubled. The author can ſafely pledge his whole character in life, that he has never intentionally altered, or omitted, a ſingle letter in a quotation; nor ever given it the leaſt bias from it's open direct meaning. No toil has been ſpared to guard againſt miſtakes: this little work has been reviſed, and re-reviſed, and reviſed again: but our own errors ſingularly eſcape our eyes. Yet can there be no miſtake touching the grand, and leading, facts, which ſtand on the authorities of all antiquity. The author's toil was too enormous for him to trifle with any hypotheſis, and thus loſe his labour, or any part of it. He ſought for facts alone. The ſole pleaſure ſurely in a reſearch of this kind is purely mathematical, the delicious delight in repoſing one's mind upon truth. For, tho the truth in hiſtoric reſearch be far from

mathematical,

mathematical, yet that higheſt probability, here called *Hiſtoric Truth*, conſiſts in this, that tho you cannot demonſtrate it true, yet you can prove all oppoſite opinions to be falſe; ſo that, as truth is one, and no two oppoſite opinions can be both true, this remains Hiſtoric Truth.

List of the Chief Books and Editions used.

A.

ADAMI Bremenſis Hiſt. Eccl. apud Lindenbrog. Script. Germ. Sept. The Caput de Situ Daniæ is alſo in the *Dania*, the beſt of the Elzevir Republics.
Æthici Coſmographia apud Melam Gronovii, Lugd. Bat. 1696. 8vo.
Agathias de rebus geſtis Juſtiniani, Paris, 1660. f.
Ammianus Marcellinus Gronovii, Lugd. Bat. 1693. f.
Anaſtaſii Bibliothecarii Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica, Paris, 1642. f.
Apollonius Rhodius, cum Scholiaſte, Francof. 1546. 8vo.
Appiani Opera Stephani, Paris, 1592. f.
Ariſtotelis Opera, 1597. 4 vols, f.
Arii Polyhiſtoris Libellus de Iſlandia, Buſſæi, Hauniæ, 1733. 4to.
Arriani Tactica; Acies contra Alanos, &c. Blancardi, Amſt. 1683. 8vo.
Auſonius Variorum, Amſt. 1671. 8vo. Scaligeri, Lugd. Bat. 1612. 8vo.

B.

Bartholinus de Cauſis Contemptæ a Danis Mortis, Havniæ, 1689, 4to.
Bayeri Diſſertationes de Scythis, de Cimmeriis, &c. in Act. Acad. Petropol. Tom. I. et *ſeqq.* This author, in his love of Ruſſia, and ignorance of ancient hiſtory and geography, makes the Scythæ, &c. Fins, and other nations of the Ruſſian empire! His errors are ſo groſs as to be beneath notice in this work.
Bedæ Opera, Baſil. 1563. 8 vols, f.
Bibliander de Ratione communi omnium Linguarum, Tiguri, 1548. 4to.
Blackwell's Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, London, 1736, 8vo.
Buat, M. le Compte du, Hiſtoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe. Paris, 1772. 10 tomes, 8vo.
Burton de veteri Lingua Perſica. Lubecæ, 1710, 8vo.
Buſbequii Opera, Elz. 1633, 12mo.

C.

Cæſar Scaligeri, Elz. 1635, 12mo.
Cellarii Geographia Antiqua. Lipſiæ, 1731. 2 vols. 4to.
Chronicon Paſchale (al. Faſti Siculi vel Chron. Alexandrinum) a Du Cange. Paris, 1688. f.
Chamberlayne Oratio Dominica in omnibus fere Linguis. Amſt. 1715. 4to.
Chryſoſtomi Opera a Montfaucon. Paris, 1718. 13 vols. f.
Claudianus Heinſii. Elz. 1650, 12mo. Geſneri. Lipſiæ, 1759. 8vo.
Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Potteri Oxon, 1715, f.
Cluverii Germania Antiqua. Elz. 1616. f.
——— Geographia, Bunonis, &c. Londini, 1711, 4to.
Curtius. Elz. 1670, 12mo.

D.

D'Anville, vide Mémoires de l'Académie.
——— Geographie Ancienne Abregée. Paris, 1768, 3 vols. 12mo.
——— Etats formes en Europe apres la Chute de l'Emp. Rom. Paris, 1771, 4to.

Davis Dictionarium Kymbraicum ſeu Wallicum. Londini, 1632. f.
De Guignes Hiſtoire des Huns. Paris, 1756. 4 tomes, 4to.
D'Hancarville Recherches ſur les Arts de la Grece. Londre, 1785. 2 vols. 4to.
Diodorus Siculus Weſſelingi. Amſt. 1746, 2 vols. f.
Dion Caſſius Reimari. Hamburgi, 1750, 2 vols. f.
Dionyſii Periegeſis a Hill. Londini, 1688, 8vo.
Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus Hudſoni. Oxon. 1704, 2 vols. f.

E.

Edda Reſenii, 1665, 4to. and in the tranſlation of Mallet.
Epiphanii Opera Valeſii. Colon. 1652, f.
Euſebii Hieronymi et Proſperi Chronica ad 28 MSS. et 8 Edit. emend. a Pontaco. Burdigalæ, 1604. f.
Euſtathius in Homerum, Baſil. 1560. 3 vols. f.
Excerpta Legationum Urſini. Ant. 1582. 4to. et Pars Secunda eorundem Hoeſchelii Gr. Aug. Vind. 1603, 4to. Cantoclari Lat. Paris 1609. 8vo. This ſecond part is extremely ſcarce, and ſhould be reprinted with the firſt. It is alſo in Labbe, Appar, ad Hiſt. Byz. *edit. Reg.* 1648. f.
Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis Valeſii. Paris, 1634, 4to.

F.

Friſch Hiſt. Linguæ Slavonicæ, Berolini, 1727. 4to.

G.

Geographi Græci Minores a Hudſon, Oxon. 1698, 4 vols. 8vo.
Gibbon's Roman Hiſtory. London, 1783. 6 vols. 8vo.
Gillies's Hiſtory of Greece. London, 1786. 2 vols. 4to.
Grotii Hiſtoria (vel potius Collectio Hiſt.) Gothorum. Amſt. 1655. 8vo.

H.

Helmoldi Chronicon Slavorum Bangerti, Lubecæ, 1659. 4to.
Herodotus Weſſelingii. Amſt. 1763. f.
Hieronymi Opera. Paris, 1693, 5 vols. f.
Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores Variorum. Lugd. Bat. 1661, 8vo.
Homeri Ilias. Londini, 1747, 2 vols. 8vo.
——— Odyſſea. Genevæ, 12mo.
Horatius, Baſkerville. Birm. 1762, 12mo.
Huet Hiſt. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens. Paris, 1716, 8vo.

I.

Ihre Gloſſarium Suio-Gothicum. Upſalæ, 1769, 2 vols. f.
Jornandes Vulcanii. Lug. Bat. 1597, 8vo. et in Grotii Hiſt. Goth.
Iſidori Chronicon Gothorum, Ib.
Juſtinus Voſſii, Elz. 1640, 12mo.

L.

Lagerbring, Sammandrag af Swea Rikes Hiſtoria. Stockholm, 1775, 8vo.
Lipſii Opera, Antw. 1614. 8 vols. 4to.
Livii Hiſtoria Sigonii. Venet 1555. f.
Lloyd Archæologia Britannica. Oxon. 1707, f.
Luciani Opera Benedicti, Salmurii, 1619, 2 vols. 8vo.

M.

Mallet's Northern Antiquities. London, 1770, 2 vols. 8vo.
——— Abregée de l'Hiſt. de Dannemarc. Copenhague, 1760, 12mo.
Macpherſon's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Britain and Ireland. London, 1773, 4to.
Marſham Canon Chronicus. Lipſiæ, 1676, 4to.

Meta

Mela Gronovii. Lugd. Bat. 1696, 8vo. Olivarii. Lug. Bat. 1646. 12mo.
Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et Belles Lettres, 41 volumes, to 1780.
Monteſquieu Oeuvres de. Amſt. 1772, 7 vols. 8vo.

O.

Olahi Hungaria et Attila. Vindob. 1763, 8vo (ſcript. 1536).
Oroſius Havercampi. Lug. Bat, 1738, 4to.
Orphei Opera Geſneri. Lipſiæ, 1764. 8vo. It is ſurpriſing that the age of theſe pretended poems of Orpheus, to Muſæus his ſon, has not been examined. Some lately aſcribe them to an Onomacritus, upon no grounds whatever. They are palpably forgeries of the firſt, or ſecond, century; but as near the Homeric language as any modern poet could forge an imitation of Chaucer. They are not earlier, becauſe unknown to all writers preceding that time. Plato, *in Cratylo*, quotes *one* line of Orpheus; Diodorus Siculus I. 11, 12, *two*; but they are not found in the preſent. Orpheus was indeed the Zamolxis, the Zoroaſter, the founder of their religion, to the Greek prieſts, and they had forged a hymn or two in his name before. But theſe poems to Muſæus are firſt quoted by Juſtin Martyr in the ſecond century; and ſeem to have been forged to ſupport the Pagan faith againſt the Chriſtian, then rapidly advancing, when the *Carmina Sibyllina* were forged on the other ſide. They relate to Pagan myſteries; and the Argonautics form a mock goſpel of Orpheus.
Ovidii Opera, 3 tom. Amſt. 1717, 12mo.

P.

Panegyrici Veteres. Norimbergæ, 1759, 2 vols. 8vo.
Pauli Warnefridi Diaconi Hiſt. Langobardorum, apud Grotii Hiſt. Goth.
Pauſanias Kuhnii. Lipſiæ, 1696. f.
Pelloutier Hiſtoire des Celtes. Haye, 1750, 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1770, 8 vols. 8vo.
Peyſſonnel Obſervations ſur les Peuples barbares du Danube et du Pont Euxine. Paris, 1765. 4to.
Photii Bibliotheca, 1612, f.
Platonis Opera Ficini. Lugduni, 1550, 5 vols. 12mo.
Plinii Hiſtoria Naturalis Harduini. Paris, 1723, 2 vols. f. Genevæ, 1601, 3 vols. 12mo.
Plutarchi Opera apud Stephanum, 1572, f. 13 vols.
Pollucis Onomaſticon Variorum. Amſt. 1706, 2 vols. f.
Polybii Hiſtoria Caſauboni. Amſt. 1670, 3 vols. 8vo.
Procopii Opera. Paris, 1662, 2 vols. f.
Ptolemæi Geographia a Mercatore, 1605. f.

R.

Ravennas Geographus, cum Mela Gronovii. Lug. Bat. 1696. 8vo.
Richardſon's Diſſertation on Eaſtern Manners, &c. prefixt to Perſian, Arabic, and Engliſh Dictionary.

S.

Saxo Grammaticus Stephanii, Soræ, 1644, f.
Scaliger Diſſ. de Linguis in Merulæ Coſmographia.
Schilteri Theſaurus Ant. Teuton. Ulmæ 1728, 3 vols. f.
Schoepflin (pronounce Shufflin) Vindiciæ Celticæ, Argent. 1754, 4to.
Schoening Diſſ. variæ in Act. Acad. Hafn.
Sheringham de Anglorum Gentis Origine. Cantab. 1670. 8vo.
Sidonius Apollinaris Savaronis. Paris, 1598, 8vo.
Snorronis Sturlonidis Hiſt. Regum Septent. a Peringſkiold. Stockholm,

holm, 1697, 2 vols. f. 3 Schoening Hafniæ, 1777, only 3 vols. published, last 1783.

Solinus apud Aldum, 1518, 12mo. Delrionii, L. Bat. 1646, 12mo. Salmasii, cum Exercitationibus Plinianis. Ultraj. 1689, 2 vols. f. Goezii, Lipsiæ, 1777, 12mo.

The time when Solinus wrote could not be discovered by Erasmus, the Scaligers, Lipsius, Grotius, Salmasius, &c. in short, by all, from the revival of letters to this hour. There must be witchcraft in the case, for nothing is more easy. Solinus, c. 38, speaking of Judæa, says, *Judæa caput fuit Hierosolyma, sed excisa est. Successit Hiericus; et hæc desiit, Artaxerxis bello subacta.* Who does not know that this war of Artaxerxes happened in the time of Alexander Severus, about the year 230? See Lampridius, &c. Salmasius, on this passage, calls Solinus a fool, and dreams about the old Artaxerxes! Solinus also mentions Byzantium, simply, not as Constantinople, so that he wrote before 330. But he also mentions the Getæ, not by the name of Gothi, given them on their invasion 250, nor does he hint at that invasion; so that he clearly wrote between 230 and 250, say 240. The last edition by Goezius is the worst we have of any classic. Solinus deserves a better fate, for had Pliny perished, how great must have been his value! As it is, his book is not a mere abstract of Pliny, but has valuable additions.

Statii Opera. Paris, 1530, 12mo.

Stephanus Byzantinus de Urbibus et Gentibus, Berkelii. Lug. Bat. 1674, 8vo.

Strabo Casauboni, Lutetiæ. 1620. f.

Suhm, Danmarks, Norges, og Holsten's Historie, Kiobenhavn, 1782, 8vo.

Suidas Kusteri. Cant. 1705. 3 vols. f.

Syncelli (Georgii) Chronographia, Paris, 1652. f.

T.

Tacitus Boxhornii. Amst. 1661, 12mo; a Brotier. Paris, 1771, 4 vols. 4to.

——— Germania Dithmari commentario. Francof. ad Viadrum, 1766, 8vo.

Tertullianus de Pallio Salmasii. L. Bat. 1656, 8vo.

Theophanis Chronographia. Paris, 1655. f.

Thucydides Dukeri. Amst. 1731. f.

Tooke's Russia. London, 1780, 4 vols. 8vo.

Torfæi Historia Norvegiæ Hafniæ, 1711, 4 vols. f.

——— Series Regum Daniæ. ib. 1702, 4to.

U.

Usserii Annales Veteris Testamenti. Londini, 1650. f.

V.

Valerius Flaccus cum Notis Heinsii. Ultraj. 1702. 12mo.

Verelii Gothici et Rolfi Hist. Upsal, 1664. 8vo.

W.

Wachter Glossarium Germanicum. Lipsiæ, 1737, 2 vols. f.

Wittichindi Saxonis Gesta Saxonum. Basil. 1532. f.

Wormii Series Regum Daniæ, Hafniæ, 1642. f.

——— Monumenta Danica. ib. 1643. f.

X.

Xenophontis Opera Leunclavii. Francof. 1596. f.

Z.

Zozimus Cellarii, Cizæ, 1679, 8vo.

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Corrections.

Corrections.

Page 12, note, *for* 1634, 4to, *read* 1648 f.
14, *for* ιθνα, *read* ιθνη.
15, n. *for* ſpeceis, *read* ſpecies.
40, l. 25, *for* Southern and Northern, *read* Northern and Southern. *(eſſential.)*
42, n. *for* Gerberon, *read* Bergeron.
49, n. and 67 *for* Hebrides, *read* Hebudes.

It ſeems fated to this word to reſt an error of the preſs. There are no ſuch ilands as *Hebrides*. Pliny IV. 16. calls them *Hæbudes*, or as ſome MSS. *Hebudes*: as does Solinus, c. 25. Ptolemy, Ἐβουδαι, *Ebudæ*. Hector Boethius, Hiſt. Scot. *Paris*, 1526, *fol.* is the great father of *Hebrides*; but after looking over the editions of Pliny and Solinus preceding Boethius to no purpoſe; as they bear *Ebudes* and *Hebudes*, i at laſt happened on one of Solinus, *Paris*, 1503, 4to. full of typographical errors, and among them, *f.* xxii. *Ebrides* appears in text and margin, as in index, for *Ebudes*, as alſo *Arcades*, once for *Orcades*. This is palpably the very fountain of the miſtake, for Boethius ſtudied at Paris, where he muſt have uſed this edition, without conſulting any other. German and Scandinavian writers at this day always put *Hebudes*.

53, *for* Nic, *read* Nec.
63, *for* Illyriana, *read* Illyrians.
74, The Greek and Roman dreſs, being an article of manners, is omitted in conſidering the origin of theſe nations. But it may be hinted that the warlike was Gothic, a tunic and mantle, and often *femoralia*. The domeſtic was Phœnician, and not flowing as the Sarmatic.
99, *note* f, *for* (p. 350) *read* (p. 330) *eſſential*.
202, *for* pronontory, *read* promontory.

PART

[GROENLAND]
[ISLAND]
[Faroe Inf.]
[Shetland]
Oceanus
Orcades
Hebudes
Deucaledonia
[Pi]ka
HIBERNIA
PICTI
BRITANNIA
Celtæ Belgæ
Celtæ BELGÆ
Nuithones
Suardones
Eudoses
Angli
Aviones
Saxones
Cauci
Alba M.
BELGÆ
GERMANIA
GALLIA
Celticum Pyren.
Alpes M.
Pannonia
Gallia Braccata
Gallia Citerior
Celti beri
HISPANIA
IBERI
Massilia
ITALIA
Illyricum
Mare Adriaticum
Mæsi.
THRACES
Bœtica
GADES
MARE
Roma
MEDI
Utica
CARTHAGO
Sicilia
Malta
TERRANEUM
MAURI
Cyrene
Within this Line the nations are Black
NIGRI
STATE of NATIONS at the Christian æra.
Ethiopes Nigri

PART I.

The identity of the Scythians, Getæ, and Goths—Whether they proceeded from Europe into Aſia, or from Aſia into Europe—Their real origin, and firſt progreſs—Their ſettlements in the Eaſt; and between the Euxine and Mediterranean ſeas.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

Origin and Progreſs of the Scythians or Goths.

PART I.

The identity of the Scythians, Getæ, and Goths —Whether they proceeded from Europe into Aſia, or from Aſia into Europe—Their real origin, and firſt progreſs—Their ſettlements in the Eaſt, and between the Euxine and Mediterranean ſeas.

CHAPTER I.

The Scythians, Getæ, and Goths, all one people.

THE ſubject meant to be briefly treated in this diſſertation is ſo extenſive, and important, that two vaſt volumes might well be occupied with it alone. For upon it, as a wide and perpetual baſis, ſtands the whole hiſtory of Europe; excepting only that of Ruſſia, Poland, and Hungary. All the reſt is in the hands of the progeny of the Goths, or as we may juſtly ſay of the Goths: and there actually exiſts in Europe, at

this moment, a ſixth ſupreme empire, equal to the Scythian, Aſſyrian, Perſian, Grecian, or Roman. For the colonies and dominions of the Europeans in America, and Aſia, may ſurely be put as equivalent, at leaſt, to thoſe of the Romans in Aſia and Africa. This Sixth Empire is not indeed under one head; but neither was the Grecian, ſave for the ſhort reign of Alexander. Nor let us, deceived by vulgar blindneſs, eſteem it a diſgrace to be called by our real name of GOTHS, but rather exult in the glorious title. For, as ſhall afterwards be ſhewn, the Greeks themſelves were Goths, being originally Pelaſgi, a Scythic or Gothic colony: and the Romans alſo were of the ſame ſtem. And tho we, miſled by a puerile love of the Romans, revile the ruder Goths, our fathers, as deſpiſers of learning and the arts; becauſe they ſcorned the ſophiſtical reading, and fantaſtic arts, prevalent on the decline of the Roman empire, which we at preſent ſcorn; yet, as ſhewn in the preface, the Goths were the friends of every elegant art, and uſeful ſcience; and when not conſtrained to arms alone by the inevitable ſituation, and ſpirit, of their ſociety, they carried every art and ſcience to heights unknown before; as the ancient Greeks and modern Europeans might witneſs. In wiſdom, that perfection of human nature,

And tho no ſcience fairly worth the ſeven,

ancient authors [a] call the rude Goths the firſt of mankind. And in arms what people equalled thoſe who conquered the Romans, who had conquered all? who, without military diſcipline, overcame the greateſt military diſcipline in the world? who ruſhing at once, as lightning from heaven, daſhed the ſtrong and deep-rooted oak of Roman power to pieces; and ſcattered the numerous trophies, that adorned its branches, over the ſurrounding fields?

[a] Dio apud Jornand. de rebus Get. c. 5. Herodot. IV. 46. Strabo, lib. VII.

Before

Before proceeding further i muſt apologiſe to the reader for compreſſing my own materials for the preſent diſquiſition, and which might have filled a large quarto volume, into ſuch contracted bounds. For tho i am a declared enemy to large books, yet to the learned reader it may ſeem audacious, even to attempt ſo vaſt a theme in ſuch ſmall compaſs. But he will conſider that the purpoſe of this work, into which my reſearches into Scotiſh hiſtory led me, forbids my entering into the ſubject ſo fully as its importance warrants. As M. de Guignes has obliged the world with an Hiſtory of the Huns, in Four Quarto Volumes; fraught with all that information, which his great learning in the Eaſtern tongues enabled him to give; ſo it is earneſtly to be wiſhed that ſome writer of eminent learning, induſtry, and ability, would give us an Hiſtory of the Scythians, at as great, or greater, extent. Such a work would be of the utmoſt advantage both to ancient, and modern hiſtory. Yet, tho confined to brevity, every toil has been exerted to render the preſent attempt veracious, accurate, and diſtinct.

It is proper firſt to ſhew that *Scythæ, Getæ, Gothi,* were but different names for one and the ſame people; as we call them *Spaniards,* whom the French call *Eſpagnols*; the Italians, *Spagnuoli:* or as the French call the Engliſh *Anglois*; the Italians, *Ingleſi.* The learned reader will ſmile at my thinking it neceſſary to explain a matter ſo well known, as the identity of the Scythians, Getæ, and Goths; but this tract is meant for the public at large, and it is always better to tell a reader what he may perhaps know, than run the riſque of obſcuring a whole work by omitting what he may not know. I ſhall however be very brief on this article; referring thoſe who wiſh for more information upon it to Sheringham[a], Pelloutier[b], and Ihre[c].

[a] De Gent. Angl. Orig. c. 9. [b] Hiſt. des Celtes.
[c] Præfat. ad Gloſſar. Suio-Goth.

Of the *Scythians* we find a moſt ample account given by Herodotus; and which occupies almoſt all his Fourth Book. In the ſame book he alſo mentions the *Getæ*, telling us that Darius ſubdued them in advancing againſt the wandering Scythians, who lived on the other ſide of the Iſter, or Danube; and adding a remarkable circumſtance that the Getæ believed in the immortality of the ſoul, and that they were the braveſt, and moſt juſt, of the Thracians. Thus from the earlieſt periods of hiſtory we find mention of the Scythæ and Getæ, as only divided by a river; but this is quoted ſolely to ſhew that theſe names are thus early recorded [d]. After this we find them mentioned by almoſt every Greek writer, even familiarly; for Geta is a common name for a ſlave in Greek comedy, and in Terence's tranſlations: the Greeks procuring many ſlaves from theſe their barbarous brethren, either by art or force.

But the name of *Goths* is not near ſo ancient; the very firſt mention of it being in the time of the emperor Decius, in the year of Chriſt 250, as Mr. Gibbon ſhews. At which time a part of them burſt from Getia into the empire, under Cneva: and Decius, attempting to repell them from Thrace, was conquered and ſlain. After this we find them as frequently in the Latin authors by the names of *Getæ*, or *Gothi*, as formerly the *Scythians* in the Greek; and, as Mr. Gibbon well obſerves, all the Greek writers after this period ſtill uniformly call thoſe *Scythæ*, whom the Latin authors denominate *Gothi*.

For the more exactneſs it ſhall now be ſhewn, 1. That the Getæ and Gothi were the ſame.

[d] Æſchylus, who flouriſhed about fifty years before Herodotus, is perhaps the firſt who mentions the Scythæ:

ΣΚΥΘΑΣ δ' αφιξαι ΝΟΜΑΔΑΣ, &c. *In Prometheo.*

They are the Galactophagi, or Milk-eaters, *i. e.* Paſtoral people of Homer; as his Hippomolgi are the Sarmatæ. Iliad xiii. *init.* and Strabo. Heſiod has Galactophagi.

2. That

2. That the Getæ or Gothi were the ſame with the Scythæ.

I. *The Getæ and Gothi the ſame.* This might almoſt admit of proof from the identity of the word, and identic ſituation of the people, were there not other irrefragable evidences at hand. The reader will pleaſe to remember that the Romans, as the Greeks, and as the modern Germans, Scandinavians, and many other nations, never gave the letter G a ſoft ſound, but always pronounced it hard, as we do in *go*, *get*, &c. not as we uſe in *german*, *geſture*, &c. Now, in the Grecian dialects, the vowels are often changed, and aſpiration omitted; and it is probable that the name Γεται is merely the name properly borne by the nation, and as pronounced by them, to wit *Gothi*, ſoftened to the delicacy of Greek pronunciation, as the Italians ſoften *Engliſh* to *Ingleſi*. We uſe as much freedom, nay often more, ourſelves, in many names of countries, as *French* for *François*, &c. and eſpecially change the *e* and *o* in the ſame verb *to get*, *he got*. Torfæus[e] indeed obſerves that Get and Got is the ſame identic word, implying anciently, as he ſays, a ſoldier.

But, not to inſiſt further upon this, the following authorities will infallibly prove that *Getæ* and *Gothi* are ſynonymous words.

1. We learn from Suidas that Dio entitled his hiſtory of the Goths Γετικον, or the *Getic* Hiſtory. Dio wrote his Roman Hiſtory under Alexander Severus, about the year 230; but probably lived to ſee the attack of the Goths upon the empire in 250, and wrote this work, now unhappily loſt, in conſequence of the public curioſity raiſed by that event.

2. Spartian, who wrote under Diocletian, about the year 300, or within fifty years of the firſt ap-

[e] Hiſt. Norveg. lib. I. *Goté* in Icelandic is a *horſe*, or *horſeman*; Gloſſar. Eddæ Sæmund. *Gata* is a *wanderer*.

pearance of the name Gothi, is alone a complete evidence. For in his life of Antoninus Caracallus, *n.* 10. *p.* 419 of the *Hiſt. Aug. Script. ed. var.* 1661, 8*vo.* he ſays *Gotti Getæ dicèrentur*, 'the 'Goths were then called Getæ.' And again, in his life of Antoninus Geta, *n.* 6. *p.* 427, *Geticus quaſi Gotticus*; '*Geticus* as we would now ſay *Gotticus*.'

3. Claudian always calls the Goths *Getæ*, and entitles his poem on the Gothic war, *De Bello Getico.*

4. Sidonius Apollináris in his poems frequently calls the Goths *Getæ*; and in the epiſtle to Trigetius he calls the Oſtrogoths *Maſſagetæ.*

5. Auſonius, Idyl. 8. ſpeaking of the Goths ſays,

Quæ vaga Sauromates ſibi junxerat agmina Chunis;
Quæque GETIS ſociis Iſtrum adſultabat Alanus.

6. Oroſius, *lib. I. c.* 6. ſays *Getæ qui et nunc Gothi*, 'the Getæ, who are now alſo called Gothi.'

7. Saint Jerome, in *præf. Epiſ.* 2. *ad Galat.* ſays, that the Goths were anciently called Getæ. And in his own Epiſt. 135, he uſes *Getæ* for *Gothi.*

8. Ennodius, in his Panegyric to Theodoricus king of the Goths, *Nam illud quo ore celebrandum eſt quod* GETICI *inſtrumenta roboris, dum provides ne interpellentur otia noſtra, cuſtodis?*

9. Procopius, Γετικον γαρ εθνος φασι τους Γοτθους ειναι. 'For they ſay the Goths are a Getic race.'

10. Jornandes entitles his hiſtory *De Getarum, ſive Gothorum, origine et rebus geſtis*; and conſtantly uſes *Getæ* and *Gothi* as ſynonymous. In his work *De Regn. Succeſſ.* he ſays Decius *bellantibus Getis occubuit.*

11. Iſidorus, *Origin.* lib. ix. c. 2. ſays the Getæ, and Gothi, are the ſame.

There is not even a ſhade of an authority on the other ſide; tho, within theſe two centuries, the blunders of ſuperficial learning on this ſubject

are amazing. Cluverius[f] led the van, by aſſerting, on *his own* authority, that the *Gothi* were the *Gutones*, or *Gothones*, of Pomerellia, who went and ate up the Getæ,—becauſe Cluverius was himſelf a native of Pomerellia[g], and wanted all the glory of the Goths to his own dear Gothones! Grotius[h] followed, who aſſerted on *his own* authority that the Goths went from *Gothland* in Sweden, a name unknown till the Thirteenth, or Fourteenth century, and riſing merely from ſome property of the country[i], and ate up the Getæ, about three centuries before Chriſt—becauſe Grotius was embaſſadour from the Queen of Sweden to France, and bound, as he ſays in his preface, to do all in his power for the honour of that kingdom. Such infants are men of learning! Grotius has had his followers; and of late D'Anville follows Cluverius, from whoſe works he is indeed a frequent plagiary: and adds this only, and ſapient, reaſon[k], that the Goths were Germans, becauſe the names of their princes, &c. reſemble the German, not the Scythic or Getic. But he ought to have known that the Greeks, from whom alone we have any Scythic or Getic names, totally perverted all barbaric names, nay often tranſlated them: for Ardſhir they give us Artaxerxes, &c. Agathyrſi, Amazones, &c. are mere Greek tranſlations, or rather metamorphoſes. The names which D'Anville muſt allude to are

[f] In Germania Antiq. 1616. *fol.*

[g] He was born at Dantzick, in the heart of the country of the Gothones. *Dantiſcum . . . . Cluverii noſtri patria.* Buno not. ad Cluv. Geograph.

[h] Præf. ad Collect. Hiſt. Goth. 1655. 8*vo.*

[i] Cluverius ſays it is called *Gudſke*, and *Gudland*, and *Gulland*, from the *goodneſs* of the ſoil. But in Icelandic Sagas it is *Gotaland*, or *Gautaland*, *terra equorum*, and was probably ſo called from its horſes, as was the iſle Gotland. Ptolemy places *Gutæ* in Scandinavia, oppoſite the *Gutones* of Pruſſia, from whom they ſeem to have ſprung. See Part II. The firſt author Grotius quotes for the name of *Gotland* in Sweden, is Baron Herberſtein, *ante* 90 *annos!*

[k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcr. Tome xxv.

thoſe

thoſe in *ric*, &c. as *Theodoric*, and the like, to which ſimilar names may be found among the Germans, as Orgetorix, &c. This the Greeks ſeem in Scythic names to have changed into *ris* as Toxaris, &c. But in fact the formal muſic of Greek compoſition forced their authors to change all barbaric names into a Greek form, a circumſtance which eſcaped M. D'Anville, but which overthrows his argument; which, to ſay the beſt of it, is a caſtle in the air, of which ſuch fluctuating matters as words, and of them the moſt fluctuating, names, are formed. A Frenchman calls London, *Londres*, where is the Gothic *dun*[1]? Such is the caſe with foreign pronunciation among all nations. But this is an age of etymological frenzy; and we pay ſuch attention to words that facts eſcape us. No author, before Cluverius, ever dreamed that the Goths differed from the Getæ. Even in the darkeſt ages their identity was clearly ſeen. The Goths in the year 250 came from the very ſame ground where Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Dionyſius the Geographer, and all the writers from the firſt century down to that very time, had placed the Getæ. The Romans before 250 only knew the Getæ by Greek report, and gave them of courſe the Greek name: in 250 when they actually ſaw, and fought with, them, they called them by their proper name Gothi; as they ſtudied not muſic nor accents in proſe, as the Greeks did, but put the name as ſpoken, only with a Latin termination.

[1] So puerile an argument deſerves not confutation: elſe, by collecting all the Scythic and Gothic names, I am convinced it would be ſeen that many are ſimilar to the German, and Scandinavian, and later Gothic. *Thomyris*, almoſt the firſt Scythic name in hiſtory, probably belongs to the Gothic names beginning in *Tho* or *Theo*, as Theodoric, Theodahat, &c. and ending in *ric*. But names change thro length of time, as language always does, even among barbarians: and the names are ſo extremely various, that hardly two ſimilar can be found, ſo that M. D'A's argument is a mere ſophiſm. Verelius, a better judge, ſays, the old Scythic names in Trogus, and others, are abſolute Gothic. *Præf. ad Gothrici et Rolfi Hiſt. Upſal*, 1664. 8*vo*.

Dio,

Dio, who wrote about 250, calls them ſtill Getæ, as we have ſeen. Succeeding writers expreſly explain that the Getæ and Gothi were the ſame; as common ſenſe might convince us: for how could the prodigious nation of Getæ, ſo remarkable in ancient authors, vaniſh at once? The Goths came from the very territory of the Getæ; and no authority would be required for any one of the ſmalleſt penetration to pronounce them the ſame people. But in ſcience it ſeems doubtful whether the moſt falſehood ariſes from the weak prejudices and caprice of the learned, or from the ſuperficiality of the ignorant. Suffice it to ſay, that AUTHORITIES ARE FACTS IN HISTORY; and that any one of the above authorities would overturn any theory at once. But where all the ancients agree in a point, as they do in this, for any modern to oppoſe his theoretic dreams is equally abſurd, as it would be to attempt to prove by modern arguments that all the Greek and Roman hiſtory is a fable.

From theſe proofs therefore we muſt regard it as Hiſtoric Truth, that the Getæ and Goths were the ſame people.

II. *The Getæ or Goths the ſame with the Scythians.* This will as plainly appear from the following evidences.

1. Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, all rank the Getæ as Scythæ.

2. Juſtin, or rather Trogus, ſays, Tanaus king of the moſt ancient *Scythæ* fought with Vexores king of Egypt. Valerius Flaccus lib. V. calls the ſame Tanaus king of the *Getæ*.

3. Trebellius Pollio, *in Gallieno: Scythæ autem, id eſt pars Gothorum, Aſiam vaſtabant.* The ſame, (*in Claudio Gothico*) *Scytharum diverſi populi: Peucini, Trutungi,* AUSTROGOTHI, *prædæ*, &c.

4. Dexippus, who as Grotius thinks wrote in the reign of Gallienus, entitled his hiſtory of the wars between the Romans and Goths, ΣΚΥΘΙΚΑ, or Scythic

Scythic Hiſtories: and called the Goths Σκυθαι *Scythæ*. See Photius, *Cod.* 83.

5. Priſcus uſes *Scythians* and *Goths* ſynonymouſly. ſaying 'they beſieged the *Goths*. There the *Scythians* labouring under want of victuals, &c.'[m]

6. Eunapius calls thoſe *Goths* whom Valens planted in Mæſia *Scythians*[n].

7. Procopius, *lib.* IV. *c.* 5. και τα αλλα Γοτθικα ξενη ξυμπαντα, οι δη και Σκυθαι εν τοις ανω χρονοις επεκαλουντο: 'all the other Gothic nations, who were alſo called Scythians in ancient times.'

8. Anaſtaſius in Hiſt. Chronograph. Σκυθαι, περαιωθεντες, οι λεγομενοι Γοτθοι, τον Ιστρον ποταμον, επι Δεκιου, πολειστους των Ρωμαιων επικρατειαν κατενεμοντο. 'When many Scythians, who are called Goths, 'had paſt the river Iſter, in the time of Decius, 'they waſted the Roman empire.'

9. Theophanes, under the year 370, Γοτθους δε επιχωριως τους Σκυθας λεγεσθαι Τραιανος Πατρικιος τη καθ' αυτον ιστορια φησιν: 'for that the Scythians are 'in their tongne called Goths, Trajanus Patricius 'relates in the hiſtory of his own time.'

10. Georgius Syncellus, Σκυθαι και Γοτθοι λεγομενοι επιχωριως: 'the Scythians are alſo called 'Goths in their own language.'

11. Jornandes[o] always ſpeaks of the Goths, Getæ, and Scythæ, as one people, and uſes the names ſynonymouſly.

12. Iſidorus thus begins his Chronicle of the Goths in Spain, *Gothorum antiquiſſimum eſſe regnum certum eſt, quod ex regno Scytharum eſt exortum.*

13. Procopius repeatedly calls the *Fœderati*, ſo well known in the Lower Empire, *Goths*. Suidas *in voce* calls them Scythæ.

14. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxxi. mentioning the death of Decius who fell in the battle againſt the Goths, or Getæ, calls them *Scythicæ gentes*.

[m] In Excerpt. Legat. Valeſii. Paris, 1634. 4to.
[n] Ibid.
[o] De rebus Get. *et* De Regn. Succ.

There

There is not a ſhadow of any authority whatever on the other ſide of the queſtion. The dreams of Cluverius and Grotius, above mentioned, only merit laughter; as any modern muſt ever do, who chuſes to advance his futile ſpeculations againſt ancient authority. For, as there can be no ſpecial revelation in ſuch caſes, without the ancients we know nothing of the matter; and, if we ſtrive to extinguiſh their lights, muſt remain in utter darkneſs. But, if modern names may weigh, Salmaſius *de Lege Hellenift.* p. 368, ſays, Σκυθης, Γετης, Γοτθος, is but the ſame word differently pronounced. Indeed the S in *Scythæ* is but a ſervile letter, as in many other Greek words, where it is put or omitted at pleaſure, as *Skimbri* for *Kimbri*, &c.[p] This ancient name *Scythæ* ſeems *Guthæ* with an S prefixt, and the G altered to K, as no word in Greek begins with SG, which is indeed almoſt unpronounceable in the beginning of a word; but in SK (or SC) are many words in the Greek. Mr. Gibbon juſtly obſerves that the Greek writers, after the appearance of the name *Gothi* among the Latin, ſtill uſe *Scythians* as a ſynonymous word. This was owing to the Greeks retaining the name by which they had ever called them, while the Romans, to whom the people was unknown ſave in ancient hiſtory and geography, gave them on their firſt nearer acquantance with them, not the Greek name, but their own proper appellation. It is alſo worth remarking that Odin was the great god of the Scandinavian Goths, and the Icelandic Eddas and Sagas ſay that Odin led his people into Scandinavia from Scythia on the

[p] Steph. Byz. Æſchylus *in Perſis* calls him *Merdis*, whom Herodotus and Ariſtotle call *Smerdis*. The Alpes Cottiæ Procopius ſtyles Σκοῦλιαι; Lycophron, v. 1361, calls the Alps, Σαλπια. See Bryant's Analyſis, vol. III. p. 146.

Wormius Ser. Reg. Dan. produces theſe lines of an old Latin poem on Holgar king of Denmark, in which *Gythi*, *Gothi*, *Guthæ*, are ſynonymous.

Gytharum hic ſplendor, Gothorum ſoboles,
Armis eſt domitor Getha fidelis.

Danaſ-

Danaſtrom; that is the Danaſter, Dnieſter, or Tyras.

Theſe ſynonymous names *Scythæ*, *Getæ*, *Gothi*, all appear ſometimes in local, ſometimes in extenſive, meaning among the ancients. Herodotus puts the Getæ on the ſouth of the Danube, and the Scythæ on the other ſide. Pliny and Strabo extend the Getæ all over the weſt of the Euxine, and the later thro half of Germany. Herodotus, *lib.* IV. *c.* 121, mentions the Thyſſa Getæ to the north of the Euxine, and in the heart of Scythia; and *lib.* IV. *c.* 11. the Maſſa Getæ on the north and eaſt of the Caſpian. Procopius *lib.* I. *c.* 2. ſays the whole Scythæ were anciently called Γετικα εθνα, Getic nations. Jornandes uſes the words *Scythæ*, *Getæ*, *Gothi*, as quite ſynonymous. Some, as may be ſeen in the above authorities, call the Getæ, or Gothi Scythians: others call the Scythians Getæ, or Goths. The words are abſolutely ſynonymous: nay, to all appearance, but one and the ſame name, differently ſpelt.

From theſe proofs it is Hiſtoric Truth that the Scythians, Getæ, Goths, are one and the ſame people.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Whether the Scythians or Goths proceeded from Scandinavia into Aſia; or from Aſia into Europe.

THIS is a moſt important and curious inquiry; and, for want of ſufficient attention to it, prodigious errors have crept into the works of almoſt all modern writers, even of the higheſt account.

It muſt here be premiſed, that the term *Scythians* is often, by modern writers, uſed in a moſt lax and indefinite ſenſe; but is never ſo employed by the ancients, whoſe ideas upon the ſubject were accurate and diſtinct. Herodotus carefully diſtinguiſhes between the Scythians and the *Sarmatæ*. In book IV. c. 57, he ſays, that beyond the Tanais to the north 'are not Scythæ, but Sarmatæ:' *c.* 101. he mentions that the Melanchlæni (a Sarmatic nation) are beyond the Scythæ twenty days journey, having ſaid *c.* 20. that the Melanchlæni are not Scythæ: and *lib.* IV. *c.* 117, he tells that ſome of the Sarmatæ were taught the SCYTHIC tongue by the Amazons. He alſo diſtinguiſhes the Scythians from the *Celts*; and places the later far to the weſt. The *Tartars* were unknown to the ancients, till the Fifth century, when the Huns, who were Tartars, burſt into Europe: and Jornandes[a] ſufficiently marks the great difference between the Scythians and the Huns; as we can at this day by comparing the large ſhape, blue eyes, and fair hair, of a German,

[a] De reb. Get. c. 24. *De Hunnorum execranda origine.* Speceis pavenda nigridine, ſed velut quædam (ſi dici fas eſt) deformis offa, non facies: habenſque magis puncta quam lumina, &c.

with

with the ſmall ſtature, ſmall black eyes, and black hair of a Tartar. Theſe differences are found in the other ancient writers, who fully knew that the Scythians were neither Sarmatæ, Celts, nor Tartars; but a race of men peculiar, fixt, and diſtinct. It is to modern ignorance, or ſuperficiality, which is worſe than ignorance, that we are indebted for any confuſion upon this matter. There are however two exceptions to this general rule, which, as it is the intention of this treatiſe to lay every thing before the reader in the moſt open manner, muſt not be forgotten. The firſt is that of Strabo who, in deſcribing Aſia, *lib.* XI. *p.* 492, ſays Ενδοτερω δε τουτων Σαρμαται και αυτοι Σκυθαι. 'On this ſide are the Sarmatæ themſelves Scythians.' But this paſſage is a palpable miſtake [b], and may be confuted from many others of Strabo himſelf; who, in deſcribing Europe, clearly and repeatedly diſtinguiſhes the Sarmatæ from the Scythæ. Indeed the ignorance of Strabo concerning the Caſpian ſea, and the nations to the eaſt of it, is well known. Nor is it a wonder that he who ſuppoſed the Caſpian a gulph of the Northern Ocean (VII. *p.* 294), from which it is near a thouſand miles diſtant, was ſo miſtaken as to take the Aſiatic Sarmatæ for Scythæ. But this ſingle paſſage of Strabo has no weight, when all the other ancients, from Herodotus down to Jornandes, are clear and direct againſt it; and prove it a mere error into which Ephorus led him. The other exception is that of Procopius, who ſays

[b] Strabo, lib. vii. p. 302, informs us, that Ephorus called the Sarmatæ a Scythic nation; and he it was who miſled Strabo. Ephorus was an author of the moſt inaccurate and fabulous deſcription; and has miſled Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus concerning the Pelaſgi. Seneca, Nat. Queſt. vii. 14. ſays, *Ephorus non religioſiſſimæ fidei, ſæpe decipit.* He ſeems to have gloried in contradicting Herodotus, a writer whoſe information was wonderful, and moſtly derived from travelling; ſo that tho now and then fabulous in hiſtory, every day gives freſh proofs of his veracity in deſcribing countries and manners. Herodotus had been in Scythia beyond the Danube and Boryſthenes. Book iv. c. 81.

'the Goths, Vandals, Viſigoths, and Gepidæ were anciently called Sarmatæ and Melanchlæni: ſome have alſo called them Getic nations[c].' This can alſo be ſhewn a miſtake of Procopius, for the Melanchlæni were a Sarmatic nation, ſo called from their *black robes*; and, not to name all the ancients, Jornandes a writer of his own time marks the Goths as warring with the Sarmatæ: and Herodotus, Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Ptolemy, with many others, mark the Scythæ or Goths as quite a diſtinct people from the Sarmatæ. The ſame Procopius, with the ignorance of his benighted age, ſays the Huns were anciently called Maſſagetæ, Μασσαγέτας ἔθνος ὃς νυν Οὖννους καλουσιν. While the fact was that the Huns, or Tartars, had conquered the Maſſagetæ, a Scythic nation, and ſeized their territories, whence Procopius confounded the Huns who, from that quarter, poured into Europe, with the Maſſagetæ the ancient poſſeſſors[d]. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Ptolemy, and other ancients, fully inſtruct us that the Maſſagetæ were a Scythic nation; and Diodorus ſays they were a colony of the Scythians on the Euxine. Theſe two are perhaps the only ancient writers who confound the Scythæ with the Sarmatæ, or with the Tartars. Not one of the ancients confounds the Scythæ with the Celts. Strabo's *Celto-Scythæ* were thoſe Scythæ who bordered on the Celts; as the *Indo-Scythæ* were thoſe who bordered on the Indi.

The reader, to obtain a clear and preciſe view of our ſubject, muſt bear in mind that there were in ancient Europe only four Grand Races of men; namely, 1. The *Celts*, the moſt ancient inhabitants that can be traced; and who were to the other races what the ſavages of America are to the European ſettlers there. 2. The *Iberi* of Spain and Aquita-

[c] See the paſſage produced afterward.

[d] Still greater errors may be found in ſuch late writers, as to diſtant nations. Agathias, *lib.* v. ſays 'the Burgundians, 'a Hunnic nation!'

nia, who were Mauri and had paſt from Africa. Theſe Two Races were few in number; the Celts being moſtly deſtroyed by the Sarmatæ and Scythæ; and few of the Iberi having come into Europe. 3. The *Sarmatæ*, who were in all appearance originally poſſeſſors of ſouth-weſt Tartary, but expelled by the Tartars. For their ſpeech, the Sarmatic or Slavonic is remote from the Tartaric; and their perſons, full of grace and majeſty, are different from thoſe of Tartars: ſo that they are not of Tartaric origin. 4. The *Scythians*, who originated, as ſhall preſently be ſeen, from preſent Perſia; and ſpred from thence to the Euxine, and almoſt over all Europe.

In the ancient authors theſe grand races of men are marked and clear; and that chief diſtinction of the four languages ſtill remains to certify them. The Celtic is ſpoken by the Iriſh and Welch. The Iberian ſtill partly ſurvives in the Gaſcunian or Baſque, and Mauritanic. The Sarmatic is the vaſt Slavonic tongue. The Scythic comprehends the other nations; but eſpecially the Germans and Scandinavians, whoſe ſpeech is leſs mixt. No diviſions can be more accurate and preciſe, from preſent proofs, as well as from ancient writers. It is to modern authors, and ſome of them illuſtrious, that we owe any confuſion upon this ſubject, ariſing from a very ſimple cauſe, to wit, that good authors are rarely antiquaries, and that men of great talents are ſeldom ſo induſtrious as to go to the bottom of a ſubject, where alone however the truth is to be found. Thus we find one modern writer [e] gravely pronouncing that the Scythians were *Celts*, becauſe he was a Frenchman, and wanted to make France the parent of all nations, which he eaſily proves; for he was enabled to ſhew, from all the ancients, that the Greeks, Italians, Germans, &c. &c. were infallibly of Scythic origin;

[e] Pelloutier.

and,

and, as he ſays, the Scythians were Celts, it followed that all the nations of Europe were Celtic. Unhappily he forgot that the antients diſtinguiſh more widely between the Scythians and Celts than between any other Grand Races of men; for, from the days of Herodotus to the lateſt voice of antiquity, the Scythians are marked as proceeding from Aſia, and the Celts as confined to the utmoſt weſt of Europe. Nor can any tongues be of more different form than the Celtic and Gothic. Thus we find another [f] telling us upon *his own* authority, that the Goths were Sarmatæ, without once reflecting that all the antients are direct againſt him; and that a nation ſpeaking the Gothic tongue can no more be the ſame with one ſpeaking the Slavonic, than a Swede can be a Ruſſian. Thus we find others [g] calling the Scythæ Tartars, and the Tartars Scythæ, forgetting that the ancients did not even know the exiſtence of the Tartars till the Huns appeared; and that they diſtinguiſh the Scythæ from the Huns in the moſt poſitive manner; forgetting that the Scythæ ſpoke the Gothic tongue, a language as remote from the Tartaric as poſſible.

Ihre, a man of induſtry and ſkill in the Gothic, but of ſmall learning and ſtill leſs penetration, in the preface to his Suio-Gothic Gloſſary, obſerves the danger of attempting to trace Scythic words, given us by ancient writers, in the Gothic; becauſe, ſays he, it appears that the Scythians had anciently different tongues. For Herodotus ſays that in Scythia were Seven languages. Strabo, *lib.* X. *p.* 503, ſays the Alani, a Scythic nation, had twenty-ſix languages. Mithridates king of Pontus, we are told, learned Twenty-two tongues, to converſe with his own ſubjects, who were chiefly Scythic, or at leaſt in the old ſeats of the Scythæ. Lucian ſays, Tiridates, a ſucceſſor of Mithridates in thoſe parts,

[f] Macpherſon. [g] Gibbon, Richardſon, &c. &c.

requeſted a Pantomimus from Nero, as a general interpreter of geſtures to his ſubjects, not being able to underſtand ſo many tongues. The Scholiaſt of Apollonius Rhodius IV. 321. ſays, there were Fifty Scythian nations. Ihre remarks juſtly that the ancients comprized all the nations in the oblique aſcent from the Caſpian ſea up to the fartheſt point of Scandinavia under the general name of Scythians; and, let me add, for a good reaſon, becauſe they were ſo, all ſave the Sarmatians, whom ſome ancient writers only called Scythæ, before it was fully diſcovered that the Sarmatæ were of quite a diſtinct race and language, as known in the time of Tacitus and Ptolemy. Let me obſerve upon this that the whole is a ſuperficial miſrepreſentation. Herodotus does not ſay that there were ſeven languages in Scythia, but that there was one Scythic nation, the Argippæ, called alſo Phalacri, or Bald Scythians, who lived at a vaſt diſtance (τριήχεης χωρης πολλον) to the eaſt[h]. He obſerves there was a number of countries and regions between them and the others; and adds, 'the Scythæ who go to them paſs by ſeven interpreters, and as many tongues.' Herodotus is on the contrary a clear witneſs that the Scythæ had but one ſpeech; for, *lib.* IV. *c.* 117, he tells that ſome of the Sarmatæ learned the SCYTHIC tongue (φωνη Σκυθικη) from the Amazons. He alſo repeatedly tells us that the Scythians denominate ſuch a perſon or thing by ſuch a name in THEIR language[i]. Strabo's teſtimony concerning the Alani, a ſmall nation of the Scythæ, having twenty-ſix languages, is matter of laughter, not of authority; being only likely to be true when the Caſpian ſea was a gulf of the Northern Ocean, as Strabo tells; and akin to the men with dogs heads, or horſes feet, and other impoſſible fictions of travellers, which impoſed on grave authors of antiquity. If Mithridates learned

[h] Lib. iv. c. 23, 24. [i] iv. 59, &c.

Twenty

Twenty-two tongues, it was not to converſe with his ſubjects, but from his love of learning; and the number is no doubt vaſtly magnified, as uſual in ſuch caſes. Lucian's tale is a riſible and good one; but did Ihre think it a matter of fact? That the Alani, as a ſcattered nation bordering on the Sarmatæ and on the Tartars, had many dialects, we may well believe. So we may that in the kingdom of Pontus, comprizing Galatæ or German Gauls, Aſiatic Scythians, Syrians of Cappadocia, Sarmatians, Colchians, Chaldæi, Greeks; there were three radical languages, the Scythian, Sarmatic, and Aſſyrian, which might well ferment into many dialects. The Scholiaſt of Apollonius ſays nothing of languages, but only ſhews the vaſt extent of the Scythæ.

This point required attention becauſe a diverſity of tongues would have argued the term *Scythæ* an indefinite appellation; and it is believed the reader will now ſee that there is no authority whatever for ſuch an idea. That ſome Scythic words mentioned by the ancients ſhould not now be found in Gothic, is leſs ſurprizing than that ſeveral ſhould, of which inſtances may be found in Ihre, Sheringham, and others. Languages change by time; many words drop into deſuetude, and others ſupply their place. He muſt be a ſanguine antiquary indeed who would expect to find every Scythic word in the remains of the Gothic which we have! It may therefore be reaſonably concluded that, as the Scythæ are a moſt marked and diſtinct people in ancient accounts, ſo they had but one general ſpeech, the Scythic, or Gothic; tho perhaps divided into dialects as different as the Engliſh and German are now.

Let us now proceed to that important queſtion, Whether the Scythians came originally from Scandinavia into Aſia, or from Aſia into Europe?

I. *That the Scythians originated from Scandinavia*, we have *one* authority, that of Jornandes, who wrote about the year 530. Jornandes was himſelf a

Goth[k], but is thought only the abridger of a large hiſtory of the Goths by Caſſiodorus, who was his cotemporary. If this was the caſe, the abridgment muſt be inaccurate, being ſolely from memory after a reading of three days[l]. But it appears from the words of Jornandes, underquoted, that he followed Caſſiodorus, but added ſome things from Greek and Roman writers. However this be, Jornandes puts Scandinavia as the ancient Scythia, from which the Scythians, afterward called Goths, came; for he rightly thro his whole work uſes *Scythæ*, *Getæ*, and *Gothi*, as ſynonymous words. He makes them pour from Scandinavia down to the Euxine; thence into Aſia, which they ſubdue down to Egypt, where they conquer Vexores, as antient writers ſay the Scythæ did about 3660 years before Chriſt. He then gives the hiſtory of the Amazons, or Scythian female warriors; a fable in all probability grounded on real hiſtory, and ariſing from two ſources. 1. That the Scythian women often fought along with their huſbands. 2. That the name of a Scythian nation, *Amazons*, unhappily ſignified in Greek *without breaſts*. After this we find ſome account of the learning of the Scythians or Goths, their manners, &c. and he next paſſes to Maximin the emperor, who was a Thracian

[k] He was an *Alanus*. Ihre, præf. ad Gloſſ. Suio-Goth.

[l] Sed, ut non mentiar, ad triduanam lectionem, diſpenſatoris ejus beneficio, libros ipſos antehac relegi; quorum, quamvis verba non recolo, ſenſum tamen, et res actas, credo me integre tenere: ad quas nonnulla ex hiſtoricis Græcis et Latinis addidi convenientia; initium, finemque, et plura in medio, *mea* dictione permiſcens. *Præf.* For the ſettlement of the Scythæ on the Euxine he quotes old ſongs, and Ablavius, who is thought by Grotius to have written under Conſtantius II. and was certainly a late author. For the Scythæ coming from Scandinavia, he cites no authority; and it was apparently put *mea dictione*, that is, upon his own dreams. Bayer, in *Diſſert. de Cimmeriis* has ridiculed this mock emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia; and juſtly aſks how Ablavius or Jornandes could know any thing of the matter?

Goth;

Goth; the irruption of the Goths in the time of Decius, &c. &c.

Such is the line which Jornandes perſues: and his account of the origin of the Scythæ was blindly followed by Iſidorus, by Beda who calls Scandinavia Scythia, by Paulus Diaconus, by the geographer of Ravenna, and by innumerable others in the dark ages. Nay ſuch an effect may even a very weak writer (for ſuch Jornandes is) have upon literature, that one ſentence of Jornandes has overturned the very baſis of the hiſtory of Europe. This famous ſentence is in his fourth chapter, *Ex hac igitur Scandia inſula, quaſi* OFFICINA GENTIUM, *aut certe velut* VAGINA NATIONUM, *cum rege ſuo nomine Berig Gothi quondam memorantur egreſſi.* Upon this one ſentence have all modern hiſtorians, nay ſuch writers as Monteſquieu, Gibbon, and others of the firſt name, built! Now it can clearly be ſhewn that Scandinavia was down to a late period, nay is at preſent, almoſt over-run with enormous foreſts, where there was no room for population. Adam of Bremen [m], who wrote in the Eleventh century, inſtructs us that even in Denmark, at that time, the ſea coaſts alone were peopled; while the inner parts of the country were one vaſt foreſt. If ſuch was the caſe in Denmark, we may gueſs that in Scandinavia even the ſhores were hardly peopled. Scandinavia is alſo a moſt mountainous region; and, among a barbaric and uninduſtrious people, the mountains are almoſt unpeopled. In fact, the ſole colonies that ever went from Scandinavia were the Piks [n] into Scotland,

[m] Adam Bremen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cap. De Situ Daniæ.

[n] The name is thus ſpelt to avoid the double meaning of the word *Picti*, or *Picts* as we tranſlate it; and in conformity with the origin of the people who were Piki or Peukeni, (ſee Part II.) and the name of their country in Norway, which in the Scandinavian and Icelandic hiſtories, &c. is called *Pika*, pronounced and ſpelt *Vika*, for they have no P, and pronounce P as V. But of this in Part II. and in the *Enquiry into Scotiſh Hiſtory*.

the oppoſite ſhore; the Danes into Denmark: and at the late period the Normans into France; and a few ſmall colonies into Iceland, and the neighbouring iles.

But to diſcredit for ever this dream of Jornandes, who is in fact the ſole authority on that ſide of the queſtion; for other writers down to our times, tho they might be reckoned by hundreds, all ſtand upon his foundation alone; let us proceed to evince beyond a doubt that the Scythians came from Aſia; and that of courſe Scandinavia muſt have been almoſt the laſt point of their population, inſtead of the firſt, or *punctum ſaliens*.

II. *That the Scythians originated from Aſia* can be proved by many authorities, even the leaſt of them ſuperior to that of Jornandes.

1. Trogus Pompeius in the reign of Auguſtus, with ſedulous diligence and great ability, compiled an univerſal hiſtory, afterward in the reign of Antoninus Pius abſtracted by Juſtin, who dedicates his work to that prince. From Trogus, Juſtin[a] tells us that the Scythians contended with the Egyptians, then eſteemed the earlieſt of nations, for antiquity: and that Aſia was conquered by them, and tributary to them, for no leſs a ſpace than Fifteen Hundred years, before Ninus, founder of the Aſſyrian Empire, put an end to the tribute.

The ideas of the ancients concerning this firſt Supreme Empire were, as might be expected, very confuſed. Trogus and Juſtin ſay the Scythians conquered Vexores king of Egypt, fifteen hundred years before the time of Ninus. Iſaac Voſſius, in his notes on Juſtin, wonders that Trogus ſhould ſay the Scythians conquered Seſoſtris; while Herodotus, Dicæarchus, Diodorus Siculus, and others, ſay that Seſoſtris vanquiſhed the Scythæ. Voſſius did not ſee that Seſoſtris was out of all queſtion; and that it is Vexores whom Juſtin bears, as dif-

[a] Hiſt. lib. I. c. 1. lib. II. c. 3.

ferent

ferent a name, and perſon, from Seſoſtris as can well be imagined. Vexores lived about 3660 years before Chriſt: Seſoſtris about 1480! But Voſſius is not the only learned man who, from want of common diſcernment, has even confounded this Firſt Scythic Empire with an eruption of the Scythæ into Aſia, about 1600 years after Ninus; while the Great Scythic Empire was terminated by Ninus after laſting more than 1500 years. In the works of the Lipſii, Scaligeri, Salmaſii, Voſſii, Grotii, one finds every thing but common ſenſe, without which every thing is leſs than nothing. Trogus, who was in civil hiſtory what Pliny was in natural hiſtory, an indefatigable compiler of the whole knowlege that could be found in preceding authors, diſcovered this earlieſt empire, as Time draws truth out of the well. The war of Seſoſtris againſt the Scythæ, about 1480 years before Chriſt, narrated by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, muſt by no means be confounded with events that happened 1500 years before Ninus, as Juſtin ſtates, or 3660 years before Chriſt. From Juſtin it is apparent that the Scythians, fixt and reſident in preſent Perſia, perhaps 2000 years before Ninus, carried on a war againſt Vexores 1500 years before the time of Ninus, and ſubduing the weſt of Aſia made it tributary, till Ninus delivered it by eſtabliſhing the Aſſyrian Empire on the ruins of the Scythian.

In fact, we have good authorities[p] to compare with Trogus, and to confirm that the Firſt Grand Scythian Empire was in preſent Perſia. For that moſt learned Father of the Church, Epiphanius, in his work againſt Hereſies, near the beginning, divides religious error into four great periods. 1. Barbariſm. 2. Scythiſm. 3. Helleniſm, or Grecian

[p] Strabo may alſo be adduced, who, lib. xi. p. 507, ſays, "neither the ancient affairs of the Perſians, Medes, Syrians, nor Scythians, have much credit in hiſtory." The enumeration of empires is here palpably retrograde: the moſt modern being put firſt.

error.

error. 4. Judaiſm. He alſo ſays the Scythians were of thoſe who built the tower of Babel: and his Scythiſm extends from the flood to this later event.

Euſebius, in his Chronicle, p. 13, puts the Scythians as the immediate deſcendants of Noah down to Serug his ſeventh deſcendant; that is, a ſpace of about 400 years, as generations are computed at that period of longevity. This was the Scythian age, the moſt ancient after the flood; the Scythiſm of Epiphanius, for his barbariſm was the period preceding the flood. Euſebius alſo ſays Σκυθισμος απο του κατακλυσμου αχρι του πυργου, 'from the deluge to the building of the tower of Babel Scythiſm prevailed.'

The Chronicon Paſchale, p. 23, makes Barbariſm precede the deluge, then Scythiſm, Helleniſm, Judaiſm, as Epiphanius.

Perhaps it may be thought that theſe eccleſiaſtic authorities prove too much, as they mark the whole immediate deſcendents of Noah as Scythians; and of courſe might prove all the nations of the globe Scythians, as by Scripture account they all ſprung from Noah. But it is the line of Shem down to Serug, and not of Ham or Japhet, who are marked as Scythians; and Shem was reputed the father of Aſia, as Ham of Africa, and Japhet of Europe. The flood is now generally reputed a local event; but accept theſe authorities any way, and they ſhew that the Scythians originated in Aſia. The coincidence of theſe writers with Trogus is fixt, and ſtrong. Ninus is reputed the founder of the tower of Babel; which was followed by the diſperſion of mankind. He was the founder of the Aſſyrian empire whoſe capital was Babylon, and the diſperſion of the Scythians followed. Of the race of Ham, by ſcripture account, was Nimrod thought Ninus, and Aſhur thought father of the Aſſyrians, to which race alſo belong the fathers of nations along the eaſt end of the Mediterranean, the Arabic gulf or Red ſea,

ſea, and thro all Arabia. Certain it is that the Arabic is a dialect of the Grand Aſſyrian language, as are the Syrian, Phœnician, Hebrew, Chaldee, Coptic, Abyſſinian, &c. all ſiſter dialects; and the Aſſyrians, who overturned the Scythian empire, formed one great language or race of men, extending along the eaſt end of the Mediterranean and Arabian ſeas, to the Erythræan ſea, gulf of Perſia, and river Euphrates. From them the Egyptians and White Ethiopians muſt alſo have ſprung, as their language and ſituation declare.

From theſe ſmaller lights, compared with Trogus or Juſtin, it will appear as evident as ſo very remote an event can well be, that the Scythian Empire was the firſt of which any memory has reached us. And it is a plauſible opinion, adopted by late mythologiſts, that Saturn, Jupiter, Bacchus, &c. were monarchs of this firſt empire, whoſe glorious actions procured them divine honours from their ſubjects after their death. This empire was perfectly barbaric, and the ſeat of war, not of arts. All nations, ſave the Egyptians, were then paſtoral; and the Scythians, as deſcribed by Herodotus, on the Euxine were certainly more advanced in ſociety than when holding the empire of Aſia; for agriculture was then known to one or two nations of them [q], which there is no room to think they knew at all in their firſt empire. This wandering ſtate of paſtoral ſociety will at once account for ſo many of the Scythæ leaving their dominions, on the Aſſyrian conqueſt, that eaſtern tradition reported the diſperſion of men to have followed that event. But no doubt vaſt numbers ſtill remained in Perſia, and ſubmitted to their new lords. Herodotus, Diodorus, only mention

[q] Horace deſcribes them as Tacitus does the Germans;

Campeſtres melius Scythæ,
(Quorum plauſtra vagas rite trahunt domos)
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ;
Immetata quibus jugera, liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt;
Nec cultura placet longior annua. *Ode* 24, lib. III.

the

the Scythæ *Nomades* of the north of Perſia to have paſt the Araxes; and the Scythæ in the ſouth remained, and were ever known by the name of Perſians, as at this day.

It may be aſked how the memory of this vaſt empire eſcaped Herodotus, and yet was preſerved by later writers? But we muſt reflect that it is always time that diſcovers the truth: that Herodotus might not be verſed in the eaſtern languages or hiſtory: and that Homer himſelf ſays not a word of Ninus, Babylon, or the Aſſyrian empire, nor of the Median. Many of the moſt important facts in ancient hiſtory were recovered after the time of Herodotus, by writers who lived in the countries where they happened. Nor let it be imagined that what Herodotus ſays, *lib.* IV. *c.* 5. with regard to the Scythians, their boaſting of being the neweſt of nations, and not exiſting above a thouſand years before Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, be conſidered as evidence againſt the exiſtence of the Scythian empire. For not to mention the well-known fabulous diſpoſition of Herodotus, whoſe work has been rightly called the ſhade between poetry and hiſtory; and who, from his love of the marvellous and new, might aſcribe this idea to the Scythians; we may well reconcile his authority with that of other ancients, by ſaying that the Scythians, tho the moſt ancient people of which hiſtory preſerves remembrance, were yet new in the ſeats they held in the time of Herodotus, who ſpeaks eſpecially of the Scythæ on the weſt of the Euxine. Becauſe, after being expelled by Ninus, ſome centuries muſt have paſt before they came to the weſt of the Euxine and down to the Danube, where Herodotus finds the Scythæ he dwelt on; and between Ninus and Darius about 1800 years occur.

2. Herodotus himſelf is a ſufficient witneſs that the Scythians did not originate from Scandinavia, but from preſent Perſia. For he tells us, book IV. ch. 11.

ch. 11. that they paſſed the Araxes, and entered the Boſphorus Cimmerius. The Araxes, it is well known, is a large river of Armenia, running into the Caſpian ſea. Herodotus IV. 40. mentions 'the Caſpian ſea, and the Araxes running to the eaſt.' Hence it is clear that, even by the account of Herodotus himſelf, the Scythians paſſed up from Perſia to the Euxine. He therefore affords a collateral proof of the exiſtence of the firſt Scythian empire, by making his later Scythians aſcend from the country where other ancients place it; and at the ſame time is an abſolute witneſs that the Scythæ could not come from Scandinavia, ſeeing their courſe was in direct oppoſition, proceeding from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, inſtead of the contrary.

3. Diodorus Siculus confirms the account of Herodotus, telling us, *lib.* II. *p.* 155, that the Scythian Nomades were at firſt a ſmall nation on the Araxes, whence they ſpred to Caucaſus, and the Palus Mæotis. He alſo greatly ſtrengthens the narrative of Trogus; tho he confounds the firſt empire of the Scythæ with their later invaſion, and aſcribes to this late invaſion a protracted empire, and many great kings; in which he contradicts the beſt and earlieſt writers. And had not Juſtin, Epiphanius, Euſebius, and the Chronicon Paſchale, remained, we might to this hour confound two vaſt events, the invaſion of Egypt by the Scythæ from their original ſeats 3660 years before Chriſt, and their later invaſion 640 years before Chriſt; ſo uncertain is traditional chronology!

As brevity is much ſtudied in this diſſertation, and every reader will at once allow any one of the above authorities ſufficient to overturn that of Jornandes; i ſhall not inſiſt further, but ſum up this article by obſerving, 1. That we have ſufficient authorities, direct and collateral, for the Scythian empire in preſent Perſia being the firſt

in

in the world; the Aſſyrian, generally reputed the firſt, only ſucceeding it. And it is believed no man will be ſo much the dupe of hypotheſis as to ſuppoſe that the Scythians aſcended from Scandinavia, and dropped down in the plains of Babylon, or in oppoſition to Epiphanius, Euſebius, and the Chronicon Paſchale, to aſſert that even thoſe firſt Scythæ were of Scandinavia; or, in other words, that Noah and the firſt reputed inhabitants of the earth came from Scandinavia. 2. That Herodotus, Diodorus, and indeed all writers who have occaſion to mention the ſubject, down to the Sixth century, when Jornandes the firſt monaſtic hiſtorian wrote, and darkneſs, error, and ignorance, ſurrounded the world, are in direct oppoſition to Jornandes. Theſe early writers of enlightened times uniformly make the Scythæ paſs, from the ſouth of Aſia, up in a North Weſt direction, till they ſpred over all Europe: and to oppoſe the ſingle teſtimony of Jornandes to ſuch authorities would be abſurd beyond all abſurdity. Grotius, who maintains it, from a ſilly wiſh of honouring Sweden, has been forced totally to garble and alter it, by bringing thoſe Goths from Scandinavia about 300 years before Chriſt, whom Jornandes brings thence about 4000 years before Chriſt. But this hypotheſis is contradictory to all ancient accounts, as has been, and ſhall be ſhewn, in the courſe of this tract; and deſerves laughter, not refutation. Grotius is no authority at all; it is Jornandes who, from his antiquity, merits confutation from other authors yet more ancient and far better informed. Indeed ſimply to aſk by what ſpecial miracle Jornandes diſcovered a matter not only unknown to, but contradictory of, all the ancients, would be full confutation in ſuch a caſe. He lived in no Auguſtan age when ſcience was at its height; but in all the darkneſs of ignorance: and would not have even merited confutation, had he not miſled ſo many.

It

It is therefore Hiſtoric Truth, that the Scythians, otherwiſe called Goths, came from preſent Perſia into Europe by a North Weſt progreſs: and that Scandinavia, inſtead of being the country whence they ſprung, muſt in fact have been almoſt the laſt that received them.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

The real origin, and firſt progreſs, of the Scythians or Goths: and their Eaſtern Settlements.

WE have already ſeen that the Scythian Empire, in preſent Perſia, is the moſt ancient of which hiſtory has preſerved any memorial. This very curious ſubject ſhall not be here enlarged on, but is left to ſome future Hiſtorian of the Scythians. This empire ſeems to have extended from Egypt to the Ganges; and from the Perſian gulf, and Indian ſea, to the Caſpian. The conqueſts of Bacchus, reputed a king of this Scythian dominion, in India, are famous in antiquity: he introduced the vine, or the uſe of wine, into his dominions, and was deified as the god of wine by his ſubjects. The bacchanalian feaſts of the Thracians, and other Scythæ, are noted by claſſic authors; and from the Thracians they are mentioned to have paſt to the Greeks. The wine of barley, ale, ſupplied the want of the grape; and Bacchus retained his honours. But, to enter more certain ground, the real Scythians of this original empire ſeem to have been bounded by the Euphrates on the weſt, and the Indus on the eaſt. The Arabians, Syrians, &c. were certainly not Scythæ. We find Indo-Scythæ on the Indus, and other remains on the Erythræan ſea: but none beyond the Indo-Scythæ. On the north the original Scythæ extended to the Caſpian. Due knowlege of this empire would remove thoſe embarraſſments

barraſſments which the learned have fallen into, from ancient accounts of the wars between the Scythæ and Egyptians, while Scythia on the Euxine is ſo remote from Egypt. Moſt of the ancient authors only knowing Scythia on the Euxine, as the early ſeat of the Scythæ, have miſrepreſented ſome of thoſe wars as carried on at ſuch prodigious diſtance, while the firſt Scythian empire really bordered on the Egyptian kingdom.

It has been ſhewn above that eccleſiaſtic authors of chief account even regarded the Scythians as the very firſt inhabitants of the eaſt after the deluge. If any reader inclines to look upon the deluge as fabulous[a], or as at moſt a local event, and deſires to learn whence the Scythians came to preſent Perſia, he need not be told that it is impoſſible to anſwer him. With their reſidence in Perſia commences the fainteſt dawn of hiſtory: beyond, altho the period may amount to myriads of ages, there is nothing but profound darkneſs. It is a ſelf-evident propoſition, that the author of nature, as he formed great varieties in the ſame ſpecies of plants, and of animals, ſo he alſo gave various races of men as inhabitants of ſeveral countries. A Tartar, a Negro, an American, &c. &c. differ as much from a German, as a bull-dog, or lap-dog, or ſhepherd's cur, from a pointer. The differences are radical; and ſuch as no climate or chance could

[a] The lateſt and beſt Natural Philoſophers pronounce the flood impoſſible; and their reaſons, grounded on mathematical truth and the immutable laws of nature, have my full aſſent. The Jews believed the earth a vaſt plain, and that the rain came from a collection of waters *above* the firmament, (*Geneſ.* I. 7.) as the earth floated on another maſs of waters; (*Gen.* VII. 11.) both of which were opened at the deluge. As ſuch waters are now mathematically known not to exiſt; and the earth is found ſpherical; the effect muſt ceaſe with the cauſe. M. de Buffon has ſhewn that all the earth was at firſt under ſea. And the opinion of a deluge, which Grotius (*De Verit. Rel. Chriſt.*) ſhews to have been common to moſt nations, certainly aroſe from the ſhells found even on the tops of mountains.

produce: and it may be expected that as ſcience advances, able writers will give us a complete ſyſtem of the many different races of men.

The Firſt Progreſs of the Scythians was, as above ſhewn from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients, out of the north of preſent Perſia, over the river Araxes, and the vaſt mountains of Caucaſus, which run between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas. And their firſt grand ſettlement, after this emigration, was upon the eaſt, north, and weſt, of the Euxine, in the tract deſcribed as Ancient Scythia by Herodotus and many others; and which, including the northern half of the Euxine, formed, as Herodotus repreſents, almoſt a ſquare. A part of the Cimmerii, or ancient Celtic inhabitants of all Germany and up to the Euxine, naturally fortified in a corner of the Tauric Cherſoneſe, by ſurrounding waters, long withſtood the Scythians, or were neglected by them; and were not expelled till about 640 years before Chriſt, when paſſing the Cimmerian Boſphorus, they made their way into Aſia over the mountains of Caucaſus. The Scythians purſued them, and again conquered great part of Aſia, but retained it only for about thirty years [b]. This later expedition, ſome ancients have confounded with the firſt Scythic empire.

But, if we except this ſmall corner of the Tauric Cherſoneſe, the Scythians may be regarded as poſſeſt of all ancient Scythia, at leaſt two thouſand years before Chriſt. Expelled from northern Perſia by Ninus, about 2200 years before our æra, they could not take more than two centuries to cover ancient Scythia, if their numbers did not fill it at firſt. This will further appear from the progreſs

[b] Herodot. lib. I. and IV. Diod. Sic. lib. II. &c. It is remarkable that the ſmall kingdom of the *Boſphorus* long maintained itſelf in the ſame natural fortification. See a map of the Boſphorus Cimmerius in Peyſonel.

of

of the Scythæ, detailed in the reſt of this diſſertation.

From Scythia on the Euxine, which, with the antients, let us call Antient Scythia, as being the Parent Country of the European Scythians, the Scythæ gradually extended to the Eaſt, around the northern ſhores of the Caſpian. Dionyſius, the geographer, v. 798, and other ancients, inſtruct us that the regions, between the Euxine and Caſpian, were all peopled by Scythæ. *Pontus*[c], *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, were of the Scythic ſettlements. The Iberi here had, as plain ſenſe might dictate, nothing in common with the Iberi of Spain, but the name; tho Strabo, i. 61. xv. 687, ſays they came from Spain, and Abydenus[d] fabled that Nebuchadnezzar, having ſubdued Afric and Spain, brought theſe Iberi from Spain. Appian[e] tells us, in direct terms, that their language, manners, &c. were totally different. They had indeed no more connection than the Albani here with the

Albanique patres, et altæ mœnia Romæ,

with Albania, the mountainous weſtern part of Macedon, or with the Albani or Highlanders of Scotland. Such coinciding names are mere falls of letters; and he, who builds any hypotheſis on them, as M. de Buat, and others, have done, ſhould be taught to ſtudy the etymology of Hellebore. But etymology, and ſingle words, and names, have converted the literature of the eighteenth century into a tiſſue of viſions; and we daily ſee hiſtory built upon what no man of ſound mind would even

[c] Colchis received a colony of Egyptians about 1480 years before Chriſt; and Herodotus tells us, that the ſpeech and manners of the Colchians were Egyptian. The gold mines of Colchis no doubt attracted the Egyptians, as they had done the Argonauts. They are ſtill very rich. See Peyſonel, p. 69.

[d] Apud. Euſeb. præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 41.

[e] In Ibericis, *i. e.* Hiſpanicis, *init.*

build a fable. Solinus, c. 20, says, the Albani of Asiatic Scythia have white hair, blue eyes, and see better by night than by day. See also Pliny, VII. 2. Aul. Gell. ix. 4. Between the mouths of the Tanais and Rha were the *Alani*, a Scythic people, celebrated in the *Alanica* of Arrian, and *Toxaris* of Lucian, who were generally leagued with the Ostrogoths, and in time came to have settlements in Gaul and Spain. On the north of the Caspian, as appears from Herodotus, who did not, like Strabo, take the Caspian for a gulf of the Northern Ocean, were the MASSAGETÆ, a great and renowned nation, whose queen Thomyris slew Cyrus, and destroyed his army. The Massagetæ extended to the east of the Caspian; and they and the SACÆ were the *Scythæ intra Imaum*, which Ptolemy begins from the Rha or Wolga on the west; as the *Chatæ*, and fabulous *Arimaspi*, belonged to *Scythia extra Imaum*, which Ptolemy marks as a very narrow tract, and it certainly did not reach above two hundred miles to the east of the Caspian. We learn from Diodorus Siculus, *lib.* ii. *c.* 43. that the Scythians coming over the Araxes, and mountains of Caucasus, to the Palus Mæotis, from thence, after some time, extended their conquests and settlements beyond the Tanais; and that from them the Massagetæ, Sacæ, Arimaspi, and several other nations sprung. The *Bactriani*, Justin says, were Scythæ[s]. That the *Sogdiani*, between the Massagetæ to the north, and Bactriani to the South, were Scythæ, is clear from Strabo, and the description of their manners given us by Curtius,

[s] Lib. II. c. 1. 3. he adds the Parthi; but that the Parthians were Sarmatæ is clear from the other ancients, and especially from their long and loose dress mentioned by Tacitus, Herodian, &c. The Sarmatæ had indeed been called Scythæ by some of the ancients. That the Medes were Sarmatæ, we know positively from Solinus: but some others have foolishly called the Sarmatæ Medes, as if a large barbaric nation could spring from a small refined one!

lib.

lib. vii. *c.* 8. Strabo XI. 511. says the Bactriani were Sacæ; and it would seem that the Sogdiani also were. Sacæ was indeed a general name given to the Scythæ by the Persians as Herodotus tells. The Bactriani were old Scythæ, who extended so far during the Scythic Empire in Persia, for Ninus made war on them: *Dioder.* ii. *Justin* i. The Alani, who bordered on the Massagetæ on the west, are also called Massagetæ by one or two late Latin writers. The *Hyrcani* were also Scythæ; and the *Dahæ*, Δαοι, Σκυθικον εθνος, Steph. Byz. and Pliny IV. 17. The *Margiani* were of the Massagetæ, as Ptolemy shews, who places Massagetæ in Margiana: and Dionysius, the geographer, v. 740. and Eratosthenes, in Strabo, *lib.* ii. extend some Massagetæ into Bactriana. Indeed Strabo mentions, that SACÆ and MASSAGETÆ were general names for the Asiatic Scythæ on the east of the Caspian; and Herodotus and Pliny say that the Persians called those Scythæ by the general name of Sacæ. The Sacæ also made later incursions into Hyrcania, and so far as Armenia, where Sacapene, a district, was called by their name: Ptolemy; Strabo *lib.* ii. *Sacæ* and *Massagetæ*, among the Persians, seem equivalent to *Scythæ* and *Getæ*, among the Greeks. A region at the fountains of Oxus and Jaxartes is still called *Sakita*, from the Sacæ; and the Scythia *extra Imaum* was called *Gete* and it's people *Getes*, in the time of Tamerlane, as appears from his life, written in Persian. See M. de Anville's Memoir on the Getæ in those of the Academy, *Tome* XXV. and on the mountains of Gog and Magog (which to me seem those of Imaus), *Tome* XXXII.

My purpose forbids my dwelling on these eastern Scythæ. The ancient and modern Persians certainly were, and are Scythæ, who remained in the southern parts, when the Scythæ Nomades of the north passed the Araxes to enjoy that freedom in other regions which they could not retain under

the Aſſyrian power; for northern nations have always been fond of liberty while the ſouthern preferred the delights and eaſe of their climate. The Aſſyrian empire followed the Scythian 2200 years before Chriſt; the Median ſucceeded to the Aſſyrian, 860 years before Chriſt; the Perſian commenced 530 years before our æra. The Parthian kingdom began 248 years before Chriſt. Ardſhir, or Artaxerxes, reſtored the Perſian 210 years after Chriſt, which laſted till the invaſion of the Arabs in 636; the Perſian line was reſtored in the Tenth century; but the people remained, and remain much the ſame. The Perſians, who refounded the empire, 530 years before our æra, ſeem to have been the old Scythæ of Perſia, ſtrengthened by acceſſions of the Indo-Scythæ, and from the Scythian territories on the eaſt of the Caſpian[f]. The Aſſyrians formed one great language, or race of men, as above mentioned. The Medes, we know, from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Solinus, and others, were Sarmatæ, who had pierced thro the Scythians, and paſſed the Caucaſus by the Sarmaticæ Pylæ, into Media. The Parthians were alſo Sarmatæ, as appears from Tacitus[g], and others. They had followed the ſame tract with the Medes, eaſily making way thro

[f] Perſæ qui ſunt originitus Scythæ. *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxxi. and Tertullian *de Pallio*, c. 2. The preſent Perſian, tho mixt with ſome Arabic, is actually a dialect of the Gothic, as Scaliger, Lipſius, Boxhorn, and our Burton, whoſe book was re-printed at Lubec, 1720, have ſhewn. It has auxiliary verbs, and other radical marks of its Gothic origin, unknown to other Eaſtern tongues, beſides a verbage moſtly Gothic, the *Farſi* is meant; the *Pehlavi* which was ſpoken in Media and Parthia, was ſurely Sarmatic; but has been long ſince diſcouraged and loſt. See Richardſon's Diſſertation prefixed to his Perſian and Arabic Dictionary, who however, as well as the moſt learned Jones, forgets the ſimilarity of the Perſian and Gothic.

[g] Veſte deſtinguuntur non fluitante, *ſicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi.* Tac. in Germania. The Perſian *braccæ*, or *breeches*, are mentioned by Ovid. *in Triſt.* thoſe of the Sacæ, by Herod. lib. vii. 64. ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνδεδυκόσας.

totally

the Alani, and other Scythic nations, who were ſcattered around the mountains of Caucaſus.

Procopius, who wrote about 530, is ſo ignorant, as above ſhewn, as to call the Maſſagetæ Huns, becauſe the Huns had ſeized on the lands of the Maſſagetæ, and from that quarter poured into the empire. But when Herodotus wrote, and down to the Chriſtian æra, as is clear from M. de Guignes, the Huns were on the north of China. When they appeared in the weſt, Jornandes well marks the prodigious difference between them and the Scythæ; the ſame as that between a German and a Tartar. The famous SCYTHIA INTRA ET EXTRA IMAUM was, if compared to Tartary, as a drop in the ocean. Geographers preceding this century, not knowing the ſhape of the Caſpian, have erred prodigiouſly; but none more than Cluverius, a moſt inaccurate writer. Ptolemy's longitudes of Aſia, now proved to be falſe to exceſs, have alſo miſled. M. D'Anville ſhews, that the mouth of the Ganges, placed by Ptolemy in 148 degrees, has, by actual obſervation, been found to have but 108! Another place he gives 177°, which really bears 118°! an error of fifty-nine degrees or about 3000 miles! Strahlenberg obſerves, that Ptolemy gives a place in the extremity of Serica a latitude extending to the borders of China, which, in fact, is but a hundred and twenty miles eaſt of the Caſpian ſea! Ptolemy's Seres, which he places beyond *Scythia extra Imaum*, were in the eaſt of preſent Bucharia*. Theſe inland parts were,

* The SERES were a Grand Race of men, now thoſe of Tibett, Siam, &c. uſing a peculiar language. Ptolemy's Serica is as large as both Scythias *intra et extra Imaum*. See a deſcription of Bucharia in that intereſting work, which opens as it were a new world to our eyes, *Ruſſia*, by Mr. Tooke, 4 vols. 8*vo*. London, 1780.

It is remarkable that in Scythia *intra et extra Imaum* were *Chatæ* (Catti) *Saſones* (Saxones) *Sybi* (Suevi) *Tectoſages* (Tectoſages) *Iotæ* (Iutes) a town *Menapia*, all coinciding with German names, and which could only ſpring from identic language. But nothing is founded on this.

totally unknown to the ancients, while from the merchants they knew the coaſts to Cochin China, which M. D'Anville [h] ſhews to be the ſeat of the ancient Sinæ. We know little about them even at preſent, tho much indebted to Strahlenberg's map [i] and other works of this century. The Tartars were abſolutely unknown to the ancients till the Huns appeared: and they expreſs the greateſt ſurprize at ſuch new features of human nature. The Scythians were neither Tartars, nor of Tartaric origin, as ſome late writers imagine; who, aſtoniſhed at the vaſt extent of Tartary, and forgetting how thinly that extent is peopled, make Tartary the ſtorehouſe of nations, as if the author of nature had peopled the world from the moſt deſert part of it! Even the Chineſe and Japaneſe are not Tartars, as their language and hiſtory declare: the former are infallibly a Grand Aboriginal nation, and the later a colony of them [k]. The Eaſt Indians are not Tartars, but a race and language of men by themſelves. The Perſians are another. The Arabs another. The Turks are a mixture of a few Tartars, with numbers of Arabs, Greeks, Syrians, &c. Some writers obſerve a difference between the Southern and Northern Tartars. This riſes ſolely from the former remaining unmixed, while the later are intermingled with the inhabitants of all the kingdoms they con-

[h] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcr. Tome xxxii.

[i] In his deſcription of Siberia, a prolix and weak work, of which a tranſlation appeared at London, 1738, 4to.

[k] M. de Guignes attempts to ſhew (*Mem. des Inſcr.* Tome xxix.) that the Chineſe are an Egyptian colony. It ſeems certain that the old Egyptian letters and the Chineſe are of the ſame innumerable kind, and originally hieroglyphic. But we are not to believe that what one nation has invented may not be invented by another, in a ſimilar ſtate of ſociety; and no two countries can have more reſemblance as to agriculture, &c. than thoſe of the old Egyptians, and the Chineſe. But their languages and features ſhew them quite diſtinct nations: not to mention their religious opinions, buildings, &c.

quered.

quered. For in agricultural and industrious regions, the lords change, but the inhabitants remain. The Chinese are the same people, tho often subdued, and ruled by Tartars; and in all the above Scythic settlements, as the Huns came not in upon them till the fourth century, there is every reason to conclude that the inhabitants, then far advanced in society, remained in their possessions. The Goths, who came into the Roman empire, are counted by thousands; those who remained may be reckoned by millions. The Ostrogoths and Alani, in particular, formed a league with the Huns, and joined them in arms; and their territories certainly remained unmolested. Busbequius, and others, shew that the peasants of Crim Tartary still speak the Gothic.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

The Weſtern Settlements of the Scythians or Goths between the Euxine and Mediterranean ſeas.

FROM their ſettlements on the Euxine, the Scythians, Getæ, or Goths, gradually extended over moſt of Europe; and the Greeks and Romans were, as ſhall be preſently ſhewn, certainly Scythians, tho refined by adventitious circumſtances. The ſtation, whence the innumerable and vaſt Scythic ſwarms advanced, is now Little Tartary, formerly called Ancient, or Little, Scythia.[a] It's

[a] See a deſcription and maps of this fertile and populous country in Peyſonnel. In the Lower Empire there was an *Epiſcopus Scythiæ*, and an *Epiſcopus Gothiæ*: the former was of Scythia Pontica, whoſe capital was Tomi: the latter ſeems to have been of Crim Tartary. See Chryſoſt. *Epiſt.* 44, *ad Olympiad.* Oroſius ſays 'Alania eſt in medio; Dacia 'ubi et Gothia; deinde Germania,' *lib.* I. c. 2. ſo alſo Æthicus. Ammian. Marc. *lib.* 30. 'metus totius Gothiæ Thracias 'perrumpentis;' in all which paſſages Gothia is Getia. When Rubruquis was ſent to the Chan of the Mogols by St. Louis, and traverſed Crim Tartary, in 1253, he found Goths ſpeaking the Gothic tongue approaching to the German. *Collection de Gerberon*, p. 9. 8*vo.* Barbaro in 1440, (*Ramuſi*, vol. II). and Matthias de Michou 1521, (*Geſner, in Mithrid.*) witneſs their obſerving the ſame. Grotius ſays, 'Et quid mireris ſunt nunc quoque ad eandem Mæotim iidem Gotthi; et, ut mores linguamque, ſic et nomen per tot ſæcula retinent. Quanquam enim Buſbequius, qui in illis locis non fuit, dubitat Gotthi ſint an Saxones, certos nos fecit is qui in illis vixit regionibus, Joſaphat Barbarus, nobilis Venetus; et Gotthos ipſos a ſemet dici, et terram vocari Gotthiam. Is *Capitaneatus Gothiæ* dicitur in publicis monumentis tabularii Genuenſis teſte Petro Baptiſto Burgo.' *Præfat. ad Hiſtoric. Goth.* Nay the *Oriens Chriſtianus* gives the ſubſcription of a biſhop in 1721, *Metropolita Gothiæ et Caphæ.* Caffa is in the Crimea, which was long held by the Genoeſe. *Crim* is *Cimmerius* ſhortened: the town *Cimmerium* is called *Eſki Crim*, or Old Crim, by the Tartars.

maritime

maritime ſituation, encircling the ſea, had, no doubt, advantages as to population. For it is well known, that ſea coaſts teem with progeny, owing to the inhabitants living on fiſh, a food at once ſalacious and prolific; whence they, who love to moralize ancient fables, may well illuſtrate the birth of Venus herſelf from the ſea. The Greeks, accuſtomed to a hot climate, regarded Ancient Scythia as very cold, for ſuch ideas are comparative; an African regarding Italy as cold, an Italian France, a Frenchman Britain, a Briton Iceland. But plain reaſon dictates, that this country, from it's ſituation, muſt be bleſt with a temperate climate; and it's amazing vegetation, at preſent, declares this. Countries beyond the Sixtieth degree of latitude, in any part of the globe, are almoſt deſert; nor can population thrive in ſuch extreme cold. Ancient Scythia, lying between the Fortieth and Fiftieth degree, is in that happy temperature, between heat and cold, where philoſophy, and actual obſervation, evince, that population is greateſt. Poland, a country bordering on Ancient Scythia, is the moſt populous in Europe for it's ſize; and, were it not for a tyrannic government, and total depreſſion of the people, would be twice as populous. Far the greateſt part of Scandinavia lies beyond the Sixtieth degree; and is, from real, and not comparative, cold, almoſt deſert: and all Iceland, tho nearly equal to Great Britain in ſize, only contains about forty thouſand people; while Poland, a country little larger, has fifteen millions. This difference between the comparative cold aſcribed by the dweller of a hot climate, to a temperate one, and that real cold which checks all vegetation and life, has been little attended to by modern writers; to whom a region which, to a Greek or Roman[b],

[b] Propertius calls the Getæ *wintry*:

Hibernique Getæ; piſtoque Britannia curru.

ſeemed

ſeemed cold, would, in fact, prove warm, compared with Britain or France. We read of battles on the ice of the Danube in Roman times; but that prodigious river was then ſurrounded with enormous foreſts, which ſhaded and chilled all around. It is believed alſo, that Ovid is the ſole witneſs of ſuch battles, and we muſt not take poetic exaggeration for ſolid truth; eſpecially, ſeeing the poet wiſhed to repreſent the country in the moſt dreadful colours, that he might, if poſſible, procure a mitigation of his baniſhment. In England the Thames is often frozen, and yet that country is one of the moſt fertile and populous in the world. Let us not therefore ſhiver at Greek and Roman deſcriptions of Thracian and of Scythian cold. Dionyſius, the Geographer, gives us, v. 666, to v. 679. of his Periegeſis, a dreadful deſcription of the coldneſs, and ſtorms, of Ancient Scythia. "Where Tanais," ſays he, "rolls over the Scythian fields, the North Wind rages, and condenſes the ice. Unhappy they who build their huts around! For perpetual to them is ſnow, with the froſty gale. The horſes, mules, and ſheep, die before the piercing wind. Nor do men bear the blaſt unhurt; but fly on their cars to another region; leaving the land to the wintry winds, which, ruſhing with horrid uproar, ſhake the fields, and pine hills." This poetic account of the cold, in the northern parts of Ancient Scythia, is merely comparative, between it, and Greece; and a Britiſh poet would, perhaps, as much exaggerate the heat of that country. The temperature was ſingularly adapted to population; and, perhaps, as ſome kinds of animals are infinitely more prolific than others, ſo alſo may certain races of men, as the Scythæ, or Goths, undoubtedly were. This ancient Scythia was the real fountain of almoſt all European nations; and was ſo eſteemed by the ancients, till the dreams of Jornandes, in a benighted age, aſcribed to a country which,

which, by facts and philoſophy, ever has been, and is now, very thinly peopled, honours which belonged to quite another clime.

If we place the reign of Ninus, as Chronologers do, about 2200 years before Chriſt, we may ſuppoſe the Scythians, who retired from his power, to have been ſettled in Little or Ancient Scythia, extending down the ſhores of the Euxine, to the mouth of the Danube, about 2000 years before Chriſt. Europe at that time, ſeems to have been thinly inhabited by a few wandering Celts, who were to the Scythæ, what the ſavages of America are to the Europeans. The Sarmatæ appear not then to have emerged from Aſia, that mother of nations, wiſdom, and arts; for the Scythæ far preceded the Sarmatæ in their progreſs. The Celts, from the Euxine to the Baltic, were called *Cimmerii*, a name noted in Grecian hiſtory and fable; and from their antiquity ſo obſcure that a Cimmerian darkneſs dwells upon them. From the ancients we learn to a certainty, that they were the ſame people with the Cimbri; and that they extended from the Boſphorus Cimmerius, on the Euxine, to the Cimbric Cherſoneſe of Denmark, and to the Rhine. Poſidonius, *apud. Strab. lib.* viii. informs us, that the Cimmerii were the ſame with the Cimbri; and that they had extended from the Weſtern, or German, ocean, to the Euxine. Which account is confirmed, in both points, by Plutarch *in Mario*. Diodorus Siculus, *lib.* ii. ſays the Cimbri were eſteemed the ſame people with the Cimmerii. Herodotus IV. 12. ſays, that when the Cimmerii on the Danube had heard of the entrance of the Scythæ into Europe, they were in great conſternation: and it is clear from his accounts, that the Cimbri were the ancient poſſeſſors of Germany. Claudian calls the ocean, oppoſite the Rhine, the Cimbric:

——— ——— Te Cimbrica Tethys
Diviſum biſido conſumit, Rhene, meatu.

On

On the north they ſeem to have reached the eaſt of the Baltic, if the word *Celticæ* be not ſlipt from the margin of ſome copy of Pliny into the text, *promontorium* Celticæ *Lytarmis*, which he places at the northern extremity of the Riphæan mountains[c]. Mela and Solinus[d] mention Cimmerii in the furtheſt north on that direction, and no doubt from ancient Greek authors. In Greece the writers were ſo fond of repreſenting the people as *autochthones*, that no inhabitants preceding the Pelaſgi, or oldeſt Greeks, who were Scythæ, as ſhall preſently be ſhewn, can be traced. Italy lay in the way of the Gallic Celts, or Celts proper; not of the German Celts, or Cimmerii. Ephorus, Pliny, and Silius Italicus, mention a town of Cimmerii in Campania of Italy[e]; but, Cellarius[f] juſtly obſerves that this is a mere fable, founded on Homer Odyſ. XI. at the beginning, where Odyſſes, or Ulyſſes, is ſaid to have ſailed from Circe's abode, to the land of the Cimmerii in one day. Let me add that this day was a day of Circe's magic, and to magic every thing is poſſible; for Homer repreſents Odyſſes as having reached the very extremity of the ocean in that day. During that magic day, he viſited Portugal, as the ancients ſay[g], and touched at Caledonia[h], then

[c] Hiſt. Nat. VI. 13.

[d] Mela I. 2. Solin. cap. 21.

[e] Ephor. ap. Strabon. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. in Italia. Sius Ital. XII. 131.

[f] Geograph. Antiq. Tom. I. in Campania.

[g] Ulyſſippo, or Liſbon, is by Solinus, and many other ancients, ſaid to have been founded by Ulyſſes.

[h] Tacitus *in Germania* mentions the tradition that Ulyſſes had viſited the weſt of Germany, and built Aſciburg on the Rhine; and a Northern antiquary has hence dreamed that Ulyſſes was Odin. Solinus, cap. 25. ſays Ulyſſes had been in Caledonia the north of Britain, *in quo receſſu Ulyſſem Caledoniæ appulſum manifeſtat ara Græcis litteris inſcripta voto.* If we truſt the deſcription of Procopius, Scotland was the real infernal region of the ancients, to which the ſouls of the dead paſſed

then paſſed to the oppoſite ſhore of Germany, the real land of the Cimmerii, where he deſcended to the infernal ſhades. The time he took to return is not ſpecified; but we may infer it to be equally magical. That the Cimmerii were the ſame with the Cimbri, the name and ſituation might inſtruct us, were we not poſitively informed of this by the ancients. That the Cimmerii, or Cimbri, were Celts, is as certain as ſo very remote and obſcure a ſubject will bear: for, 1. Upon the firſt appearance of the Cimmerii in Homer, we find them placed in thoſe very extreme weſtern regions, where other ancients place the Celts[i]. 2. Upon their firſt appearance in Herodotus, and Greek hiſtory, we find the Scythæ made war upon them, when they entered Europe; ſo that the Cimmerii were not Scythæ, but original inhabitants of Germany; nor were they Sarmatæ, as all know, ſo muſt be Celtæ, the only other people known to the ancients in theſe parts. 3. Pliny mentions Lytarmis, a promontory of Celtica, on the eaſt of the Baltic; and Mela and Solinus place a remnant of Cimmerii in that direction; hence it ſeems clear that they were the Celts who gave name to the promontory. 4. Appian is a witneſs that the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, were Celts; for *lib.* i. *de bello civ.* *p.* 625, he ſays, Ὁ μεν Απουληιος νομον εξεφερε

paſſed in Charon's boat from the oppoſite ſhore of Germany; and where of courſe Ulyſſes muſt have gone to converſe with them. Plutarch *De Defect. Orac.* ſhews, that Elyſium was in Britain: or in the Orkneys, as Mr. D'Hancarville ſuppoſes. I have not examined if Homer's deſcription of the Elyſian Fields fits Scotland; but leave this to ſome Scotiſh Rudbeck.

[i] Odyſ. XI. The ideas received by Blackwell and others concerning Homer's weſtern geography are quite erroneous. The Phœnicians had ſailed beyond the Straits of Gibraltar before Homer's time; Gades in Spain was founded by them centuries before Carthage. See *Huet, Commerce des Anciens*; Homer's deſcriptions will not apply to the contracted ſcale generally aſſigned. His Scylla and Charybdis were not near Sicily, but were two *floating* rocks, as he ſays, *Odyſſ.* XII. The iland of Circe was one of the Fortunate Ilands, and all the ancient traditions ſuppoſe this.

δια-

διαιδαιςωθαι ἦν, ὁςην εν τη νυν ὑπο Ῥομαιων καλουμενη Γαλατια, Κιμβροι, γενος Κελτων, κατειληφεςαν: 'Apuleius published a law for dividing the grounds, which, in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, the Cimbri, a people of Celts, had possessed.' And again *in Illyr. p.* 1196. Κελτοις τοις Κιμβροις λεγομενοις; 'those Celts, who are called Cimbri.' 5. Several names of rivers, and mountains, in Germany, are Celtic; which shew that Celts once possessed the country: and that the Germans themselves were, from the earliest dawn of history, Scythians, not Celts, shall be fully shewn. 6. We find the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, mentioned in early times, as extending from the Euxine to the German ocean; and, in the first century, we find those Cimbri, or Cimmerii, reduced to a small state upon the German ocean; in like manner, as we find the Celtæ, the ancient possessors of Gaul, pent up in the extremity of Gaul, when Cæsar entered that country. 7. Tacitus mentions the Æstii, a nation on the Baltic in present Prussia, as speaking a language nearly British, that is, Cumraig, or Welsh. These were evidently remains of the old inhabitants confined in that remote situation. 8. Posidonius, Strabo, Plutarch, state that the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, came *from* the German ocean to the Euxine; so that they originated from the north-west; and we know, from all the ancients, that the utmost north-west was held by Celtæ; so that it follows that the Cimbri were Celtæ. 9. The name of Cumri, or Cumbri, by which the Welsh still call themselves, is palpably a grand generic name, as the Tartars call themselves Tatars, and the Irish Celts, Gael or Gauls. And there is every reason to believe, that the Welsh name Cumri or Cumbri is that ancient one Cimmerii, or Cimbri, pronounced by the Greeks and Romans, Kimmerii and Kimbri. That a part of the Celtic Britons was called Cimbri, we learn from Ricardus Corinensis.

nenſis. And it is reaſonable to conclude, that the north and eaſt of Britain were peopled from Germany, by the Cimbri of the oppoſite ſhores, who were the firſt inhabitants of Scotland that can be traced, from leaving Cumraig names to rivers and mountains, even in the furtheſt Hebudes[k]. From the ſouth of Britain the Cimbri or Cumri expelled the Gael into Ireland, as their own writers, and traditions, bear[l]; and the oldeſt names in Wales as in other parts ſouth of Humber are Gaelic, not Cumraig. It is therefore with great juſtice now allowed by Engliſh antiquaries that the Cumri or Welch are remains of the Cimbri: and that the Welch are Celts, and their ſpeech a Grand dialect of the Celtic, is known to all.

All Germany, nay from the Euxine to the German ocean, was therefore originally poſſeſt by the Cimmerii, or Cimbri, one of the two Grand Diviſions of the Celts. The furtheſt weſt, of Gaul, was held by the *Celts*, properly and peculiarly ſo called, and of whom the Cumri were apparently the offſpring, who ſpreading into another region had aſſumed a new appellation[m]. Herodotus[n] mentions the Celts as living near the Pyrenees. Ariſtotle[o] and many other ancients mention them as in the furtheſt weſt, ὑπερ της Ιϐηριας,' 'above Spain.' Cæſar[p] actually found them confined to the utmoſt corner of Gaul: the Scythians or Goths having under the name of *Belgæ* reſtricted them

[k] See the deſcriptions of the Hebrides by Martin, Macaulay, &c.

[l] Lloyd, Archæol. Brit. *Præf.*

[m] Perhaps from proceeding in *troops*, *Cymmar*, ſocius, ſodalis. *Cymmod* concordia, *Cymmrodedd* concordia: or from their *aſſuming* new poſſeſſions, *Cymmeryd*, capere, accipere: or a name of *honour*, *Cymmeryd*, dignitas, æſtimatio, *Cymmeradwy*, æſtimatus. The words from Davis' Dict. Kimb.

[n] Lib. II. et IV.

[o] In Meteorol.—De gen. animal. lib. II. c. 8.—De mirabil. auſcult.—De Mundo, ſi modo Ariſtotelis ſit.

[p] De bello Gall. *paſſim.*

from the north and eaſt; while the *Iberi*, a Mauric race, who had paſſed from Africa to Spain, had ſeized on the ſouth-weſt part of Gaul, where they bore the name of *Aquitani*. The famous *Galli* of the Romans were German Gauls, not Celts; as is clear from the names of their leaders, and from the poſition of their country, from which the Celts were quite remote, while it joined to Germany. But of this when we come to the Germans. That the Celts were the moſt ancient poſſeſſors of Gaul is ſo univerſally known, that it would be vain to illuſtrate ſo clear a ſubject. But whether any Celts ever were in Italy ſeems as uncertain, as if any Cimmerii were in Greece. In truth, thoſe little mountainous corners called Italy and Greece were very inſignificant to a vaſt paſtoral people; and the ſpacious plains of Gaul and Germany, over which they could range without reſtrictions of hills and ſeas, muſt have been the grand ſeats of ſuch little population as then prevailed in Europe. The paſſage of the Gael and Cumri to Britain appears to have been in conſequence of the Scythic preſſure from the eaſt. However this be, it is certain that the Grecian, and Roman, fables have hid all memory of any Celts ever being in Greece, or Italy: and it is moſt likely they were not, as theſe countries were in the extremity of either Celtic progreſs, from Gaul, or from Germany, ſo that it would appear that both the Celts and Cumri were forced to recoil by the Scythæ, before they had reached ſo far. Tacitus mentions the Gothini, a people in the ſouth of Germany, as uſing the Gallic or Celtic tongue; and it is probable they were remains of the Celts proper who had reached ſo far in that direction, and being in a hilly ſituation were employed by the Germans in working mines [q].

[q] Tacit. in Germania.

From

From the vaſt foreſts which even the Romans found in Gaul and Germany, and from other marks, it is evident that the population of the Celts and Cumri was very thin, and ſcattered. When the Scythæ came into Europe, the Celtic ſavages, ſoon finding their inferiority, ſeem generally to have fled to the extremities; and Britain and Gaul appear to have been the final receptacles of almoſt all the Celts. The earlieſt Scythæ alſo carried on very cruel war, diſtinguiſhing themſelves chiefly by the number of enemies they had ſlain[r]. And, the Celtic nations being paſtoral, the evacuation of their poſſeſſions by the vanquiſhed muſt have been complete as among the Huns and other paſtoral nations, ſave only in a mountainous or retired corner or two. But when the Celts arrived at the extremities, which was not for fifteen centuries, as the Scythæ only enlarged their territories with their population, and conſequent neceſſities, the Scythæ had by a natural progreſs acquired more advanced ſociety, and treated the Celts with ſome humanity. In Gaul the Belgæ ſeem to have mingled much with the Celts, and aſſiſted their wars and counſels againſt the Romans their common enemy. In Germany, a few Cimbri remained on the weſtern ocean, every where ſurrounded with the Scythæ, till little more than a century before Chriſt, when the Scandinavian Scythæ, a more barbaric race, as being remote from civilization, poured down upon theſe Cimbri, and not only drove them, but the Teutones a German people, before them; and the ſouthern Germans permitted both to paſs thro their territories in ſearch of new habitations. The Cimbri and Teutones not expelled by the ocean overflowing their lands, as Plutarch[s] fables, but by an overflow of enemies, paſſed into Gaul by the foreſt of Ardenna, for

[r] Herodot. lib. IV. et alii.
[s] In Mario.

the Belgæ repelled them[t]; and ruled Gaul[u], and ravaged Spain[v], for ſome years, till turning upon Italy they were almoſt extinguiſhed by the ſword of Marius, 102 years before our æra.

Having thus mentioned the ſtate of Europe, when the Scythians entered it, let us now attend to their progreſs, which has ſix grand ſtages; 1. *Thrace*; 2. *Illyricum*; 3. *Greece*; 4. *Italy*; 5. *Germany*; 6. *Scandinavia*. In other words, let us now ſhew that the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, *Greeks*, *Italians*, *Germans*, *Scandinavians*, were all SCYTHÆ, or GOTHS.

I. We have ſeen the Scythæ, Getæ, or Goths, ſettled in Ancient Scythia, upon the Euxine, about two thouſand years before Chriſt. This Ancient Scythia, Herodotus[w] deſcribes as reaching down to the Iſter, or Danube, on the ſouth-weſt; and all the nations above the Danube, Herodotus calls Scythæ and Sarmatæ, as ſhall be ſeen in the Second Part of this eſſay, where the northern progreſs of the Scythians into Germany and Scandinavia is treated. At preſent the nations ſouth of the Danube, call our attention: and of theſe, the firſt which occurs, is that of the THRACIANS, whom Herodotus[x] mentions as the moſt numerous people in the world, ſave the Indi. On the north of Thrace was a ſmall nation, who bore the Generic name of Getæ, in the time of Herodotus[y]; an appellation afterward found to belong to the whole Scythæ, and eſpecially the Parental Scythæ upon the Euxine. In the time of Philip of Macedon we find theſe Getæ, ſouth of the Danube, called

[t] Cæſar de bello Gall.
[u] Ibid.
[v] Plut. in Mario.
[w] Lib. IV. See D'Anville's Memoir on Scythia. *Acad. des Inſcr.* Tome XXXV.
[x] Lib. IV. c. 3. Θρηικων δε εθνος μεγιστον εστι, μετα γε Ινδους, παντων ανθρωπων.
[y] Lib. IV.

Scythæ;

Scythæ[z]; and they indeed formed the ſhade between the grand Generic name of Scythæ, or Getæ, and the Specific name of Thracians, which had attended the Scythians in paſſing into a diſtinct country, ſeparated from Ancient Scythia by a broad and deep river, the Danube. Thoſe ſpecific names are no more to be conſidered, than as the names of counties in England; and the petty *tribes*, into which the ſpecific nations were divided, only reſemble our towns, tho upon a far larger ſcale; as, among barbaric nations, the people are ſcattered in ſeparate huts over a wide country, which, in advanced ſociety, would form a city. Herodotus includes the *Myſi*, or *Mœſi*, under the name of Thracians; and Strabo, *lib.* vii. ſays, that many Greek authors did the ſame. The Mœſi were a vaſt people extending all along the ſouth of the Danube, from it's mouth to Illyricum. When Macedon was conquered by the Romans, their country was erected into two provinces Upper and Lower Mœſia. In Lower Mœſia ſtood Tomi, the place of Ovid's baniſhment, on the Euxine; and, we learn from his Triſtia, that he there wrote a poem in the language of the country, and that the language was the Getic or Gothic.

Ah pudet et Getico ſcripſi ſermone libellum, *&c.*
De Ponto, lib. iv. ep. xiii.

Nam dedici Getice, Sarmaticeque loqui.
Nec te mirari ſi ſint vitioſa, decebit
Carmina quæ faciam pene poeta Getes.
Ib. III. ii.

From innumerable paſſages in his *Triſtia*, and

[z] Juſtin. lib. IX. c. 2. This very country Ovid deſcribes as poſſeſt by the Scythæ, whom he in other paſſages calls Getæ. It was the *Scythia Pontica* of Conſtantine I. and its biſhops were called of *Scythia*, and ſo appear in many councils. See Peyſſonnel *Obſerv. ſur les peuples barbares de l'Euxine.* In all ages of antiquity *Scythæ* and *Getæ* are ſynonymous as to identity of people. Scylax ſays μετὰ δὲ Θρᾴκην Σκυθαι ἔθνος. Mela, 'His [Scythis] Thracia proxima eſt.'

in his books *De Ponto*, we learn, that the Getic or Scythic was the language ſpoken in Mœſia; and he never, it is believed, mentions the Mœſi, but by the name he heard them give themſelves, that of Getæ, or Goths.

Threicio Scythicoque fere circumſonor ore,
Et videor Geticis ſcribere poſſe modis.
Triſt. III. ult.

Vulgus adeſt Scytharum, braccataque turba Getarum.
Ib. IV. vi.

For the braccæ, or breeches, were in all ages the grand badge of the Scythæ or Goths:

Pellibus, et laxis, arcent mala frigora, braccis.
Ib. V. 7.

and ſpeaking of a Greek colony which, in conſort with the natives, founded Tomi, he ſays,

Pro patrio cultu Perſica bracca tegit. V. x.

He calls himſelf *Geticus ſenis*: and his whole poetry written there ſhews, that he found but two barbaric tongues in the vaſt regions around him, namely, the Getic or Gothic, and the Sarmatic or Slavonic. For the Scythæ lived upon the beſt terms with the neighbouring Sarmatæ, inſomuch, that we ſeldom read of any war between them, but, on the contrary, find them almoſt in conſtant alliance. Herodotus mentions the Sarmatæ as joining the Scythæ againſt Darius; and in Roman hiſtory we find them frequently in united arms. Trajan's pillar[z] inſtructs us, that Decebalus, king of the Dacic Getæ[a] was aſſiſted by Sarmatic cavalry,

[z] See Bartoli's Colonna Trajana.

[a] The *Daci*, as is clear from Pliny, was but a name for the ſouth-weſt *part* of the Getæ. Strabo ſays they were one people with the Getæ, and ſpoke the ſelf-ſame tongue as the Getæ and Thracians. See Part II.—Statius, *Sylva 2. lib.* I. calls Mars *Geticus maritus* of Venus: and Thrace is by all the poets aſſigned to this God. *Lib.* II. *Sylva 2.* ſpeaking of Orpheus who reſided in Thrace, as all know, he puts *Nec plectro* Geticas *movebis ornos.*

with

with both man and horſe, in complete habergeon. Mutual advantages cauſed this alliance, for the weſtern Goths had little or no cavalry, and the Sarmatæ were all cavalry, as is clear, from all ancient writers who mention them. Hence ſeveral Gothic tribes of the frontier ſettled among the Sarmatæ; and ſeveral Sarmatic tribes among the Goths. Of the laſt the *Jazyges* in particular had three ſettlements among the Scythæ, quite remote from the other Sarmatæ, and every where ſurrounded by Scythic poſſeſſions. Theſe were the *Jazyges Eneocadlæ* on the eaſt of the mouth of Tyras; and the *Jazyges Mœotæ* on the north of the Mœotis; and chiefly the *Jazyges Metanaſtæ* between the Danube and Teiſs above Pannonia[b]. This peculiar name of *Jazyges*, given to the Sarmatæ, who ſettled among the Goths, ſeems to have implied ſome quality they ſtood in to the Goths, as *auxiliaries*, or *cavalry*, &c. Beſides theſe detached ſettlements of Sarmatæ, it would appear, that they often viſited the Greek towns on the Euxine to ſell their furs, &c. to the merchants, and that Ovid thus learned the Sarmatic; for there were no Sarmatic ſettlements, marked by any geographer, within leſs than an hundred, or an hundred and fifty, miles of Tomi. But as the Mœſi formed only a diviſion of the Thracians, let us return to conſider the later in general.

That all the Thracians were Scythæ or Getæ, and ſpoke the Scythic or Gothic tongue, is clear. Vopiſcus ſays of Probus, *Thracias, atque omnes Geticos populos aut in deditionem, aut in amicitiam, recepit.* The ſpeech of the Mœſi was, as Ovid teſtifies in many paſſages, the Getic or Scythic. Strabo gives us the ſame information in direct terms, παρα των Γετων ὁμογλωττου τοις Θραξιν εθνους[c]; 'the Getæ, a people uſing the ſame lan-

[b] See Ptolemy, Cluverius, Cellarius.
[c] Lib. VII. p. 303.

guage with the Thracians:' and Strabo's Getæ extend over the whole north-weſt of the Danube, and Euxine, even to half of Germany[d]. Many ancients call the Getæ Thracians; and others call the Thracians Getæ.' They who wiſh to ſee this further illuſtrated are referred to Ihre[e].

From Thrace large colonies of the Scythæ paſſed the Boſphorus Thracius, and Helleſpont, into Aſia Minor. Such were, as Strabo, *lib.* VII. mentions, the *Bithynians*, and *Phrygians*, and *Mariandyni*. Dionyſius, *v.* 758 to 798, reckons among the Scythians, and who, from their ſituations, had clearly paſt from Thrace, the whole nations of the kingdom of *Pontus*, on the ſouth of the Euxine; namely, beſides the Bithynians and Mariandyni, the *Rhæbi*, and *Paphlagonians*, and *Chalybes*, and *Tibareni*, and *Moſſynœſi*, and *Peileres*, and *Macrones*, and *Bechires*, and *Byzeres*, and *Chalcedonians*. So that, excepting only the Cappadocians, who were Aſſyrians, as Dionyſius ſays, *v.* 772[f], the whole nations all around the Euxine were Scythians. The *Lydians* were alſo Scythæ, for the *Myſians* were ſurely from Mœſia often called Myſia: and Herodotus, *lib.* I. ſays, that Lydus and Myſus, whence theſe names, were brothers of Caris, whence the *Carians*. Beſides, the river Halys, the eaſtern boundary of Lydia, was afterward that of Phrygia Major, ſo that the *Phrygians* formed a great part of the Lydian kingdom, and alſo held Galatia before the German Gauls ſeized it, 277 years before Chriſt. The *Lycians* and *Pamphylians* were alſo branches of the Hellenes[g], who were Scythæ, as ſhall be

[d] See Part II.

[e] Præf. ad Gloſſ. Suio-Goth.

[f] See alſo Euſtath. in locum.

[g] Herodot. lib. VII. Strabo, lib. XIV. the latter, lib. VII. p. 295. tells us that the Myſi of Aſia came from thoſe of Thrace; and gives us the names of many other nations in Aſia of Thracian origin.

ſhewn.

ſhewn. As to Cilicia, the only other country in Aſia Minor, there is no authority for the origin of its inhabitants; but as they bordered on the Aſſyrians, and Cappadocia, there is reaſon to believe them Aſſyrians. Of theſe countries many are highly famous. About 550 years before Chriſt, Cræſus, the opulent king of Lydia, is celebrated; and coinage is rationally ſuppoſed to have been invented in his kingdom. Midas, the rich king of Phrygia, is much more ancient, but he belongs to fable. Pliny, *lib.* VII. *c.* 57, informs us from Ariſtotle, that Lydus, a Scythian, found the art of melting and tempering (*temperare*) braſs: a mythologic method of ſaying that art was invented in Lydia. But, above all, the people of Phrygia Minor, or *Trojans*, are celebrated over the whole globe with the loudeſt trump of fame. Many learned men have been puzzled at the Trojan names of men, places, &c. being Greek, while we have no authority for Troy being founded by Greeks; but this wonder will vaniſh, when we ſhall ſee preſently that the Greeks and Trojans were originally the ſame people, and uſed the ſame Scythic tongue. All the ſettlements of the Scythæ yet mentioned appear to have been thus dilated in leſs than five centuries, or about 1500 years before Chriſt.

II. The ILLYRIANS were alſo Scythæ. *Illyricum* is here underſtood as reaching all along the north ſide of the Adriatic, from Macedon to Gaul, and including Noricum and Pannonia; or all ſouth of the Danube; bounded by Macedon and Mœſia on the eaſt, Germany on the north, the Adriatic on the ſouth, and Gaul on the weſt. The vaſt Thracian nations of Herodotus [h] certainly extended over moſt of this country. Strabo, *p.* 207,

[h] Lib. V. c. 6. Herodotus tells, that Thrace beyond the Iſter was vaſt and infinite. He alſo mentions the Ἐνετοὶ on the Adriatic, from whom the name of Venetians ought to be traced. Polybius, *lib.* II. ſays the Veneti had a different ſpeech from the Celts; and that they were frequent in tragic poetry.

ſays

ſays the Iapydes, a people between Illyrium and Gaul, were partly Celts, partly Illyrians, ſo that the Illyrians were not Celts. Horace, Ode xi. Book II. inſtructs us, that they were Scythæ.

> Quid bellicoſus Cantaber, et Scythes,
> Hirpine Quinte, cogitet Adria
> Diviſus objecto, remittas, &c.

The hiſtory of this great people is not a little obſcure, tho Appian has written ΙΛΛΥΡΙΚΗ. M. de Buat, who, when he ſteers free of etymology, has great merit, well details what can be recovered of Illyrian hiſtory[i]. Philip of Macedon vanquiſhed and impoſed conditions on them; and from the account of this war, preſerved by ancient authors, it is clear, that the Illyrian manners were abſolutely Scythic, and ſimilar to the Macedonian or Greek. Illyricum ſubmitted to Rome about 227 years before our æra. The Thracian Scythæ, who peopled Illyricum, had ſpred chiefly to the eaſt, as we have ſeen; and they alſo peopled Greece and Italy, as ſhall be ſhewn: ſo that this population extended no further weſt. The Celts retained all Ciſalpine Gaul, and their other Gallic poſſeſſions, till about 500 years before Chriſt, when the Germans, or northern Scythæ, poured in, as after explained.

III. Beneath the Thracians and Illyrians were the GREEKS. The denomination of *Greece* is here uſed in the large ſenſe of the ancient *Hellas*, as including Macedon, and extending from Thrace and Illyricum, to the Cretan and the Ionian and Sicilian ſeas, and Aſiatic ſhore of the Egean; including the ſurrounding iles, and eſpecially all thoſe in the Egean ſea. This article is ſo curious and important, as to deſerve being a little enlarged upon.

It is univerſally allowed by the learned that ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΙ, *Pelaſgi*, was the firſt name of the Greeks, who afterward bore the name of ΈΛΛΗΝΕΣ, *Hellenes*: and all Greece in the large ac-

[i] Hiſt. des peuples de l'Europe. *Tome* I. II.

ceptation

ceptation above was called Ἑλλας, *Hellas.* The very name of *Greek* is unknown to the Greek writers; who indeed very ſeldom uſe Ἑλληνες, or in other words, ſpeak of the Greeks in general, but almoſt univerſally tell of Spartans, Athenians, &c. One or two very late Greek writers[k], it is believed, uſe Γραικος, or *Greek*, from the Roman *Græcus*, or, poetically, *Graius.* How the Romans came to give this name to the people is inexplicable, if it were not from the Greek word Γραικος, *anilis, old womanly*, from Γραια *an old woman*; a derivation which the Latin poetic term *Graius* ſeems alſo to infer. It muſt therefore have been given in the ſupreme contempt of a warlike for a learned people, and is itſelf a proof how little names import, while we uſe *Greek*, alias *old woman*, as a term of ſupreme honour.

There is not the ſmalleſt trace to be found in the ancients of any people poſſeſſing Greece before the Pelaſgi. That the Pelaſgi were Scythæ, or Goths, ſhall now be ſhewn: and if any Celts ever came as far as Greece, which was in the very extremity of their weſtern progreſs, the whole ancient writers are totally ſilent concerning them; nor was it likely that ſuch a fact could have eſcaped Homer, if in the leaſt known to Greek tradition.

Pelaſgi and *Hellenes* were the ſole univerſal names by which the Greeks ever were known

[k] Callimachus (*apud* Strabo. lib. V.) has Γραικος, which alſo occurs in a piece aſcribed to Ariſtotle. The former was of Cyrene, and it is likely bore no good will to the old Greeks. The later cannot be depended on. The Arundelian marbles bear Γραικοι, a ſuſpicious circumſtance. Lycophron, i believe, alſo uſes this new term. But theſe exceptions amount to nothing, and it is juſt to ſay that ALL the Greek writers are ſtrangers to this name. There was a town called *Graia* in Bœotia, Homer Il. B. Strabo, lib. 3. and the land about it was called *Terra Græca*, Thucyd. *apud* Steph. but it would be ridiculous to ſuppoſe this village afforded the Romans a name for the country.

among

among themſelves. For Herodotus, *lib.* II. ſays, that all Greece was formerly called Pelaſgia. Strabo, *lib.* V. *p.* 337, and *lib.* VII. *p.* 504, ſays, the Pelaſgi over-ran all Greece. Herodotus, *lib.* II. *c.* 52, ſays, the Greeks derived their rites and religion from them. The ſcholiaſt on Apollonius Rhodius ſays the Argives were called Pelaſgi. Herodotus, *b.* VII. and Pauſanias *in Arcad.* inform us, that the Arcadians were Pelaſgi: and the Arcadians, from their inland ſituation, were reputed the moſt ancient and unmixt of all the Greeks. Herodotus, *lib.* I, *c.* 57, acknowledges his uncertainty about the Pelaſgi; but, *lib.* VII. *c.* 95, he ſays, Ιωνες Πελασγοι, the Ionians were Pelaſgi: and, *lib.* I. *c.* 57, το Αττικον γενος Πελασγικον, 'the Athenians were Pelaſgi.' Apollonius Rhodius, and other poets, uſe Πελασγιδα γαιαν, for Greece, as a name of reverence and antiquity; and ſo alſo Virgil, Statius, and other Latin poets, uſe *Pelaſgi*, and *Pelaſgiam*, for Greeks and Greece, juſt as if a Scotiſh poet ſhould put *Pikland* for *Scotland*.

Dr. Gillies, in his excellent Hiſtory of Greece, obſerves, *vol.* I. *p.* 5. from Herodotus, *lib.* I. Dionyſ. Hal. *lib.* 1. and Pauſanias, *lib.* VIII. that 'the colonies of the Pelaſgi continued, in the fifth century before Chriſt, to inhabit the ſouthern coaſt of Italy, and the ſhores of the Helleſpont. And, in thoſe widely ſeparated countries, their ancient affinity was recogniſed in the uniformity of their rude dialect, and barbarous manners, extremely diſſimilar to the cuſtoms and language of their Grecian neighbours.' But this juſt remark militates not in the leaſt againſt the Greeks being Pelaſgi, and their tongue Pelaſgic, as their own writers uniformly ſay. For the Greek tongue had been thrown into a ferment by a ſlight mixture of Phœnician, and had been purified with all the art and attention of the wiſeſt and moſt ingenious men in the world. It was the Pelaſgic, but the Pelaſgic refined, as the Engliſh is from the Saxon. No wonder that in Greece, a country

a country where every city was as it were a diſtinct people, ſome few cities, and ſome mountaineers and ilanders[l], ſhould have retained the old dialect, and that it was as diſſimilar from poliſhed Greek as Saxon from Engliſh: and ſhould alſo, from detached ſituation, have kept up the old barbaric manners. Beſides, it has been lately ſhewn[m], that the Κρηστον, mentioned by Herodotus, as Pelaſgic, was not in Italy, but in Theſſaly; and that Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus had miſtaken it's ſituation by reading *Croton* for *Creſton* as the text of Herodotus actually bears. So that the old Pelaſgic was, as might be expected, only to be found in ſome detached corners of Greece. And theſe ſeparate Pelaſgi were either ſome who had returned from Italy, after being defeated by the Aborigenes about the time of the Trojan war, if we credit Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus; or others who, according to Herodotus, had lately come from Samothrace. So that theſe ſcattered fragments of Pelaſgi muſt not be confounded with the later Greeks, being only remnants of old colonies expelled from Italy, or late migrations of ſmall parties from Thrace, the parent country of the Pelaſgi; and that they retained their primitive barbaric ſpeech and manners, was a neceſſary conſequence of their late arrival from remote and uncultivated regions. This plain account at once reconciles all the Greek writers, who uniformly aſſert the whole Greeks to be Pelaſgi, with the three above mentioned, who ſtate ſome Pelaſgi as different in manners, and ſpeech, from the refined Greeks. Theſe later Pelaſgi had lately come from Italy, and Samothrace, and retained their old ſpeech and manners: and this ſingularity puzzled Herodotus, who knew that, by all accounts, the Greeks were Pelaſgi, as he himſelf repeatedly

[l] Herodotus, *lib.* VI. c. 138, mentions the diſputes between the Athenians and the Pelaſgi living at Mount Hymettus and in Lemnos.

[m] By M. Geinoz, Mem. des Inſcr. Tome XIV.

peatedly mentions, yet found that a few detached Pelaſgi did not ſpeak Greek, but the old Scythic tongue.

To proceed: Herodotus, *lib.* I. *c.* 23. tells us, that the Athenians were Pelaſgi, and the Spartans Hellenes. The laſt, he ſays, came from Pthiotis, then down between Oſſa and Olympus, then to Pindus, then to Dryope, then to Peloponneſus: that is, they deſcended from the north-eaſt, or Thrace, into Greece. He alſo adds, that the Athenians, or Pelaſgi, never wandered: but the Hellenes did *. So far did a ſilly prejudice of making the Athenians αυτοχθονες overcome the truth! Strabo, *lib.* XIII. *p.* 922. and Dion. Hal. *lib.* I. *p.* 14. ſay truly, that the Pelaſgi wandered very much. Leſbonax *in Protrept. p.* 173, ſays, all the Greeks wandered from place to place, but the Athenians alone never. Weſſeling in vain endeavours to ſave Herodotus, by ſaying, he only means that the Pelaſgi of Athens never wandered. In fact, Herodotus had difficult game to play: had the Athenians not been Pelaſgi, they could not be ancient; had they wandered as Pelaſgi, they could not be αυτοχθονες. There was the dilemma! After eſcaping from it as he can, Herodotus tells us, that ſome Pelaſgi dwelled on the Helleſpont, that is, in Thrace a country uncivilized, and uſed a barbarous tongue: however, adds he, the original Attic muſt have been Pelaſgic [n]. In ch. 58, he tells, that the Hellenes uſed the ſame ſpeech, and were a *part of the Pelaſgi*, αποσχισθεν μεν τοι απο του

* Mr. Clarke, in his *Connection of Roman and Saxon Coins*, p. 73, ſays, that Salmaſius wrote in haſte, and miſtook Herodotus, who means that the Pelaſgi wandered, but the Hellenes never. I ſuſpect Salmaſius might return the compliment; for, not to ſpeak of the article τo, which all muſt allow here follows the order of the nations, and every interpreter including Weſſeling, the laſt, has underſtood accordingly, if Mr. Clarke had read the *page* inſtead of the *ſentence* he would have found himſelf miſtaken.

[n] Lib. I. c. 57. το Αττικον γενος του Πελασγικου, &c.

Πελασγικου.

Πελασγικον. Thucydides, *lib.* I. *c.* 28. ſays the Hellenes were originally a ſmall tribe in Theſſaly. Euſtathius, in his commentary on Dionyſius, obſerves that Homer mentions Pelaſgi near Cilicia in Troas; calls Leſbos Pelaſgic; and the Jupiter of Dodona Pelaſgic Jove: and that Crete and Lemnos were alſo Pelaſgic, as were Argos; a part of Theſſaly; and Arcadia. Dionyſius, *v.* 534, calls Samos *the Pelaſgic ſeat of Juno.* Juſtin, *lib.* XIII. *c.* 4. mentioning the diviſion of the eaſt among Alexander's generals, ſays Tleptolemus had the Perſians, Peuceſtes the Babylonians, Archos the *Pelaſgi*, Arceſilaus Meſopotamia. This is the moſt ſingular paſſage i have met with concerning the Pelaſgi; as, if there be no error in the name, which is ſuſpected, there muſt have been a whole nation of them in the eaſt unknown to all other writers. Carmania is not mentioned by Juſtin in his long enumeration; and the inhabitants of that country were alſo called *Paſargadæ* and *Parſiræ*, one of which words may have been corrupted to *Pelaſgi*, a name familiar to tranſcribers. After all, perhaps Juſtin meaned Pelaſgia of Theſſaly; for in the beginning of his liſt he is very erratic, giving us the Illyriana between the Cilicians and Medians; then Suſiana; then Phrygia: the only difficulty is, that in no leſs than fifteen names before, and one after, being the laſt, he gives us only eaſtern nations; and the Pelaſgi of Theſſaly would hardly deſerve mention among ſuch large names, ſo that a corruption of the text may well be ſuſpected, and that the Paſargadæ ought to be read; for that there was no nation called Pelaſgi in the eaſt, we know to a certainty, from all the ancient hiſtorians and geographers.

Thucydides, *lib.* I. *c.* 3. ſays, 'before the time of Hellen, ſon of Deucalion, the Pelaſgi ſpred all over Greece.' They held *Peloponneſus*, Herodot. *lib.* VII. *c.* 93. *et ſeq.* Dionyſ. Hal. *p.* 9. 14. Stephanus de Urbibus, *p.* 166. 630. 635. *Attica*, Herodotus

Herodotus I. 57. II. 51. VIII. 44. Thucydides, IV. 109. Strabo, XI. *p.* 397. and *the iles*; as *Lemnos*, Herodot. VI. 137. Thucyd. IV. 109. *Scyrus*, Steph. de Urb. *p.* 676. *Eubœa*, formerly called Pelaſgia, Schol. Apoll. *p.* 105. *The Cyclades* Dionyſ. Hal. *p.* 14. *Crete* and *Leſbos*, Dionyſ. *ib.* Homer Odyſſ. XIX. Diodor. Sic. IV. 183. V. 238. Strabo, V. 221. X. 475. *Aſia Minor*, Dionyſ. Hal. *p.* 14. *Caria* Mela I. 16. *Æolis and Troas*, Schol. Apollon. *p.* 5. Strabo V. *p.* 221. *Ionia*, Herodot. VII. 93. 94. Strabo XIII. *p.* 621. and ſee Homer Iliad II. *ad fin. Cyzicus*, Dion. ib. Diod. Sic. V. 239. Steph. de Urbib. *p.* 426. Pliny, V. 31. Euſtath. ad Dionyſ. v. 537.—Herodotus I. 56. VII. 94. 95. ſays, the Ionians, Æolians, Dorians, that is, all the Hellenes or Greeks, deſcended of the Pelaſgi. Hybrias Cretenſis *apud Athen.* XV. 14. makes an old Pelaſgus of Crete boaſt that his arrows were his riches, for with them he ſeized all. In ſhort, not to heap authorities unneceſſarily, theſe two points are, from the univerſal conſent of all the Greek writers, as clear and poſitive as the moſt luminous part of human hiſtory: namely, 1. That all the people of Hellas, or Greece, in the large acceptation above given, were *Pelaſgi*. 2. That *Hellenes* was but a later name of the ſame People who had been formerly called Pelaſgi; the Hellenes being a paltry tribe of the Pelaſgi, who chanced, by being the laſt who came into the country, to give their name to the whole.

Let us now conſider very briefly, 1. Who the Pelaſgi were not. 2. Who they were.

1. *They were not Egyptians*, BECAUSE all the Greek writers remark two ſmall colonies of Egyptians, who ſettled in Athens and Argos in the earlieſt times, and ſpecially diſtinguiſh them as quite a different people from the Pelaſgi. Beſides, who can dream of Egyptians peopling all Hellas, the Iles, Aſia Minor, and entering Italy, as the Pelaſgi

Pelaſgi did, who were of barbaric ſpeech and manners, while the Egyptians were ſo ſmall and ſo civilized a people? BECAUSE the Pelaſgi had none of the Egyptian ſpeech and manners, elſe Homer and Herodotus, who had been in Egypt, would have remarked this. BECAUSE no ancient has ever dreamed of their being Egyptians and the obſcurity of the Pelaſgic origin ſhews they were quite a barbaric people, while the Egyptian colonies in Greece, and elſewhere, are quite marked and diſtinct. BECAUSE the Greek mythology is as remote from the Egyptian as poſſible. BECAUSE the Greek has no affinity with the Coptic or old Egyptian; which is a dialect of the Grand Aſſyrian language, while the Greek is a mere refined dialect of the Gothic, as the learned well know.

2. *They were not Phœnicians*, from all the reaſons above urged reſpecting the Egyptians. Herodotus, *lib.* V. *c.* 58. ſpecially mentions, that the Phœnician colony, led by Cadmus to Thebes, changed their ſpeech, being ſurrounded by the Iones, whom he mentions as Pelaſgi, and as Hellenes.

Such have been the origins aſcribed to the Pelaſgi by ſome men of learning; and, did we not daily ſee that learning is but another name for want of common underſtanding, what muſt be our ſurprize to find the Pelaſgi, whom all the ancients ſtate as a barbaric people, derived from the Egyptians and Phœnicians, the nations in antiquity that arrived the firſt at civilization, and whom the ancients repreſent as poliſhing thoſe very Pelaſgi, by ſettling little colonies among them? Can abſurdity be greater? A barbaric nation never can ſpring from a refined one. It is an impoſſibility. A refined nation always ſprings from a barbaric one.

In the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions*, a work replete with true and ſolid literature, and

which does honour to the nation that gave it birth, there is a diſſertation of M. de la Nauze[o], attempting to ſhew, that the Pelaſgi and Hellenes were different nations. But that gentleman wrote upon a mere theory, without having employed one quarter of the ſtudy he ought to have done, and the diſſertations of M. Geinoz[p], and of M. Freret[q], ſo amply refute him, as to leave nothing to add. True it is, that Ephorus, Apollodorus, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, repreſent the Pelaſgi as ſprung from Pelaſgus, ſon of Inachus, king of Argos[r], and, of courſe, as originating in Peloponneſus. This Pelaſgus is only mentioned in a verſe of Heſiod, preſerved by Strabo; and theſe authors ſeized the name as a good father for the Pelaſgi: but he is a mere being of poetry, and the three authors, who follow this opinion, are of fabulous fame. Dionyſius telling us all the battles, &c. between the Pelaſgi and Aborigines in Italy, as a matter of yeſterday, while he had not a ſhadow of ground for one ſentence on the ſubject. To oppoſe ſuch writers to Herodotus, Thucydides, and the other moſt eminent names of Greek antiquity, is therefore ridiculous; and M. Geinoz, and M. Freret, have amply ſhewn that the Pelaſgi came from Thrace.

But, had the Grecian origins been ever examined with much attention, there are two barbaric nations who might, with far higher probability than Egyptians or Phœnicians, have been ſuppoſed the progenitors of the Pelaſgi, or Greeks.

[o] Tome XXIII.

[p] Tome XIV. [q] Tome XXI.

[r] There is room to believe that theſe, and many ancients and moderns, have confounded the *Argos Pelaſgicum*, in Pelaſgia of Theſſaly, with the Argos in Peloponneſus. The former, I am convinced, was the ancient kingdom of Argos. See Homer's Iliad II. The ancient kingdom of Sicyon, as ſtated by Euſebius, is a viſion unknown to earlier writers. Danaus, an Egyptian, founded the kingdom of Argos in Peloponneſus after the termination of the old kingdom of Argos in Pelaſgia.

Theſe

Theſe are the Celts and the Sarmatians. Yet the Pelaſgi belonged not to either of theſe nations.

3. *They were not Celts,* BECAUSE they can be abſolutely ſhewn to be Scythians; a people who originated from the eaſt, as the Celts did from the weſt. BECAUSE the earlieſt Greek writers deſcribe the Celts as confined to the furtheſt weſt; whereas Greece was ſurrounded by Scythæ. BECAUSE the very form and ſtructure of the Celtic tongue are as remote from the Greek as poſſible; the Celts changing the beginning of nouns in many inflexions, while the Greeks uniformly change the end. What we now call the Celtic is half Gothic; owing to the Belgæ, Danes, and Norwegians, being mixt with all the Celtæ in France, Britain, and Ireland; but eſpecially in the Highlands of Scotland, where the Celtic is the moſt corrupt, becauſe the Norwegians were poſſeſſors of the Hebrides, and weſtern coaſt, from the reign of Harold Harfagre, about 880, till ſo late as 1263, and their deſcendants remain to this day. The words, thought Greek by dablers in the Celtic, are all Gothic*. But the real Celtic is as remote from the Greek, as the Hottentot, or the Laplandic. BECAUSE the manners of the Celts, as deſcribed by Greek and Roman authors, are totally unlike thoſe of the earlieſt Greeks; the people among the former being ſlaves, among the later extremely free. Dr. Gillies has ſhewn that the moſt ancient Greek manners perfectly reſembled thoſe of the Germans, which Cæſar and Tacitus mark as being as unlike thoſe of the Celts as poſſible. Of the Celtic mythology we know nothing: the Druidic ſyſtem being mentioned by Cæſar as a late invention, con-

* To derive Latin words from Celtic is a ſure mark of a Celtic underſtanding, which always judges by the inverſe ratio of reaſon, for the words paſſed into Welſh from the Romans; and into Iriſh from Chriſtianity, whoſe offices and prayers, &c. were all Latin. The roots are all in the Latin, not in the Celtic.

fined to the ſouth of Britain and north of Gaul; and it is clear from all the ancients, that it was no where elſe to be found. It was totally extinguiſhed by Tiberius Pliny XXX. 1.—Suetonius in *Claudio*, and Aurelius Victor, ſay by Claudius. It is palpably of Phœnician origin, having been taught by the Phœnicians to the Britons of preſent Cornwall, where they traded for tin; and had thence ſpred north to the extremity of preſent Wales, and ſouth to the Garonne; beyond which bounds there is not a ſhadow of it's exiſtence in any ancient writer whatever. They who ſpeak of Druids in Germany, Caledonia, or Ireland, ſpeak utter nonſenſe, and have not a ſingle authority to ſupport them. *Druid*, in the Celtic, implies originally a *wiſe* or *cunning man*; and the name was naturally given by the rude vulgar to the prieſts of the new doctrine: but the name will be found in it's original meaning where Druids never were known. Druidic antiquities there can be none, except there be any oak-trees two thouſand years old. Thoſe childiſhly called Druidic are all Gothic; and are found in Iceland, and other countries, where the very name of Druid was unknown. The Celts had no monuments any more than the ſavage Americans or Samoiedes. From Diodorus Siculus, and others, it is clear that the manners of the Celts perfectly reſembled thoſe of the preſent Hottentots. The god *Baal*, *Bell*, or *Belenus*; the tranſmigration of ſouls; their coſmogony and theogony are wholly Phœnician: what their own mythology was we know not, but it in all probability reſembled that of the Hottentots, or others of the rudeſt ſavages, as the Celts anciently were, and are little better at preſent, being incapable of any progreſs in ſociety. But it is unneceſſary to inſiſt further upon this, as the Pelaſgi can be ſhewn to be Scythæ; and M. Pelloutier, who alone takes them for Celts, clearly proves them Scythæ, that is, as he dreams, Celts; for he was ſo ignorant

ignorant as to take the Celts and Scythæ for one people, in ſpite of all the ancients who mark them as literally *toto cœlo* different, and in ſpite of our poſitive knowledge here in Britain, who know the Celts to be mere radical ſavages, not yet advanced even to a ſtate of barbariſm; and if any foreigner doubts this, the has only to ſtep inro the Celtic part of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland, and look at them, for they are juſt as they were, incapable of induſtry or civilization, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain, as marked by the ancients, fond of fiction, and enemies of truth[t].

4. *The Pelaſgi, or Greeks, were not Sarmatæ,* BECAUSE there is every reaſon to doubt that theSarmatæ entered Europe above a thouſand years before our æra: for they were far behind the Scythæ in their progreſs; and it is clear, that upon their entry they found the greater part of Europe occupied by the Scythæ: and the Sarmatæ were bounded by Scythæ on the weſt, north-weſt, and ſouth of Europe. BECAUSE the manners of the earlieſt Greeks, as deſcribed by Homer, were totally unlike the Sarmatic; and eſpecially in that grand feature, that the Sarmatæ were, like the Tar-

[t] It is to the invention of our Celtic neighbours, that we are indebted for the fables of Engliſh hiſtory down to within theſe thirty years, and the almoſt total perdition of the hiſtory of Scotland and Ireland. Geofrey of Monmouth, moſt of the Iriſh hiſtorians, and the Highland bards, and ſenachies of Scotland, ſhew that falſehood is the natural product of the Celtic mind. Bretagne has the ſame fame in French hiſtory. And it is remarkable that even now thoſe writers, who are much converſant in the Celtic countries, are diſtinguiſhed by their fables and credulity. Diodorus Siculus. *lib.* V. *p.* 354, remarks the cloudy ſpeech, and intellect, ſynecdochic phraſe, and hyperbolic pride, of the old Celts. Their weak credulity was derided by the Roman poet,

Et tumidus Galla credulitate fruar.

Silius Italicus obſerves,

Vaniloquum Celtæ genus.

characters of nations change; characters of ſavage RACES never.

tars, all cavalry; while the Greeks fought on foot, and in cars; and we know the latter to be peculiarly Scythic, Philip having in his Scythic victory taken a vaſt number of cars [u]: and the Belgæ, and Piki, or Caledonians, two Gothic nations in Britain, fighting in cars, which were alſo uſed in Scandinavia down to the Eleventh or Twelth century [v]. No cars of battle are to be found among the Celts, or the Sarmatæ. BECAUSE the Sarmatic or Slavonic language is as unlike the Greek as can be, in grammar, ſtructure, and nomenclature. Some imagine the Slavonic to be modern Greek, becauſe written in Greek character. They might as well ſuppoſe the Celtic Latin, becauſe written in Roman character. The Slavonic, whoſe chief daughters are the Polonic, Ruſſian, and Bohemian, was anciently written in Latin characters; but in the Ninth century one Conſtantine Cyrillus, a Greek, firſt uſed the Greek capital letter, which remains; and he invented characters for ſounds incompatible with Greek. From him the Slavonic character is called *Cyrulic*; and, after being corrupted by ſcribes, was called *Glagolitic*: the Ruſſians only uſe the Cyrulic [w]. But the Slavonic has not the ſlighteſt affinity with the Greek. That remarkable feature of the Greek, the *dual*, uſed in ſpeaking to, or of, two perſons, is found in the Gothic, and Icelandic; but not in the Slavonic, which has a *tetral* uſed in ſpeaking to, or of, four perſons or leſs.

Let us now proceed to ſhew who the Greeks really were.

[u] Juſtin, *lib.* IX. c. 2. Strabo p. 752.

[v] See Saxo, *lib.* III p. 41, 56. in the Edda Thor, from his uſing a car, is called *Aukuthor*. The Normans uſed cars in the ſiege of Paris. Du Cange Script. Norm. p. 39.

[w] Friſch Hiſt. Ling. Slavonicæ, *4to*; 5 parts; *Berolini*, 1727—1734. Ludolfi Grammatica Ruſſica, *Oxon.* 1696, *8vo*.

The

The Pelaſgi, or Hellenes, or Greeks, were Scythians of Thrace. This plain ſenſe might argue at once, becauſe the Greeks were every where ſurrounded by Scythæ, and the ſea; and no other nation was near them: but let us illuſtrate it a little. From the Greek authors above adduced it is clear that all the Greeks were originally called Pelaſgi; but that the Hellenes, originally a ſmall tribe in Theſſaly, being the laſt of the Pelaſgi who came into Achaia, or Leſſer Greece, they by a chance equal to that of the name of America, and many other great names, gave their appellation to the whole country. Some late Greek fables ſay that Pelaſgus, the grandſon of Inachus, king of Argos, from whom, as they falſely ſtate, the name Pelaſgi is derived, lived before the deluge of Deucalion, by which moſt of the Pelaſgi were ſwept away. Hellen, the ſon of Deucalion, proceeded with freſh recruits of Pelaſgi into Greece: and the Greeks in gratitude took his name, and aſcribed the renewal of human kind to Deucalion. But Herodotus, Thucydides, and others of the beſt Greek authors, knew nothing of this; they repreſenting the very ſame identic people as being firſt called Pelaſgi, then Hellenes. In Homer's time (Il. β. 683) Hellas was a town of Pelaſgic Argos. To prevent all doubt, however, let us firſt ſhew that the Pelaſgi were Scythæ; and then that the Hellenes were Scythæ.

1. *The Pelaſgi were Scythæ.* This may be ſhewn from different arguments, tho the Greek writers have ſhaded the ſubject much by the fooliſh deſire of making their nation aboriginal, or ſprung from the ground on which they lived. It is a pity they ſaw not ſo far as the philoſopher Antiſthenes, who uſed to tell the Athenians that ſuch praiſe belonged to ſnails, and not to men. But that the Pelaſgi were Scythæ appears from this, that they certainly deſcended from the north-eaſt into Greece; and the Scythæ ſpred over all theſe parts. For we

find ſettlements of the Pelaſgi on the Helleſpont: and in Theſſaly, a country to the north-eaſt of Greece, a large country was ſpecially called Pelaſgia in the days of Homer, and far later. Trogus Pompeius, in Juſtin, *lib.* VII. *c.* 1, ſays expreſſly, that the people of Macedon were anciently called Pelaſgi. Strabo, *lib.* VII. *p.* 222, ſays that the Thracians under Eumolpus colonized Attica; and Herodotus calls theſe Thracians, Pelaſgi, as above ſhewn. Plutarch in Romulo ſays, Αλλα ὁι μεν φαὶσι Πελασγους επι πλειστα της οικουμενης πλανηθεντας, ανθρωπων των πλειστων κρατησαντας, αυτοθι κατοικησαι: 'The Pelaſgi, as they ſay, roving over the greateſt part of the world, and having ſubdued the inhabitants, reſided in the country which they had conquered.' This can only refer to the Scythæ. Pauſanias, *lib.* X. *c.* 5, ſhews the oracle at Delphi to have been founded by Scythæ Hyperborei; and ancient Greek poets alſo call it *Pelaſgic*. Inachus, the firſt fabulous king of the Pelaſgi, is by ſome mythologiſts ſaid to have come into Greece by ſea. But i am convinced that this idea aroſe ſolely from the ſimilarity of the words Πελαγος *the ſea*, and Πελασγος *a Pelaſgian*, tho the later word be probably from Πελαζω *overwhelm*, becauſe the Pelaſgi over-ran ſo many countries; or more probably from ſome Aſſyrian (Egyptian or Phœnician) epithet given to the old inhabitants by the few Egyptians and Phœnicians who ſettled among them; if it be not a Scythic or Gothic appellative. Indeed we cannot be too cautious againſt being miſled by etymology, or by ſimilar or identic words; for in early and traditional hiſtory they form the very rocks and ſands upon which many an antiquarian ſhip has foundered. And the danger is ſo great, that it is beſt never even to approach them.

Ihre is ſo convinced that the Pelaſgi were Scythæ, that he ſeems to think the point does not even need proofs; yet it were to be wiſhed that he had dwelt more

more upon ſo very intereſting and curious a ſubject. Herodotus, Thucydides, Strabo, aſſert the Pelaſgi to have come from Theſſaly into Greece; and Theſſaly was anciently eſteemed a part of Thrace, ſo that the Pelaſgi were Thracians, that is, Scythæ, Getæ or Goths.

The term *Hellas*, or *Greece*, is differently extended by writers; ſome excluding Macedon and Epirus from it, as Demoſthenes, *Philip.* III. The Hellenes or Greeks, ſeverely ſpeaking, were Pelaſgi who went from Macedon, anciently called Pelaſgia, as Trogus ſhews, down into Greece proper. That Epirus was alſo inhabited by Pelaſgi is clear, for Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus makes the Pelaſgi of Italy paſs from Epirus, and the celebrated oracle of Dodona, called Pelaſgic, was in the extreme north of Epirus. It is well known that the Epirian and Macedonian language was the Doric dialect of Greek. So that, excluding Macedon and Epirus from Hellas or Greece, the argument is the ſame. Ancient Pelaſgia included Macedon, Epirus; and afterward that part in later times called Hellas, or Greece. Perhaps the Thracians who filled this cherſoneſe were called Pelaſgi by their northern brethren, becauſe every where ſurrounded by the ſea (*Pelagos*), ſave on the north.

But as it is now univerſally allowed by the learned that Pelaſgi and Hellenes were but different names for one and the ſame people, let us proceed to ſhew that the Hellenes, anciently called Pelaſgi, were Scythæ. They who wiſh for fuller information on the Pelaſgi may conſult Geinoz, Freret, and others.

2. *The Hellenes were Scythæ.* Even mythology might perſuade this, for it is well known that Hellen, reputed father of the Hellenic name, was the ſon of Deucalion; and Lucian *de Dea Syra*, p. 882. *edit. Benedicti*, 1619, *Vol.* II. ſays expreſſly, that Deucalion was a Scythian, Δευκαλιωνα τον Σκυθεα ... επι το του πολλων υδωρ εγενετο; 'Deucalion the Scythian,

thian, in whoſe time happened the great flood.' Deucalion was the ſon of Prometheus; Apollon. III. 1086, &c. Prometheus was king of the Scythæ; Schol. Apollon. Argonaut. II. 1252. The Titans, or family of the gods, were of Scythia, according to Greek mythologiſts: the hymns aſcribed to Orpheus, which are ancient, tho not his, expreſſly call the Titans the forefathers of the Greeks. But leaving mythology, which is as diſtant from hiſtory as fable can be from truth, let us advance to ſurer ground. Thucydides, *lib.* I. *c.* 28. is an incontrovertable authority that the Hellenes were originally a ſmall tribe in Theſſaly; and Herodotus and Strabo fully confirm this. And that the Theſſalians were Thracians is clear, for Thucydides, *lib.* II. *c.* 29. informs us, that the Thracians extended even down to Phocea. Strabo calls the Athenians Thracians, whom Herodotus calls Pelaſgi of Theſſaly, which was the country between Thrace and Attica. Euſebius, p. 7, and the Chronicon Paſchale, p. 49, mark the Ionians as Scythæ. Epiphanius, adv. Hereſ. *lib.* I. *p.* 6, ſays, that all the people ſouth of the Helleſpont were Scythæ, that is, the Macedonians and Greeks.

The language and manners of the whole of Hellas from Thrace to the Ionian ſea were Thracian, Scythic, Getic, Gothic. No ancient hints any diverſity of ſpeech, ſavē as to refinement between Peloponneſus, Attica, Epirus, Theſſaly, Macedon, Thrace. Thucydides[v] well obſerves that in Homer's time the name of barbarians was not given to the Thracians, but that theſe barbarians and the Hellenes ſpoke one tongue. Diodorus Siculus, *lib.* II.

[v] Lib. I. p. 3. The Greek inſtruments of muſic were from the Scythæ, and ſome of them had Scythic names. Strabo X. 470, 471. Pollux IV. 9, 10. The Three Modes were from the Scythæ, Athen. XIV. 5. Pollux, IV. 9, 10. Pliny, VII. 56. The Phrygian and Lydian were of Scythic origin; and Pliny there ſays, that Thamyris of Thrace was author of the Doric mode.

p. 92,

p. 92, says, the Scythæ Hyperborei, or most distant Scythæ, used a speech akin to that of Athens and Delos; that is, as Ihre well explains, Pelasgic or Scythic. Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, pronounced the Greeks Scythic, as he must have learned from their language and manners; Ἑλληνιστὶ, φησιν ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, πάντες Ἕλληνες σκυθίζουσι (*apud* Clem. Alex. Strom. *lib.* I. p. 364). Even in the time of Xenophon, (*Exp. Cyri*, VII.) tho the Greek was then so refined, that he was obliged to use an interpreter at first in conversing with Seuthes a Thracian prince; just as a modern *Anglus* would need an interpreter to converse with an *Anglus* of Anglen in Denmark, or with a German; there was nevertheless such clear affinity observed between the Thracian and Grecian manners and language, that *kindred* was given as the military word, implying their common origin. Nay Ovid is a witness of the similarity between the Greek and Gothic tongues:

Exercent illi socIÆ commercia linguæ,
Graiaque quod Getico victa loquela sono est.
Trist. V. x.

And in modern times Salmasius [w], Junius [x], Meric Casaubon [y], Ihre [z], pronounce the Gothic and Greek to be merely dialects of the same tongue; tho these writers are grossly mistaken in deriving Gothic words from the Greek, while the reverse is the truth: for the old Icelandic is full of Greek words, tho the Icelanders hardly knew that the Greeks existed, and could have no correspondence with them. Bibliander [a] says, that in the German (a dialect of the Gothic) of 2000 radicals, 800 are common to the Greek and to the

[w] De lingua Hellenist.
[x] In præf. ad Evangel. Goth.
[y] De vet. Lingua Anglicana.
[z] In præf. ad Gloss. Suio-Goth. See also Wallis Gram. Angl.
[a] De ratione communi omnium linguarum. The German is, at this day, declined as the Greek.

Latin;

Latin; which laſt is merely the Æolic dialect of the Greek, as all know. Now of all marks of the origin of nations, that of language is the moſt infallible.

From all theſe proofs, it is as clear as ſo remote a ſubject can be, that the Pelaſgi, the anceſtors of the Greeks, afterward called Hellenes from a ſmall tribe of the Pelaſgi who were the laſt that came in, were at firſt ſettled in Macedon and Theſſaly. That they were Thracians. That the Thracians were Scythæ, Getæ or Goths.

It is therefore Hiſtoric Truth: that the Pelaſgi, Hellenes, or Greeks, were Scythians or Goths.

Chronologers place the reign of Inachus, the firſt of the Pelaſgic ſtem, about 1800 years before Chriſt; and Deucalion and Hellen about 1500. But the Argonautic expedition 1263 before Chriſt forms the firſt faint dawn even of traditional hiſtory in Greece; all preceding this belonging to mythology. The Siege of Thebes 1225, and that of Troy 1184, together with that expedition, are the immortal themes of poets; but fairy ground to hiſtorians. The revolution cauſed by the Heraclidæ in Peloponneſus, 1104, is blended with mythology. And from thence down to Lycurgus, or about 880 before our æra, hardly an incident can be found. If we therefore ſuppoſe the Scythæ to have been in poſſeſſion of Greece and it's iles about 1500 years before Chriſt, we ſhall not greatly err. Tho the kingdom of Pelaſgic Argos in Theſſaly, the earlieſt in Greece, may well have exiſted 300 years before this population was complete, as chronologers ſtate it about 1800 B. C.

The Pelaſgi, afterward called Hellenes, were improved by the ſituation of Greece, their new ſettlement: for that favoured country, ſurrounded every where by the ſea, ſave on the north, proved an attractive centre to ſmall colonies from Egypt, and from Phœnicia, realms famous for early civilization. Cecrops and Danaus, who ſettled in Athens

Athens and Argos, about 1400 years before Chriſt, were Egyptians: Cadmus, who about 1280, founded Thebes, was a Phœnician. Letters began to be uſed [b]. Cecrops and Danaus had, it is likely, introduced tillage from the practice of Egypt; a country unfit for hunting or paſturage, and where, from neceſſity, ſowing of grain ſeems firſt to have been invented [c]. Thus Egyptian agriculture, and the arts of Phœnicia, ſoon poliſhed this branch of the Scythæ, while their northern brethren were loſt in barbariſm. But theſe colonies adopted the Pelaſgic or Hellenic language; and conformed to the Pelaſgic or Hellenic rites, and cuſtoms; as Dr. Gillies ſhews from the beſt authorities, particularly Herodot. V. 59. and VII. *paſſim*. Herodotus eſpecially mentions V. 58. that the followers of Cadmus changed their ſpeech, being ſurrounded by the Ionians an Hellenic tribe. And it might be ſhewn that the Greek mythology is but an improvement of the Scythic; the gods being moſtly illuſtrious princes of the firſt Scythic empire, who were deified by their ſubjects; a cuſtom continued to a late period among the Goths. Many ideas of Greek mythology may alſo be found in the Gothic; but this ground muſt not be lightly trodden, and is left to him who can employ a large work upon it, after a remark or two. It is well known, that the moſt ancient Greek poets were the ſole teachers of the people, and were the firſt who, by introducing a portion of

[b] Diodorus Sic. *lib.* III. and Pauſan. *in Attic.* ſhew, that the Greeks had letters before Cadmus; and that the Pelaſgic, or real ancient Greek alphabet, differed from the Phœnician. An antiquary will find reſemblances in things wholly unlike: but the ancient Greek alphabet is not Phœnician. The invention of letters, ſo ridiculouſly diſcuſſed, is the moſt ſimple poſſible: and at leaſt a dozen nations have all invented letters. It is the common uſe of letters that attends civilized ſociety. The invention may belong to the rudeſt. Plato witneſſes that the Scythæ had letters; and the Pelaſgic or Greek were ſurely Scythic. Of Scythic letters ſee alſo Euſtathius in Il. ζ.

[c] So Dionyſ. Perieg. v. 234.

allegory

allegory and an elegant method into vulgar tradition and ſuperſtition, compoſed regular ſyſtems of theogony and mythology. Now, theſe earlier poets and teachers of religion were all of Thrace. Linus, Orpheus, Muſæus, Thamyris, Eumolpus, were all Thracians; and Euſtathius (εις Ιλιαδ. β.) has long ago obſerved this ſingularity. If Thracians, they were Scythians or Goths: if Scythians, they could only uſe Scythic mythology and traditions. For the religions of the Sarmatæ, of the Celts, of the Phœnicians, of the Egyptians, were quite remote from the Grecian. Blackwell, in his admirable Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer (Sect. xii.), has well concluded the language of Thrace and of Greece to have been the ſame; and eſpecially quotes Strabo, who was of Colchis, and who ſays, 'that the Trojan language had many words and names in common with the Thracian.' The ſeveral inſtances he produces are, as Blackwell obſerves, generally known Grecian terms, as well as Trojan or Thracian: even the others may have been ancient Grecian, tho unfit for poetry, the only repoſitory of Greek language till Herodotus wrote, or about 450 years before Chriſt. Herodotus, *lib.* II. c. 52. ſays, the Greeks derived their rites and religion from the Pelaſgi, who were certainly Scythæ of Southern Thrace. Anacharſis, as above obſerved, ſaid, the Greeks *ſcythiciſed*, or followed the cuſtoms, &c. of the Scythæ. The Titans, or family of gods, were of Scythia, as mythologiſts agree. Plato *in Cratylo* ſays, the Greek rites are all from the barbarians; that is, as juſt ſhewn, the barbarians of Thrace.

The Greeks, fermented into purity by foreign colonies, ſoon aſſumed quite a diſtinct character from their Scythian progenitors and neighbours. Homer alſo roſe from the eaſtern ſhore of the Egean, like the ſun, upon them; and diffuſed an intellectual light and warmth which made their ſouls vegetate with great thoughts, the ſtems of great

great actions. So early as about 1000 years before Chriſt Grecian colonies began to be eſtabliſhed in Magna Græcia or the ſouth of Italy, in Sicily, in Africa. Nay in Macedon and Thrace, and among the more diſtant Scythæ, in which later countries, for want of tillage and the arts, barbariſm was long to prevail: while, owing to fortunate circumſtances above mentioned, the Greeks had admitted ſuch refinement as almoſt to paſs for another people among their own progenitors. A caſe which may even happen in ruder nations, as we know that the Danes, who came to Northumberland in the Ninth century, were regarded as utter ſtrangers and enemies by their own countrymen the Angli, who in 547 had ſettled in that province.

IV. Let us now very briefly conſider the origins of the ITALIANS, or whole ancient inhabitants of Italy. This country in its early ſtate may be regarded as divided into four parts: 1. Græcia Magna, and the whole country ſouth-weſt of the Apennines up to Hetruria. 2. The part north-eaſt of the Apennines, oppoſite to Illyricum. 3. Hetruria. 4. The Gallic part, from the Alps down to the Senones in Umbria.

The firſt part, as appears from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, was peopled by Aborigines from Arcadia, the earlieſt inhabitants that can be traced of Magna Græcia and of Latium. Dionyſius mentions that ſome Pelaſgi afterwards went over; but it is clear that the Arcadians were Pelaſgi[d], and M. Freret accordingly ſhews that the Aborigines and Pelaſgi were all one people. The learned look with a ſuſpicious eye upon the pages of Dionyſius, who only wrote about thirty years before Chriſt, and yet details battles, ſpeeches, embaſſies, &c. between the Pelaſgi and Aborigines, as matters of yeſterday; while Herodotus

[d] Πελασγοι Αρκαδες Herodot. VII. See alſo Pauſan. in Arcad. and Cumberland, Orig. Gent.

and

and the other ancient Greek writers knew almoſt nothing of Italy, and Dionyſius had not one authority. But it appears, that the Pelaſgi, whom Dionyſius feigns to have fought with the Aborigines, but to have been vanquiſhed and expelled by them, were ſome few later Pelaſgi from Epirus. Sicily, and this part of Italy, were afterward planted with ſuch numerous Greek colonies, from about 700 years before Chriſt, and downward, that they may be almoſt ſaid to be peopled afreſh. In Latium, where Rome was founded, there were ſeveral little tribes and towns of the Aborigines, as the Sabines, Volſci, &c. Sir Iſaac Newton in his Chronology, has actually demonſtrated that Romulus could not exiſt till at leaſt 125 years after the vulgar æra, or the year 627 before Chriſt. For to the ſeven kings are given no leſs than 243 years! And of theſe ſeven kings three were murdered, and one expelled! In no hiſtory, ancient or modern, will ſuch reigns of ſeven kings amount to 140 years, much leſs to 243. But as the *Annus Urbis Conditæ* is followed by the Roman writers, it would be moſt eligible to ſuppoſe, with ſome ancients, that Romulus did not found Rome; but that the city was a rude republick, with elective chiefs, for ſome time before Romulus. However this be, the Latin language is a clear proof of the origin of the people, being merely the Æolic dialect of the Greek, as Quintilian remarks, and as the learned well know. This Æolic has but a few variations from the Doric; as the Ionic has but a few variations from the Attic. The Æolians, a Pelaſgic diviſion, peopled Elis and Arcadia, or the weſtern and inland parts of Peloponneſus, which confirms the account of Dionyſius, that the Aborigines went from theſe parts. The Dorians, another Pelaſgic or Hellenic diviſion, held all the northweſt or mountainous part of Greece; and being led into Peloponneſus by the Heraclidæ, poſſeſſed Argos, Sparta, &c. The Ionians or moſt poliſhed

polished part consisted of the Athenians, and their colonies, on the opposite shore of Asia: all the Ionians were more refined by Asiatic commerce and arts. The Doric was used in Sicily; and Theocritus has given us an exquisite sample. If Pindar [e] used the Doric, it was certainly from knowing it most adapted to the higher Lyric poetry; for the Boeotians were Æolic; and from Strabo, *lib.* viii. we know that their speech was the Æolic. Theocritus is thought the only Doric writer. In the Æolic are some fragments of Alcæus and Sappho. It may easily be shewn, that instead of four dialects in Greek there is but one [f], namely the Doric or Æolic, for the variations of the latter from the former are so trifling as to deserve no notice, being less than those of the Somersetshire dialect, or the Cockney, from the English. The Attic, with it's

[e] Suidas says, that Pindar wrote in Doric, which opinion has been echoed by rote as usual. The author, not trusting his own judgement, consulted one of our best Greek scholars, who agreed with him, that Pindar writes in Æolic, the language of his country. Pindar calls his poetry Doric, (Δωριαν Φορμιγγα Olymp. I. &c.) but in other places calls it Æolic (Αιολητς μολπη. Αιολιδες χορδαι. Αιολιδων πνοαι αυλων). So that Pindar writes in Æolic, grammatically speaking; that is, in Doric or Æolic.

[f] This is no new discovery. The learned Lancelot, the first who, removing many difficulties of foolish erudition, gave us a Greek grammar, built on the plain simplicity of good sense, tells us, that there are but *two* Greek dialects, the Attic and Doric. Strabo, lib. VIII. *init.* had long ago said the same thing. All the author pretends to have discovered is that *a language cannot be a dialect of itself.* In that mass of folly and inaccuracy, which we call literature, and which stands as much in need of a reform as the christian religion in the time of Luther, it is not philosophy that is wanted, but common sense. Men of learning generally leave common sense at their study door; and argue upon learning, not upon common sense. Others regard literature as a profound thing to be believed; not as what it really is, a matter of severe discussion for every man's judgment; and sheer folly if not reducible to plain sense. Human science is but a small affair, but the learned make it look big by placing it in darkness; and labour all they can to obscure it, while a wise man will ever study to make it clear, simple, and little.

Ionic variations, is the Greek language uſed by all their writers but theſe above mentioned: and can no more be called a dialect than the Engliſh is a dialect of the Engliſh. The Doric, Æolic, or old Greek, was ſpoken in Macedon, Epirus, Italy, Sicily, and over all Greece, ſave Attica. But the Attic, from ſuperior poliſh, became the reigning language, while in time the other was univerſally left to clowns: and the Attic is the Greek of all countries and authors. Homer and Herodotus, Aſiatic Greeks, wrote in Ionic or Aſiatic Greek, that is the Attic rendered more muſical by now and then dropping a conſonant or aſperate, and adding a vowel, &c. Doric or Æolic is ſometimes ſparingly intermixed by ſome writers as the dialect of their country ran, or to add antique dignity. Milton and Shakſpere are full of ſuch Doric Engliſh. But of this perhaps more largely elſewhere.

The part of Italy, north of the Apennines, and oppoſite to Illyricum, was, as plain reaſon would argue, peopled by Illyrians, who, as ſhewn, were Scythæ. Pliny III. 25, tells us, that Callimachus placed a people called Peuketi[g] in Liburnia of Illyricum. In Italy directly on the oppoſite ſhore were the Pikeni; and further ſouth lay the large country of Peuketia, now Apulia, of which much may be found in Strabo. The Peuketi of Liburnia were certainly a part of the Peukini or Baſternæ, a Scythic diviſion, who had ſpred from Thrace into Illyricum, and Germany; and of whom is fully treated in the laſt chapter of this tract.

The Hetrurians, as we learn from Herodotus, whom Pliny, Paterculus, and other of the beſt ancient writers follow, were a Lydian colony; a

[g] The Roman *c* being the Greek κ, and ever pronounced ſo, it is put *k* in theſe proper names for the ſake of the Engliſh reader.

circum-

circumſtance not improbable, if we conſider the great riches, and wide commerce of Lydia. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, a fabulous hiſtorian, tells us, that the Hetruſcans were a peculiar indigenal people, reſembling no other nation in ſpeech or manners. He informs us that the Hetruſcan ſpeech was not Pelaſgic, in the moſt expreſs terms: and yet the learned univerſally allow the Hetruſcan letters, and antiquities, to be Pelaſgic, or Ancient Grecian. Indeed thoſe few detached barbaric Pelaſgi, who had returned into Greece from Italy, and thoſe who had come from Samothrace, quite puzzled Herodotus, and Dionyſius; juſt as if a few Angli from Anglen had, in the ninth or tenth century, come to England, and the writers of the times had been aſtoniſhed at their ſpeech not being Anglic, but Daniſh. The number of books, of all ages and languages, gives the moderns a prodigious ſuperiority over the ancients, in judging of the gradations of ſpeech, and origin and progreſs of nations. From the ancient Hetruſcan inſcriptions, and other monuments, the learned pronounce them Pelaſgi, looking on Dionyſius as no authority againſt facts. But may we not truſt the well informed Herodotus that they were Lydians, who about 1000 years before our æra planted Etruria? For the Lydians, as above ſhewn, were Scythæ of Thrace, as were the Pelaſgi: ſo that a ſimilarity in their ancient remains may be expected. The Lydians were early poliſhed, from their neighbourhood with the Aſſyrians of Cappadocia; and were probably ſomewhat mixt with them, ſo as to tinge their dialect a little, whence the error of Dionyſius. They were a poliſhed and opulent people: and the Hetruſcans ſeem to have had ſkill in the fine arts long before the Latins, as the many ancient pieces preſerved ſhew: a circumſtance appearing to confirm the account of Herodotus that they were a Lydian colony. By the teſtimony of Herodotus therefore the Hetruſcans were Lydians, or Scythæ:

by their monuments they were Pelaſgi, or Scythæ. At any rate they were vanquiſhed, and their country almoſt peopled afreſh by the Romans, a Grecian, Pelaſgic, or Scythic nation.

The Gallic part of Italy alone remains. The Gauls were the lateſt ſettlers in Italy. It was 386 years before our æra that they took Rome, but were defeated by Camillus. The old Umbri[h] ſeem to have been Illyrians, as the Pikeni their ſouthern neighbours; but the Galli Senones, who took Rome, ſettling in Umbria, the whole Umbri began to be reputed of Gallic extract. We have large ancient copper coins of towns in Umbria, on the Hetruſcan and Latin model, certainly ſtruck before the Gauls had any idea of coinage[i]. However this be, it is clear that all the Gauls of Ciſalpine Gaul were German Gauls, not Celts. For when Cæſar entered Gaul the Celts were confined to the moſt remote part of Gaul; while Germany bordered on the fountain of the Rhine, and the northern Alps, or in other words on Ciſalpine Gaul. The Celts lay within the Marne and the Loire; while all the eaſt of Gaul had long before been ſeized by the Belgæ, Helvetii, Allobroges, and other German Gauls[k]. On the ſouth the whole *Provincia Romanorum*, otherwiſe called

[h] Pliny ſays the Umbri were the moſt ancient people in Italy, for a laughable reaſon: "Umbrorum gens antiquiſſima Italiæ exiſtimatur ut quos *Ombrios* a Græcis putent dictos quod inundatione terrarum *imbribus* ſuperfuiſſent!" Solinus ſays that one Bocchus thought the Umbri the offspring of the Gauls. He muſt mean the later Umbri; for it is clear from Pliny that the old Umbri far preceded the Gauls.

[i] See Olivieri della fondazione di Peſaro. Si aggiunſe una letteera del medeſimo al Signor abbate Barthelemy, &c. Peſaro 1757. *folio*. Paſſerii de re nummaria Etruſcorum Diſſertatio, 1767, *fol.* and others.

[k] It is very remarkable, that ſome remains of Celts ſtill ſurvive among the Alps, for the *Lingua Waldenſis*, of which a ſpecimen is given in Chamberlayne's *Oratio Dominica*, is perfect Gaelic of Ireland; a ſingularity which has eſcaped the notice of antiquaries.

Gallia

Gallia Braccata, to diſtinguiſh it from Celtic and Aquitanic Gaul, had been poſſeſſed by German Gauls before the Romans, as the very name implies; for the Celts did not anciently wear breeches, while breeches were the chief mark of the Scythians or Goths from the time of Herodotus to this moment. For that the German Gauls, as being real Germans, were Scythians or Goths, ſhall be ſhewn in the Second Part of this Diſſertation. In ſpeaking of Gauls, the Celts, the moſt diſtant part of the Gauls, are out of all queſtion. It is not that daſtard race who were vanquiſhed by a lieutenant of Cæſar with one legion[1]; but the German Gauls, who long occupied all the power of Rome, that claim our notice in the hiſtoric page. The Italian Gauls were at any rate vanquiſhed, and their country colonized anew, by the Romans, a Scythian people.

It will be ſhewn in the Second Part that the Scythæ had paſt to the extremity of Germany and Scandinavia, about 500 years before Chriſt. On the ſouth of Germany they extended to the extremity of Illyricum, and entered Gaul on that ſide before that period. The Scythæ who peopled Illyricum were of the Thracian diviſion, ſeparated from the Germans by the Danube; and as the ſame diviſion extended, as juſt ſhewn, into Greece and Italy, their population was wholly occupied by theſe countries, and their Aſiatic ſettlements; ſo that, preſſing to the eaſt and ſouth, they never extended beyond the Adriatic, where they were checked by the Alps. The Celts ſeem to have poſſeſſed all their territories beyond the Adriatic, including Ciſalpine Gaul, till about 500 years before Chriſt, when the Germans arrived, and poured into the north of Italy, and the eaſt, and ſouth of Gaul; the Celts flying before them to the weſt. But as the Celts were called Gauls by the

[1] Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. II. *ad fin.*

Romans, and their country Gaul, the name was continued to its new poſſeſſors; juſt as the Engliſh are called Britons, as well as the Welch; and as the French are called *Galli* at this day. But this the reader will find more fully treated when we come to the Germans. The Aborigines or Pelaſgi, Illyrians, and Hetruſcans, were certainly ſettled in Italy about 1000 years before Chriſt. The Galli not above 500.

It is therefore Hiſtoric Truth that the Italians were Scythæ.

PART

PART II.

The extended Settlements of the Scythians or Goths over all Germany, and in Scandinavia.

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The extended Settlements of the Scythians or Goths over all Germany, and in Scandinavia.

CHAPTER I.

The Germans not of Sarmatic, nor Celtic, origin.

WE are now arrived at the laſt, and moſt important part of this Diſſertation: and a ſubject upon which the whole modern hiſtory of Europe depends. Senſible of its prodigious weight, i ſhall examine it with all the ſedulous care, and minute accuracy, which my purpoſe permits. The theme is indeed ſo vaſt, that large volumes may be written on it; but tho my bounds confine me to the mere outline; yet all attention ſhall be paid to render it ſcrupulouſly exact, ſo as to enable the reader to form, as from a miniature drawing, a true and juſt idea of the whole.

The

The Scythians or Goths have been followed to their Eaſtern Settlements in Aſia, and to their Southern in Europe. Let us now trace their Weſtern progreſs, or that of our progenitors. If Engliſh, Scotiſh, Iriſh; if French, Spaniard, Italian, German, Dutch, Swiſs, Swede, or Dane, let the reader attend with reverence, as he perſues the ſacred ſteps of his anceſtors. Here every European is perſonally intereſted, ſave the Sarmatians of Ruſſia and Poland; ſave the Celto-Welch of England, and the Celt-Iriſh of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland; and ſave the Fins of Hungary, Finland, and Lapland.

The reader will recollect that the Getæ, who extended all over the weſt of the Euxine, are ſhewn to have been the ſame identic people with the Parental Scythians or Goths. On the North-Weſt the Baſternæ, a German nation, as Pliny and Tacitus ſhew, bordered on the Getæ. On the South-Weſt that diviſion of the Getæ, called Daci, bordered with Germany. Pliny, IV. 12. ſays, *Getæ, Daci Romanis dicti*, 'thoſe Getæ called Daci by the Romans.' Strabo, *lib.* VIII. Γέται τοις Δακοις ὁμογλωττους; 'the Getæ and Daci have one and the ſame ſpeech.' Steph. *de Urbibus*, alſo ſays the Daci are the ſame with the Getæ: and to this all antient and modern writers aſſent. Therefore the Germans bordered, on the Eaſt, with the Getæ or Parental Goths. So Pliny VIII. 15. *Germania Scythiæ contermina.*

Thus we are come to the very criſis of our reſearch. If we cannot ſhew the Germans to have been originally Scythæ, this diſſertation is inept. If we can, a field of wide curioſity and enquiry opens to the learned of Europe. For the origin of government, manners, laws, in ſhort, all the antiquities of Europe, will aſſume a new appearance; and inſtead of being only traced to the woods of Germany, as Monteſquieu, and the greateſt

greateſt writers have hitherto done, may be followed thro the long deſcriptions of the manners, &c. of the Scythians and Thracians given us by Herodotus. Nay, even up to the Aboriginal Scythic empire in Perſia, beyond which there is no memorial of human affairs, ſave in Egypt alone; the hiſtory of which begins with Menes the firſt king, about 4000 years before our æra; while the earlieſt appearance of the Scythians in hiſtory is about 400 years after, when Vexores was king of Egypt, and Tanaus of the Scythæ. Not to mention the collateral light to be derived from the whole hiſtory of the Greeks and Romans, who were Scythæ, as juſt ſhewn.

Before producing an hoſt of arguments to ſhew the Germans to have been originally Scythæ or Goths, I ſhall briefly conſider the two only [a] other opinions, which have been formed, or can poſſibly be formed, on this ſubject. 1. That the Germans were Sarmatæ. 2. That they were Celts.

1. *The Germans not Sarmatæ.* The firſt of theſe opinions, namely, that the Germans were Sarmatæ, proceeds from ſuch groſs ignorance that I am really aſhamed to mention, much more to refute it. I have diligently peruſed moſt writers on German antiquities, but they had all ſome degree of reading, and could never fall into an error, which the whole ancient authors, and complete modern knowlege, concur to refute. This unhappy diſcovery muſt therefore be aſſigned to its right owner, and inventor, James Macpherſon, Eſq. in whoſe Introduction to the Hiſtory of Great Britain it *firſt* occurs. The author of that ſtrange

[a] Tacitus thinks the Germans Indigenes, becauſe no nation could people Germany by ſea; forgetting that it might be peopled by the much more eaſy method of a progreſſion by land. That they were not indigenes this whole diſſertation ſhews.

and

and truly Celtic work, having, with that overheated raſhneſs, which genius colliding with perfect ignorance can alone inſpire, attempted to introduce the moſt diſeaſed dreams into the Hiſtory of Scotland, thought he could, behind his Celtic miſt, uſe equal freedoms with the hiſtory of Europe! Raſh man, and ill adviſed! The miſt of Celtic nonſenſe he may gild with the beams of real genius; but, with the ignorance of a ſchool-boy, to write on the antiquities of the Germans, in which the learned of all Europe had been ever converſant, was deplorable indeed, and worthy of eternal laughter, did not commiſeration for the ingenious tranſlator and compoſer of Iriſh poetry move every reader to gentleneſs. At the ſame time it is much ſuſpected that his motives entitle him to no excuſe: and the high and contemptuous manner in which he treats others annuls all favour. His Oſſian ſhews that he piques himſelf greatly on being a Celt, and will not admit the Engliſh, or French, or Germans, or other paltry modern nations, to that high honour! Indeed the malice and contempt borne by the Celtic ſavages; for they are ſavages, have been ſavages ſince the world began, and will be for ever ſavages while a ſeparate people; that is, while themſelves, and of unmixt blood; i ſay the contempt borne by thoſe Celts for the Engliſh, Lowland Scots, and later Iriſh (who are Engliſh and Scots), is extreme and knows no bounds. Mr. Macpherſon knew that his own dear Celts are, and have ever been regarded as, a weak and brutiſh people; and in revenge tells us we are all Sarmatæ, a people eminently martial and famous, which he forgets; but remarkable, as his expreſs quotations ſhew, for naſtineſs! Fielding tells us, that a ſhallow book may, like a ſhallow man, be eaſily ſeen thro; and i can ſee nothing, if the deſign of Mr. Macpherſon's book be not to exalt

his ſweet Celts at the expence of all truth, learning, and common ſenſe.

Quand l'abſurde eſt outré, l'on lui fait trop d'honneur
De vouloir par raiſon combattre ſon erreur;
Encherir eſt plus court, ſans s'echauffer la bile.
Fontaine.

Sorry i am, toward the end of the Eighteenth Century, to be ſhewing, againſt a Britiſh author, that the Germans were not Sarmatæ; that is, that a Saxon, or a Sileſian, is not a Ruſſian, and does not ſpeak the Sarmatic (Slavonic), but Gothic tongue. For if a German ſtudent, in his firſt year at college, ſhould happen to ſee this tract, he will conclude me as ignorant as my countryman, Mr. Macpherſon; to confute abſolute nonſenſe being ſurely as ridiculous as to write it. Stung with this reflection, i ſhall haſten from my aukward ſituation, after a ſlight remark or two; for it would be abſurd to draw a ſword when a ſtraw will do, and i have a champion of far other force to encounter.

The *ſole* authority which Mr. Macpherſon can find, for this new and profound idea, is a paſſage which, with his uſual peremptory brevity, he quotes thus: "*Gothi, Vandalique ab antiquis Sarmatis originem ducunt.* Procop. lib. I." (*Introduct. p.* 34. edit. 3d.) Not to mention the ignorant oddity of quoting a Greek author in Latin, the reader muſt be informed there is no ſuch paſſage in Procopius, nor even one the leaſt like it. This would alone be reckoned a full confutation: but as this work is not a controverſial one, but written with the moſt ſincere and ſacred deſign of diſcovering the truth, i ſhall produce the real paſſage in Procopius, to which Mr. Macpherſon, or the perſon he had the above quotation from [b], muſt have

[b] It is thought that ſome friend has furniſhed Mr. M. with his quotations; and it is hardly poſſible otherwiſe to account for

have referred. It ſtands thus in the edition of Procopius, *Paris*, 1662, *e typographia regia*, 2 volumes folio, *lib.* I. *cap.* 2. Γοθικα εθνη τα μεν αλλα τα προτερον τε εν, και ταμην εστι. Τα δε δη παντων μειζοτα τε, και αξιολογωτατα, Γοθοι τε εισι; και Βανδιλοι; και Ουισιγοθοι; και Γηπαιδες. Παλαι μεν τοι Σαυρομαται, και Μελαγχλαινοι, ωνομαζοντο: εισι δε οι και Γετικα εθνη ταυτ' εκαλουν. That is literally, "*Gothic nations many and ſundry there were formerly, and are now. But among them the greateſt and moſt highly eſteemed are the Goths; and the Vandals; and the Viſigoths; and the Gepidæ. Anciently they were called Sarmatæ, and Melanchlæni: ſome have alſo called them Getic nations.*" Leſt the reader may think that Mr. Macpherſon quoted from the Latin tranſlation, it is alſo added. *Plurimæ quidem ſuperioribus fuere temporibus, hodieque ſunt, nationes Gothicæ; ſed inter illas Gothi, Vandali, Viſigothi, et Gepædes, cum numero tum dignitate præſtant. Olim Sauromatæ dicebantur, ac Melanchlæni: quidam etiam Getarum nomen ipſis tribuerunt.* This is certainly an authority; but an authority as light as a feather, compared to any one of the authorities againſt it. Procopius lived in the time of Juſtinian, about the year 540: and was ſecretary to Beliſarius, in whoſe African war he was preſent. His authority as to events of his own times, (and his whole hiſtory is that of his own times, as the title bears,) is very good; but as to origins and names of nations in the Weſt of Europe he could know nothing, and had no opportunity, being a lawyer of Cæſarea, in Paleſtine, the moſt diſtant place that ever Greek author wrote in. His horrible ignorance with regard to the Weſt of Eu-

for his evidently, on many occaſions, not underſtanding his own quotations; but even adducing them ſometimes to contradict his own inferences. Perhaps this plan is Celtic. See inſtances in Mr. Whitaker's *Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons* againſt Mr. M.

rope

rope may be judged from his account of Britain, ſo famous for its abſurdity. The origins, and ancient names of nations, he could only have from the ancient Greek and Roman writers; and when he poſitively contradicts them, as he does here, he is certainly in error by quoting from memory, and can be confuted now as fully as in his own time, being ſo very late an author. That the Goths or Getæ were never called Sarmatæ and Melanchlæni, as Procopius fables, is clear from ALL writers who mention them, from Herodotus down to his own time: for even Jornandes is not ſo ignorant as this, but mentions the Sarmatæ always as a diſtinct people from the Getæ or Goths. Strabo, who was miſled by Ephorus with regard to ſome Scythæ of Aſia being Sarmatæ, never dreamed that the Getæ were Sarmatæ, but diſtinguiſhes them repeatedly in expreſs terms. The Gepidæ, and Vandals, were German nations; the former being a part of the Baſternæ; the latter ſo well known in the page of Pliny and Tacitus. Ovid may ſhew that the Getæ were not Sarmatæ, for, as above quoted, he learned both Getic and Sarmatic. Now Mr. Macpherſon ſays in his margin, p. 37. "*The Sarmatæ anceſtors of the Germans;*" and on this he proceeds thro his work, without once recollecting that Tacitus (a writer whoſe truth and accuracy every day almoſt ſhews more and more to have been perfect) makes the ſtrongeſt diſtinction between the Germans and Sarmatæ thro his whole immortal *Germania*. He ſays the Germans wore tight dreſs, *non fluitante ſicut Sarmatæ*, 'not flowing as the Sarmatæ wear:' and mentioning ſome remote nations, at the end, ſays, *Germanis an Sarmatis adſcribam dubito*, 'I doubt whether to put them as Germans or Sarmatæ.' Why did he think the Germans indigenes, but becauſe he found them totally different from the Sarmatæ? Had any reſemblance exiſted, nothing was ſo natural as to ſuppoſe them ſprung from

from the Sarmatæ, a great bordering people. That the Sarmatæ were a distinct people from the Scythæ proper, even Herodotus knew at first, as appears by his mentioning a part of the Sarmatæ learning the Scythian tongue; and by the whole tenor of his famous account of the expedition of Darius against the Scythæ, in which he places the Sarmatæ north of the Scythæ. And Herodotus places Scythæ in Germany, and Sarmatæ to the East of them, as shall presently be shewn. Dionysius distinguishes the Germans and Sarmatæ, v. 304. Γερμανοι, Σαρμαται τε, &c. Ptolemy, the geographer, who wrote about forty years after Tacitus, was the first, who, from the ample information then received concerning the earth, as known to the ancients, put down *Sarmatia Europæa*, and *Sarmatia Asiatica*, in their full and just extent of all the nations who spoke the Sarmatic tongue; that is all Russia in Europe, and a great part of Poland, for the former; and that part of Russia which lies between the Tanais or Don and the north-east of the Caspian for the latter, or Asiatic Sarmatia. After the times of Tacitus and Ptolemy, all writers, down to the benighted age in which Procopius wrote, mention the Sarmatæ as a marked, distinct, peculiar, people. They had a vast country to rove in, whence only a few from the south-west ever attacked the Romans: and tho coins of Constantine I. impudently bear SARMATIA DEVICTA, he hardly ever had a peep at a corner of the country. Those Sarmatæ who invaded the Romans at any future time were indeed so few that we find them very slightly mentioned [c]:

[c] So slightly that they make no more figure than any *one of twenty* Gothic nations. Quidquid inter Alpes et Pyrenæum, quod oceano et Rheno includitur, Vandalus, Quadus, Sarmata, Alani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, et (O lugenda respublica!) hostes Pannoni vastaverunt. *Hieron. Epist. ad Ageruntiam.* His enim adfuere auxiliares Franci, Sarmatæ, Lætiani, Burgundiones, Saxones, Riparioli, &c. Jornand. sub an. 451.

and

and they never obtained a ſettlement in any part of the Roman empire, ſave a few in Illyricum. For the after-events of the Sarmatæ the reader is referred to any hiſtory of Ruſſia, or of Poland; in which writers of all ages have begun with them, tho not one has yet been ſo illiterate as to conſider them in the leaſt connected with the hiſtory of Germany. Matthias a Michou, who wrote his *Sarmatia Europæa et Aſiana*, about 1520: Guagnin, who, in 1581, publiſhed his *Sarmatiæ Europæ Deſcriptio; quæ regnum Poloniæ, Lituaniam, Samogitiam, Ruſſiam, Maſſoviam, Pruſſiam, Pomeraniam, Livoniam, et Moſchoviæ Tartariæque partem, complectitur*; (dedicated to the king of Poland, and chiefly compriſing the lives and portraits of the Poliſh monarchs): theſe authors were, two centuries ago, ſo ſuperior to Mr. Macpherſon, as ſufficiently to ſhew that a man, who writes upon ſuch trying ſubjects without reading, muſt only proclaim to the world that he is ignorant. Indeed, Mr. M. had only to look into Cluverius, Cellarius, or any ſchool-book of geography, to ſee that he was blundering almoſt beyond poſſibility. But to conclude this point, i ſhall ſhew the reader how little the ſole teſtimony of Procopius is to be relied on, by actually confuting this paſſage of that author, by another from his own very work, and a part of it wholly geographical, and of courſe more accurate. This paſſage occurs in Book IV. chap. 5. Λιμνην δε την Μαιωτιν, και την εξ αυτης εκβολην, υπερβαντι, ευθυς μεν ες αυτην τουγ την ταυτης ακτην, οἱ Τετραξιται καλουμενοι Γοτθοι τον παλαιον ωκηνται; ων επεμνησθεν αρτιως. Πολλω δε οπισθεν Γοτθοι τε, και Ουισιγοτθοι, και Βανδιλοι, και τα αλλα Γοτθικα γενη ξυμπαντα, ιδρηνται; οἱ δη και Σκυθαι εν τοις ανω χρονοις επεκαλουηται, επει παντα τα εθνη οπερ τα εκεινη χωρια ειχον Σκυθικα μεν επι κοινης ονομαζεται. Ενιοι δε αυτων Σαυρομαται, η Μελαγχλαινοι, η αλλο τε, επεκαλουνται. That is literally, '*To him who*

paſſes ſtrait the lake Mæotis, and its mouth, on the ſhore antiently dwelled the Goths, called Tetraxitæ, as i juſt mentioned. And at a great diſtance were placed the Goths, and Viſigoths, and Vandals, and all the other Gothic nations, who were alſo called Scythians in ancient times, ſince all the nations in theſe parts were in common called Scythic. Some of them were called Sarmatæ, and Melanchlæni, and other names.' The reader will at once ſee from this that the Sarmatæ could not, even in the opinion of Procopius, be the anceſtors of the Goths and Vandals, as Mr. Macpherſon ſtates his teſtimony; ſeeing that the Sarmatæ were but one nation of the many who bore the Scythic name, as Procopius here ſays: and a few ancient writers certainly did from ignorance, as above ſhewn, rank the Sarmatæ as a Scythic people. Let the greateſt of modern geographers, M. D' Anville, put the ſeal to this idle controverſy. In his *Geographie Ancienne Abregée*, Paris 1768, 3 volumes, 12*mo.* ſpeaking of Sarmatia Europæa, *Vol.* I. *p.* 322, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "Pour donner une idée generale de cette grande nation, et la diſtinguer de ce qui eſt Germanique d'un coté, et Scythique de l'autre, il faut dire que tout ce qui parle un langage foncierement Slavon, et ne variant que ſelon differents dialectes, eſt Sarmate. Et ſi on trouve ce meme fond de langage etabli dans des contrées etrangeres a l'ancienne Sarmatie, c'eſt que, dans les tems qui ont ſuccedé a ceux de l'antiquité, des eſſaims de cette nation ſe ſont repandus en Germanie juſqu'a l'Elbe, et au midi du Danube juſqu' a la mer Adreatique."

I beg pardon of Mr. M. for ſaying he has but one authority that the Germans were Sarmatæ. No! He has another! And ſuch another! Suffice it to ſay that his weight is prodigious, and here he is: *'Præliis ac rerum penuria Sarmatas Getas conſumpſit.* Pomp. Lætus in Claudio.' Introd.

p. 34[d]. What a pity Mr. M. ſhould have no ſkill in forgery, and did not know that the work given to Pomponius Lætus was written by Julio Sanſeverino about 1490[e]! That writer muſt certainly be an object of perpetual compaſſion who has tried to overturn the hiſtory of Europe, upon the authority of a forgery known to every boy, and even that authority miſquoted. Yet who can but langh to ſee the ingenious father of Oſſian building upon a literary fabrication? It is ſo natural! *Lætus* and *Aug. in Sempron.*[f] were fit foundations for his bauble!

II. *The Germans not Celts.* Let us now proceed to the ſecond opinion, namely, that the Germans were Celts. This has a far other champion than Mr. Macpherſon, to wit, Cluverius, a writer of ſome learning, and who would have regarded a miſquotation as the ruin of his character. In queſtions of this kind, learning and accuracy are all in all. Genius will only miſlead by falſe ſplendors;

[d] Mr. M. cannot even quote his forgeries fairly. The paſſage in Lætus really is *Prælliis ac rerum penuria Sarmatas, Getas, Scythas, Quados, conſumpſit.* Strange, yea very ſtrange!

[e] Julii Pomponii Læti Compendium Hiſtoriæ Romanæ lucem primum vidit Venetiis, 1498, 4to. De hoc Julio Sanſeverino, Sabino ſive Picentino, qui Pomponii Læti nomen adſcivit, et Romæ A° 1497, 21 Maii, diem obiit, vide Frider. Hannibalis Stempelii Diſſ. de ſocietate abbreviatorum Romana, Jenæ, 1704, 4to. præcipue vero, Diarium Venetum eruditorum Italiæ, Tom. xxii. p. 366. ſeq. *Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina*, Hamburgi, 1722, 8vo. *Tom.* III. p. 554.

[f] *Aug. in Sempron.* twice quoted by Mr. M. is a nonexiſtence. He ſleeps with Oſſian! I have hunted thro many a vaſt Bibliotheca for him without effect: but for all this trouble i ſincerely forgive Mr. M. as a good Chriſtian ought.

The author who could foiſt in the word *Angli* in a quotation, (p. 350.) from ſo common a book as Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. may well be ſuppoſed to ſtick at nothing. This *Introduction* abounds with ſuch vices as have ſtained no other work ſince the world began. It might be pronounced the moſt falſe and diſhoneſt book ever written, were it not only the moſt fooliſh and ignorant. He who, in the broad day of authors in every body's hands, could act thus, what muſt he have done in the midnight of his Celtic nonſenſe, where no eye could eſpy him?

but profound learning, cold penetration, and mature judgment will throw the ſteady light of truth over a ſubject like this. Unhappily Cluverius had but moderate learning, no penetration, and a judgment cool but not vigorous. He alſo wrote two centuries too ſoon: his *Germania Antiqua* being publiſhed in 1616, when the Gothic and Celtic Languages were unknown, no monuments of them being in print; ſo that he wanted all information, and is but a blind guide at beſt. Yet has this blind guide been followed by almoſt all authors down to this day; witneſs Keyſler, in his *Antiquitates Septentrionales et Celticæ*, Hanoveræ 1720, 8vo; Pelloutier in his *Hiſtoire des Celtes, et particulierement des Gaulois, et des Germains*, Haye, 1750, 2 tomes 12mo. and Mallet in his *Introduction à l'Hiſt. de Dannemarc*, 1755, 4to. and many others, who, as uſual with the run of writers, found it eaſier to copy than to inveſtigate. But as Cluverius is their guide, he may be conſidered as the ſole champion; for the learning of Keyſler and Mallet was ſo minute as to amount to nothing: Pelloutier is learned, but is a great plagiary from Cluverius; and they all have not even argued the point, but taken it for granted. Far other was the practice of the moſt learned and ingenious tranſlator of Mallet into Engliſh, who has altered his author ſo far as infected with this groſs error, and has in an able preface ſhewn that it is impoſſible that the Germans could be Celts. But, tho he has demonſtrated this ſo fully that i might only refer to his work, yet he has not attended to the identity of the Scythians and Goths, nor laid open the real origin of the Germans. As i am glad of ſuch able aſſiſtance in this toilſome taſk, i ſhall give an abſtract of his arguments, and add ſome of my own.

He obſerves that all the arguments of Cluverius and Pelloutier, (if they may be called arguments), fall under two heads, *Quotations* from the ancient Greek and Roman authors, and *Etymologies* of the

the names of perſons and places. The later he conſiders firſt; and well obſerves that "arguments "derived from etymology are ſo very uncertain and "precarious, that they can only amount to pre-"ſumptions at beſt, and can never be oppoſed to ſo-"lid poſitive proofs." At the end he gives ſpecimens of Celtic etymology, from that inſane work, the *Memoires de la langue Celtique par M. Bullet. Beſançon*, 1754, 3 vols, folio, from which it appears that a man muſt be a lunatic who founds any thing upon a language ſo looſe as to take any impreſſion. Such are *Northampton* (North Hampton) from *Nor*, the mouth of a river, *Tan* a river, *Ton* habitation. *Northill* (North Hill) from *Nor* river, and *Tyne* habitation. *Ringwood* from *Ren* a diviſion, *cw* a river, and *bed* a foreſt. *Uxbridge* (Ouſe-bridge) from *uc* river, and *brig* diviſion. *Riſum teneatis?* Let me add, that the Iriſh, and Welſh, and Armorican tongues, the only dialects of Celtic we have, (for the Highland Gaelic is but corrupted Iriſh) are at this day, and from the earlieſt MSS. remaining, one half Gothic: and a great part Latin, owing to the Romans living four centuries among the Welch, and the uſe of Latin in Ireland on the introduction of Chriſtianity. The Gothic words are ſo numerous, that Ihre calls the Celtic, ſo reputed, a dialect of the Gothic; falſely, becauſe the grammar and ſtructure, the ſoul of the language, are totally different: but theſe Gothic words proceeded from the Belgæ, Saxons, and Danes, being intermingled with the Welſh, and Iriſh. For that theſe words did not paſs from Celtic into Gothic is clear, becauſe all the roots, branches, and relations of the words are found in the Gothic, but in Celtic only ſingle detached words; as we uſe the French *eclairciſſement*, but not *eclairer*, &c. The few words peculiarly Celtic, and of which a Gloſſary, by a perſon of complete ſkill in the Gothic, would be highly valuable, have ſo many ſignifications, that to found etymology on them is worſe than madneſs.

In the Iriſh one word has often ten, twenty, or thirty meanings; *gal* implies *a ſtranger, a native, milk, a warrior, white, a pledge, a conqueror, the belly of a trout, a wager*, &c. This muſt be the caſe in all ſavage tongues, which muſt be poor and confuſed. But the Celtic, i will venture to ſay, is of all ſavage languages the moſt confuſed, as the Celts are of all ſavages the moſt deficient in underſtanding. Wiſdom and ingenuity may be traced among the Samoieds, Laplanders, Negroes, &c. but among the Celts, none of native growth. All etymology of names is folly; but Celtic etymology is ſheer frenzy. Enough of Celtic etymology! let us leave it to candidates for bedlam, and go on.

As to the *Quotations*, i muſt beg leave to differ from the learned Tranſlator of Mallet, who puts a ſlight value on them. Far from this, had the ancients been againſt me, i would at once have acceded to their ſentiments: for AUTHORITIES ARE FACTS IN HISTORY, and to argue againſt them is to loſe labour, as we muſt return to them at laſt. But the learned Schoepflin has ſo fully ſhewn, in his *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, that the ancients are poſitive againſt the Germans being Celts, that he has left nothing to add. He ſhews that Dio Caſſius, a writer of the moſt ſuſpicious character, as well known, and whoſe accounts are often contradictory of Cæſar, Tacitus, Suetonius, and others the beſt informed, is the ONLY author who calls the Germans, Celts. And that againſt Dio are Herodotus, Ariſtotle, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus, Strabo, Dionyſius Periegetes, Plutarch, Pauſanias, Ptolemy, Athenæus, Stephanus Byzantinus; and ALL the Latin authors. Dio was indeed another Ephorus; for ſuch writers will ariſe, and the ancients had ignorant and fooliſh authors as well as we. Cæſar and Tacitus ſo fully confute Dio in this, as in many other matters, that he is juſtly regarded as an ignorant fabuliſt; and Lipſius has well obſerved, that he muſt be redd with extreme caution.

caution. Indeed Cæſar and Tacitus are ſo direct againſt the ideas of Cluverius and Pelloutier, that they are eternally oppoſing their authority; whereas they are the very chief authors we can depend on: Cæſar having warred in Gaul and Germany; and Tacitus living, as *Procurator Belgiæ*[g], upon the confines of Gaul and Germany.

The learned tranſlator of Mallet next proceeds to poſitive proofs, that the Germans were not Celts, but differed from them widely in perſon, manners, laws, religion, and language.

In Perſon. From Tacitus *in Agricola*, cap. 11. who ſays the inhabitants of Caledonia reſembled the Germans in perſon, while the Britons next Gaul reſembled the Gauls; that is, let me add, the ſouth-weſt Britons, who were Celts not Belgæ, reſembled the oppoſite Celtic Gauls.

In Manners. Among the Germans the huſband gave a dower to the wife. Tacit. Germ. c. 18. Among the Gauls, the wife to the huſband. Cæſar Bell. Gall. *lib.* VI. Add, that we learn from Ariſtotle, Polit. *lib.* II. *c.* 2. that the Celts were the only nation who deſpiſed women, as appears alſo from the Welſh and Iriſh hiſtories, and their preſent practice; while the Germans, as Tacitus obſerves, paid ſuch reſpect to the ſex, as almoſt to adore them.

In Laws. Among the Germans the meaneſt peaſant was independent and free. Tacit. Germ. *paſſim.* Among the Celts, all ſave the Druids and nobles (*equites*) were ſlaves. Cæſar. Bell. Gall. *lib.* VI. *Plebs pæne ſervorum habetur numero*, &c.

In Religion. Among the Germans no Druids, nor tranſmigration of ſouls.

In Language. This is the chief mark of diſtinct nations; and the moſt certain and unalterable. Cæſar ſays, that the Celts differed in language

[g] Vita Taciti, operib. præf. ex Plinii Hiſt. Nat. ni fallor.

from the Belgæ, who, he informs us, deſcended from the Germans. Bell. Gall. *lib.* I. *et* II. And, *lib.* I. *c.* 47. he tells, that Arioviſtus, a German prince, learned the Gallic by a long reſidence in Gaul. Sueton. *in Caligula, c.* 47. ſays, that emperor cauſed Gauls to be taught German, to attend his mad triumph. See alſo Tacitus in Germania, *paſſim*; as where ſpeaking of the Gothini, he ſays, *Gothinos Gallica lingua coarguit non eſſe Germanos*; 'their Gallic ſpeech proves the Gothini not Germans.' The tranſlator then ſhews, that the German and Celtic tongues are as diſtinct as the Engliſh is from Welſh or Iriſh; being radically different in conſtruction, the eſſence of language. To the GERMAN, a dialect of the Gothic, belong the following: I. TEUTONIC, Tudeſk, or old German. 1. Francic or Franco-Tudeſk. 2. Swabian. 3. Swiſs. 4. Saxon. 5. Engliſh. 6. Dutch. 7. Friſic. II. SCANDINAVIAN. 1. Daniſh, 2. Norwegian. 3. Icelandic. 4. Swediſh. 5. Broad Scotiſh. To the CELTIC belong, I. The old Celtic, quite loſt. II. Old Britiſh (or Cimbric). 1. Corniſh. 2. Armorican. 3. Welſh. III. Old Iriſh. 1. Manks. 2. Highland Erſe. 3. Iriſh. The Lord's prayer is then given in all theſe tongues, which demonſtrates at once that the whole German tongues are of the ſame conſtruction, and have many words in common; and the Celtic have the ſame deſcription, but totally differ from the German.

The tranſlation of Mallet was publiſhed in 1770; and in the ſame year appeared at Paris a ſecond and enlarged edition of Pelloutier's *Hiſtoire des Celtes*, in eight volumes 8vo. publiſhed by M. de Chiniac. This edition i have peruſed with great attention; and as very few ſtudy ſuch remote ſubjects, and others may be miſled by the falſe appearance of reading, and reſearch, in that work, a hint or two ſhall be given concerning it. It is a bad omen to ſtumble in the threſhold.

Our

Our author has not only ſtumbled, but fallen headlong, for he thus begins his work. '*Les Celtes ont eté connus anciennement ſous le nom general de Scythes. C'eſt celui que les Grecs donnoient a tous les peuples qui habitoient le long du Danube, et au dela de ce fleuve, juſques dans le fond du Nord.*' Αυτος εφα! *He has ſaid it!* The very firſt ſentence is an utter falſehood and abſurdity; for all the ancients diſtinguiſh as widely as poſſible between the Celts and Scythæ, as the reader may long ere now have judged, placing the former in the weſtern extremity of Europe, and bringing the later out of preſent Perſia. Now upon this radical error his whole work turns; and the conſequence is, that it is a chaos of complete deluſion from the firſt page to the laſt. M. Formey, whoſe *eloge* of him is prefixt, tells us innocently, *p. xxi.* 'M. Pelloutier m'a dit qu'il avoit lu l' apres ſouper, a peu pres comme on lit la Gazette, tous les auteurs dont on trouve la liſte a la tete de ſon premier tome de l'Hiſtoire des Celtes.' Every reader might have ſeen this: and it is to be ſuppoſed that he alſo wrote after ſupper, for his work is certainly written between awake and aſleep. Tho he has not redd above half what he ought; and his conſtant attention to his clerical duties prevented his reading, ſave after ſupper, when his mind was exhauſted to the dregs; yet he appears to have looked into the indexes of many books, and his ſilent ſuppreſſion of all the paſſages of the ancients cōcerning the Aſiatic origin of the Scythæ cannot be excuſed. His over-heated imagination ſaw the Celts every where; tho, if he could have underſtood the firſt page of Cæſar, he might have learned that in his time they held but one third part of Gaul. Weakneſs is excuſable; but truth muſt not be ſacrificed to falſehood: and his ſuppreſſion of all the evidence relating to the Scythæ is moſt illaudable. Indeed he always ſuppreſſes what he cannot anſwer: a plan very eaſy and very

very common. His design is to shew Gaul the parent country of modern nations in Europe, and thus to support the French dream of universal monarchy. But it may boldly be said that he who in treating history, the grand instruction of mankind, does not place the evidence against, as well as for, before his readers, he is a propagator of falsehood, and an enemy of society. But let him be judged by the verdict of one of his countrymen: *Si l'honneur et la bonne foi sont requises dans toutes les actions de la vie, elles sont indispensables dans la composition de l'histoire. Et l'historien qui manque a ces conditions, et qui deguisse a dessein la qualité des evenements, est un traitre et un faussaire qui abuse de la confiance du public.* Fresnoy *Meth. pour etudier l'Hist.* Tome V. p. 320.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

The Germans were Scythæ. FIRST GRAND ARGUMENT: From Identity of Language.

THE opinions that the ancient Germans were Sarmatæ, and that they were Celts, being ſhewn to be erroneous, i proceed to eſtabliſh that they were Scythæ, who continued their progreſs from ancient Scythia, and their extended territories of Getia and Dacia into Germany, the bordering country. It muſt here be premiſed, that no author has fallen in my way who has entered into this. Cluverius, and his lateſt followers, think the Germans Celts. The modeſt and induſtrious Boxhorn, and a few others, who put the Germans as Scythæ, have been ſo ignorant as to take the Sarmatæ, Celts, and Huns, alſo for Scythæ. So that no ſolid ſcience could ſtand upon ſuch vague premiſes[a]. The Daniſh and Norwegian, and Swediſh, antiquaries uſed to think that the Goths came ſtrait from the Euxine to the Baltic; and that all the Gothic nations in Europe went from Scandinavia, as Jornandes bears, an author whom they formerly fought for as *pro aris et focis.* But

[a] Brotier, in his excellent edition of Tacitus, Paris, 1771, 4 volumes, 4to, ſays the Germans were Scythæ. But whom did he mean by *Scythæ?*

of

of late their whole ancient Eddas, Sagas, Chronicles, &c. ſhewing, on the contrary, that the Goths came to Scandinavia, not many centuries before Chriſt, but mentioning no prior egreſſion from it, their natural good ſenſe has led them to paſs theſe ideas: but they have not treated on the German origins, while the German writers ſtill generally follow Cluverius. Monteſquieu, Gibbon, and other late eminent writers, diſcuſs not the ſubject, but regard the Germans as aborigines.

The reader's whole attention is therefore requeſted to the arguments for this grand point; which, as lucid order is ſtudied in this little eſſay as much as poſſible, ſhall now be arranged in numerical battalion, after a remark or two. By the Germans i mean, as the ancients did, the whole nations from the Danube on the South, up to the Northern ocean, or extremity of Scandinavia on the North; and from the Rhine, and German ocean on the Weſt, to the river Chronus or Niemen on the Eaſt. For tho the Viſtula was generally put as the eaſtern boundary of Germany, this was owing to the Venedi, and one or two other Sarmatic nations, being found between the Chronus and Viſtula: but the whole *Germani Tranſviſtulani*, or vaſt diviſion of Germans called BASTERNÆ, amounting, as Pliny ſtates, to a fifth part of the Germans, were beyond the Viſtula, in preſent Pruſſia, Polachia, Maſovia, and Red Ruſſia. So that the Chronus or Niemen was certainly the proper boundary between the Germans and Sarmatæ, tho the ſuperior courſe and fame of the Viſtula made it the popular barrier. That the Scandinavians were Baſternæ, or Tranſviſtular Germans, right reaſon might inſtruct us, had we not the poſitive authority of Strabo, with collateral proofs from Tacitus, Ptolemy, and others, as after explained. For this was the part of Germany which immediately led from the Euxine to Scandinavia; and the paſſage to Sweden was not long;

and

and was divided by the iles of Gotland and Oeland. The reader muſt alſo obſerve, that tho my proofs that the Germans were Scythæ from Aſia open a new field, yet heaven forbid that i ſhould make a new hypotheſis in ancient hiſtory! No. *The truth is always old.* What ſhall now be ſhewn was originally well known, tho afterward loſt. I do not diſcover new opinions; but old facts, that were hid under the ſoil of error; when they are dug up, they will be found to evidence their antiquity by their fabric.

The learned and judicious Sheringham obſerves, that there are three ways to judge of the origin of nations. 1. From Relation of Speech. 2. From accounts preſerved in Ancient Hiſtory. 3. From Similar Manners. But that the firſt is the chief and moſt certain of all arguments; *Linguarum Cognatio cognationis gentium præcipuum, certiſſimumque argumentum eſt.* This is indeed common ſenſe, for if we found a people in Japan who ſpoke French, they muſt be of French origin; and it is one of theſe truths which cannot be controverted. Language is a moſt permanent matter, and not even total revolutions in nations can change it. A philoſopher well told Auguſtus, that it was not in his power to make one word a citizen of Rome. When a ſpeech changes, it is in many centuries; and it only changes cloths, not body and ſoul. But not to inſiſt on a point univerſally allowed, it can be proved that the language of the old Germans was Scythic, or (what has been infallibly above ſhewn to be the ſame) Gothic, by theſe following facts.

FIRST GRAND ARGUMENT. The old German and Scythic one and the ſame Speech. This may be proved as follows.

We have a venerable monument of the Scythic or Gothic language in the goſpels tranſlated by Ulphilas, biſhop of the Goths, in Mæſia, in the year

year 367[b]. These four gospels, the remains of a translation of the Scriptures for the use of his people, have been repeatedly published, since the first edition, by Junius, 1665, 4to. down to that of Mr. Lye. Another fragment, containing part of the epistle to the Romans, has been lately discovered in the library at Wolfenbuttle, and published by Knitel, archdeacon of Wolfenbuttle. Other fragments of the Gothic language have also been found, of which see Mr. Lye's notes to his edition of the Gothic gospels. All these remains, as being Gothic, are Scythic, for it has been fully shewn that Goths and Scythæ were but synonymous terms for one and the same people.

The consonance of these Scythic remains with the old German is universally known. The Francic is a dialect of the Teutonic, Tudesque or Old German; and the gospels of Ulphilas bear such affinity to the Francic, of which fragments are preserved in the early French historians and elsewhere, that De la Croze, and Michaelis, have pronounced these gospels to be part of an old Francic version, tho Lye, Knitel, and others, have refuted that opinion from history, and comparison of the dialects. Schilter, in his invaluable *Thesaurus*[c], has given us many large monuments of the Tudesque, or Old German, from the seventh century downward, and it is clear that the Scythic of Ulphilas is the same language. Wachter's learned Glossary of the ancient German also certifies this point. And the skilful Ihre, after hesitating whether the gospels of Ulphilas bear most

[b] Socrates, IV. 33. Sozomen. VI. 37. Nicephor. XI. 48. Jornandes, c. 51. Isidor. Chron. Goth. sub anno æræ Hispan. 415. Roderic. Toletanus II. 1. says Gudilas episcopus Gothorum literas eis tradidit, quæ in antiquis Hispaniarum et Galliarum libris adhuc hodie superstant, et specialiter quæ dicitur Toletana Scriptura.

[c] Schilteri Thesaurus Antiq. Teuton. Ulmæ, 1728, 3 vols. folio.

resem-

reſemblance of the German or Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic, gives it in favour of the former, adding that ſome words, as might be expected, are neither found in the old German nor Scandinavian [d]. The Anglo-Saxon, as it is called, but which ſhould be ſtiled the Anglo-Belgic, is alſo known by all to be a venerable, and excellent dialect of the Tudeſque: and it bears ſuch intimate connection with the Scythic goſpels, that the noble work of Lye, the *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico Latinum*, London, 1772, 2 vols. *folio*, is built wholly upon their identity.

The Scandinavian, of which the oldeſt reliques are Iſlandic, and begin with Arius Frodi, in the Eleventh century, is a dialect of the German. The remains we have in it are more modern by four centuries than thoſe of the German, for nothing ſhall be built on the Runic inſcriptions; and thoſe Iſlandic reliques are more poliſhed, and the words more ſhortened, (a grand mark of a poliſhed tongue, as long words are of a rude and primitive one [e]) not only becauſe more modern than the German, but becauſe the Iſlandic was refined by a long ſucceſſion of poets and hiſtorians almoſt worthy of Greece or Rome. Hence the Icelandic, being a more poliſhed language than the German, has leſs affinity with the parent Gothic. The Swediſh is nearer related to the Icelandic than either the Daniſh or Norwegian; the two later countries being under one monarch of German extract, and from the proximity of Denmark to Germany, many words have crept in. But that the Swediſh is the daughter of the Scythic of Ulphilas is amply known from Ihre's work, the *Gloſſarium Suio-Gothicum*. Nor is there occaſion to inſiſt upon

[d] In Differt. de Evangel. Gothic. Vide etiam Differt. de veteri lingua Danica apud Gunlaugi Vermilinguis et Rafnis poetæ Sagam. *Hauniæ*, 1775, 4to.

[e] See Mr. Horne Tooke's ſenſible and ingenious Ἔπεα πτερόεντα,

facts

facts now ſo univerſally certified as the identity of the Scythic or Gothic, preſerved in Ulphilas and other ancient remains, with the German and Scandinavian tongues.

Even in the darker ages theſe facts were well known. Rodericus Toletanus ſays, *Teutonia, Dacia, Norvegia, Suecia, Flandria, et Anglia, unicam habent linguam, licet idiomatibus dignoſcantur*: 'Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Flanders, and England, have all one ſpeech, tho diſtinguiſhed by their idioms.' And Walafrid Strabo, who wrote under Louis the Pious Emperor of Germany about 820, obſerves juſtly, *Gothi, qui et Getæ, eo tempore quo ad fidem Chriſti, licet non recto itinere, perducti ſunt, in Græcorum provinciis commorantes, noſtrum, id eſt Theotiſcum ſermonem habuerunt*[f]. 'the Goths, who were alſo called Getæ, being in the provinces of the Greek empire (*the Byzantine*) at the time they were brought to the Chriſtian faith, tho not by the right way, (*they were all Arians as was Ulphilas their apoſtle*), had our language, that is the Tudeſque.' This fact Walafrid muſt have ſeen from the tranſlation of Scripture by Ulphilas, mentioned by the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians, and famous from the firſt over all chriſtendom.

The modern German, a language ſpoken in a far greater extent than any other of Europe, and now beginning to be much ſtudied from the number of good books in it, reſembles the Gothic goſpels, more than the preſent Daniſh, Norwegian, or Swediſh; and has certainly more ancient ſtamina. Its likeneſs to the Aſiatic tongues, in harſhneſs and inflexible thickneſs of ſound, is very apparent. In form, ſtructure, and in numerous words, it agrees with the Perſian, as all know[g];

[f] De reb. Eccl. c. 7.

[g] Lipſ. Cent. III. epiſt. 44. Scaliger. Burton de veteri lingua Perſica. Boxhorn. Præf. ad Orat. Dom. a Chamberlayne, &c. &c. The learned Marſham juſtly obſerves, *Scythæ ſunt tam Perſæ, quam Gothi, Germanique.*

and

and Buſbequius ſhews that the clowns of Crim Tartary, not Tartars, but remains of the old Scythæ, ſpeak a language almoſt German. Charlemagne was firſt emperor of Germany. Before he conquered it, petty ſtates prevailed. Fragments of Tudeſque or German of his age remain. The Francic and Saxon are dialects of it. The former is generally ſtiled Franco-Tudeſque: and the later ſhould be called Saxo-Tudeſque, being a different dialect from the Saxon of England, falſely ſo called, for it was Belgic, and ſpoken in England by three millions of people three hundred years before Cæſar. The Saxons and Angli never exceeded a hundred thouſand, and adopted the tongue of the inhabitants, which they called Saxon or Anglic, as their poſſeſſions lay, the former to the ſouth, the later to the north. The Saxons conquered the Angli, and yet the later gave their name to the country[h]. Such was the effect of one book written by an Anglus, Beda's *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſticą Gentis Anglorum*. The Engliſh is Belgic mixt with Roman, or, as now called, French. The Roman was never entirely ſpoken in Britain as in Italy, Spain, Gaul. The Welſh tongue ſufficiently ſhews this. Britain was a remote frontier; and the Romans who defended it keeped ſeparate from the people. In Spain and Gaul the inhabitants were wholly romanized; all were Romans. In Britain the Romans were ſolely the Roman legions. The inhabitants of Gaul, who all ſpoke Roman, far outnumbering the Franci their conquerors, their tongue, tho ſpoken of with contempt at firſt, as the *lingua Romana ruſtica*, prevailed over the Francic; and was called Roman, but now French. Such was alſo the very caſe in

[h] The kingdom of the Weſt Saxons ſubdued the reſt. D'Anville in his *Etats formés en Europe apres la chute de l'empire Romain en occident*, Paris 1771, 4to, wonders that the name of the vanquiſhed Angli remained to the country: but names are merely accidental.

Italy and Spain; where the *Romano*, and *Romance*, overcame the rude Gothic, and is now the language. It muſt alſo be remarked, that the ancient German has not the ſmalleſt ſimilarity to the Celtic, or to the Sarmatic: and that the older it is the greater is the diſtance[1].

This argument, from identity of ſpeech, is ſo certain and concluſive, that, from it alone, we might invincibly infer that the Germans were a Scythic progeny: but to place ſo important a point beyond a ſhadow of doubt, even to the moſt ignorant or prejudiced mind, let us proceed to other arguments.

[1] Mallet, *London* 1770, vol. II. notes.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

The Germans were Scythæ. SECOND GRAND ARGUMENT: From the teſtimonies of Ancient Authors.

IN examining the origin of nations language is juſtly eſteemed an infallible criterion. But in all other ancient facts the authorities of ancient writers form the ONLY evidence we can poſſibly have. Without them we can know nothing of the ſubject. Human affairs by no means proceed according to reaſon, ſpeculation, or philoſophy; but depend on various contingencies, which can only be learned from ancient authors. It cannot therefore be too often repeated that AUTHORITIES ARE FACTS IN HISTORY. Lord Bacon introduced experimental philoſophy againſt theories of nature; and in hiſtory theory is even more fooliſh than in natural philoſophy, ſeeing that nature has great laws, which hiſtory has not. What we now call the philoſophy of hiſtory was introduced by Voltaire, and a few other ignorant theoriſts, unacquainted with that great reading, upon which the experimental philoſophy of hiſtory muſt ſtand. For if we reaſon upon falſehoods, our reaſoning muſt be falſe: and in ancient hiſtory facts can only be found by the moſt aſſiduous peruſal of all the writers who ſtate theſe facts, or throw light on them. If we truſt conjecture, or philoſophical nonſenſe, there is no end; for a thouſand authors may give us a thouſand theories, and we muſt return to the ancients at laſt. The migrations of nations are alſo facts ſo very ample, and ſtriking, and leave ſuch traces,

that even the moſt ignorant know them; as there is not a peaſant in Europe who is to learn that the North American colonies went from Britain. When therefore ancient authors univerſally agree in ſuch large facts, their teſtimony is infallible, and preſents every evidence of hiſtoric truth.

SECOND GRAND ARGUMENT. The Germans were Scythæ, from ancient authorities.

The knowlege which the Greek and Roman authors, preceding Cæſar, had of Germany, was obſcure, and confined. About 450 years before our æra, Herodotus, the earlieſt writer who can afford us any intelligence on this ſubject, thought that the Danube roſe near a town of the Celts called Pyrrhene, not far from the pillars of Hercules [a]: that is, the Pyrenees in Spain. He alſo tells that the Eridanus, or Po, ran into the Northern ocean, in preſent Pruſſia, where the amber always was, and is now alone found, an idea which apparently aroſe from this, that the amber was brought from Pruſſia overland to the mouth of the Po, there to be ſhipped for Greece. About 250 years before Chriſt, Apollonius Rhodius affords equal marks of ignorance in geography. For he makes the Argonauts, in their return, paſs from the Euxine up the Danube into the Cronian, or Baltic ſea; thence into the Eridanus, or Po, which, with Herodotus, he ſuppoſed fell into the Baltic; a branch of which leads them into the Rhone; an arm of which later would have carried them weſt to the great ocean, had not Juno cried to them from the Hercynian rock, or Hercynian foreſt in Germany [b]. This was the courſe of their voyage: and ſuch was the ignorance of an exquiſite and learned poet, who had ſtudied and lived long at Alexandria, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and had certainly the uſe of the largeſt library of ancient times! Polybius, who wrote about 160

[a] Lib. II.

[b] Argonaut. IV. 290. 640.

years

years before Chriſt, ſays in his third book, 'All that country between the Tanais and Narbonne, to the north, is unknown to us, till by curious inveſtigation we learn ſomewhat concerning it. They therefore, who write or ſpeak otherwiſe, are either ignorant, or fabuliſts.' This reſtriction includes all Germany, Scandinavia, Britain, and the moſt of Gaul.

But this ignorance of the ancients related chiefly to the geography of theſe regions; for as to the great diviſions of men who inhabited them, namely the Scythæ and Celts, they were by no means ignorant. We knew that the Japaneſe were a Chineſe colony, and that the Icelanders had paſt from Norway, for centuries before we had any thing but fables, as to the geography of theſe countries: and ſuch was the caſe with the ancients. One navigation may diſcover the name, language, and manners, of a diſtant people: while to give an accurate geography of their country, whole centuries are required; eſpecially in ancient ages, when voyages were only made by ignorant mariners and traders, for the mere ſake of gain. The Phœnicians were ſettled at Gades in Spain, and at Utica in Afric, about 1200 years before Chriſt, or three hundred years before the building of Carthage, which laſt was the foundation of a party who had fled to a well known ſhore, and not an original trading colony. Gaul and Britain were certainly viſited by the Phœnicians, long before Germany and Scandinavia were at all known to the Greeks or Romans. But the Phœnicians, as Strabo tells us, carefully concealed all knowlege of theſe countries, leſt other nations might interfere in their trade. The ſtory of the Phœnician ſhip is well known, the maſter of which, obſerving a Roman veſſel following his tract in theſe ſeas, ran aground on purpoſe, and thus wrecked his own ſhip and the Roman that followed him. This act was deemed ſo patriotic, that he was richly re-

warded by the ſenate of Carthage. The part of Germany at the mouth of the Viſtula, or preſent Pruſſia, was certainly known to the Greeks before the time of Herodotus; and it was the country that ſupplied all the amber in ancient times, as it does in the preſent. That Greek merchants travelled there, and had eſtabliſhed the mart for it, at the mouth of the Po, there is every reaſon to believe. And if the natives brought it down to that mart, the merchants would equally learn their name, ſituation, language, and manners. Herodotus mentions the Marus, or Moraw, of preſent Moravia, a river to the weſt of the Viſtula; and ſays it riſes in the country of the Agathyrſi, whom Dionyſius and other geographers place on the north of Marus, up to the Baltic. The Eridanus of Herodotus may well be interpreted the Viſtula; for there is no reaſon why the Greeks ſhould not have given the ſame name to the two different rivers, eſpecially while their authors afford many examples of this kind. The deſcription of Herodotus can alone apply to the Viſtula, at whoſe mouth only amber was and is found, and where the region of the Hyperboreans was, as he and other ancients ſtate. And this commerce of amber ſeems to have opened the connection between the Hyperboreans and the Greeks, ſo famous in antiquity. M. D' Anville has erred in placing the Hyperboreans in the north of European Ruſſia, a region unknown to the ancients. Ptolemy, and Agathadæmon, who laid down his maps, making the Riphæan mountains run eaſt and weſt, at the fountain of the river Tanais: and it is only by ancient ideas that we muſt eſtimate ancient geography. The eaſt of the Baltic was the *Mare Cronium*; the Great Northern, or Frozen, Ocean, was quite unknown to the ancients; and indeed how could they get at it, for of Scandinavia, as ſhewn in the laſt chapter, they only knew as far as the Wener lake, and lake of Stockholm. But the Greeks know to a certainty,

1. That

1. That the Celts were in the weſt of Europe, above Spain; or in Gaul and Britain. 2. That in the North Weſt of Europe, or in preſent Germany and Scandinavia, were the Scythæ; and the Celto-Scythæ, or thoſe Scythæ in Gaul and Britain, who bordered on the Celts, as the Indo-Scythæ did on the Indi. 3. That the Sarmatæ were on the North of Greece, to the eaſt of the Scythæ of Germany. All which will clearly appear from the following authorities.

1. Herodotus places the Celts quite to the Weſt, and the pillars of Hercules; whereas in his geography of Scythia, Book IV. ch. 99. *et ſeq.* he evidently ſuppoſes that the Scythians ſpred all over the North Weſt of Europe, even to the Northern ocean, or Baltic. The Agathyrſi, and Geloni, he ranks among the Scythian nations, who united in the general league againſt Darius, *ch.* 101. Now Dionyſius and Ptolemy place the Agathyrſi and Geloni upon the Baltic ſea. We learn from this that the ancient Greeks knew that the Scythæ extended to the utmoſt north-weſt extremity of Europe, or up to Scandinavia.

2. Xenophon, who wrote about 380 years before Chriſt, ſays, in his *Memorabilia Socratis*, lib. II. §. 10. Εν δε τη Ευρωπη Σκυθαι μεν αρχουσι; 'In Europe the Scythians bear ſway:' ſhewing that as the Perſians were the ruling people in Aſia, ſo were the Scythæ in Europe. Had the Scythians of Europe been regarded by Xenophon as confined to Ancient Scythia, he could not have given them this deſcription; but he palpably underſtood that they extended into the heart and furtheſt parts of Europe, and bore univerſal ſway in it.

3. Ariſtotle, *in Meteor.* I. 13. ſays, the Iſter, or Danube flowed from the Pyrenees, mountains of Celtica: and *De Gen. An.* II. 8. he ſpeaks of the cold of Scythia, and adds that the country of the *Celts, above Spain*, (Κελτους τους υπερ της Ιβηριας) is alſo cold. He, as well as Herodotus, knew that

the Celts were confined to Celtic Gaul, and to Britain, for he calls the tin which was brought from Britain, *Celtic tin*: τον κασσιτερον τον Κελτικον τηκεσθαι φασι πολυ ταχιον μολυβδου; 'they ſay that Celtic tin melts much ſooner than lead:' *De Mir. Auſc.*

4. In the next century, or about 250 years before Chriſt, Pytheas, Xenophon Lampſacenus, and Timæus, authors quoted by Pliny, Nat. Hiſt. IV. 13. all ſay that the ile Baltia, or Gleſſaria, a peninſula of the Pruſſian coaſt, in which amber is found, 'lay oppoſite to Scythia, diſtant a day or two's ſail.' Pliny quotes them ſeparately, and they vary in ſome points, but all agree in this; which ſhews to a certainty that the Greeks knew the Scythians to extend to Scandinavia, and over all the north of Germany, as before mentioned: while the Celts were confined to Celtic Gaul and Britain. My plan confines me, elſe i could convince every reader, that the Greeks, five centuries before Chriſt, had far more accurate ideas of the Scythic and Celtic nations than Pelloutier, a writer of yeſterday. But it is the property of an over heated imagination to raiſe fumes, and darken every ſubject, while the *lumen ſiccum*, or dry light of judgement, penetrates and illuſtrates all. Fancy blends: judgment diſcriminates. Fancy finds ſimilitudes; judgment diſſimilitudes.

In the century following Polybius is the moſt eminent writer, but his ſubject extended to Gaul, not to Germany. Scymnus of Chios, an elegant geographer in verſe; who wrote, as Dodwell ſhews, 127 years before Chriſt, and addreſſes his work to Nicomedes, king of Pergamus; tho he quotes many authors, only ſhews that the Greeks had made no greater progreſs in geography.

5. At length full day ariſes upon the weſt, and a diſtant ſplendor upon the North of Europe. Cæſar, who entered upon his province of Gaul 57 years before the Chriſtian æra, from perſonal knowlege, enlarged by the cool penetration and

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luminous comprehenſion of his great ſoul, was to be the fountain of this irradiation. From his admirable Commentaries on the Gallic War it is evident that the Celts, far from being, as Pelloutier idiotically ſuppoſes, ſpred over all Europe, were in fact confined to one third of Gaul, as every ſchool-boy knows who has redd the firſt line of his work[c]. For the North eaſt third was poſſeſſed by the Belgæ; who, as Cæſar informs us, from the beſt information, that of a neighbouring nation, were of Germanic origin; and their language, manners, and laws, were different from thoſe of the Celts, as Cæſar ſhews, being palpably German. The Aquitani held the ſouth-weſt part of Gaul; and were alſo of different language, manners, and laws, from the other two; being Iberi who had paſſed from Spain, to which they had come from Africa[cc]. Strabo IV. p. 266. ſays of the Aquitani, 'they reſemble the Iberi more than the Galli (or Celts) of whom they have neither the form nor idiom.' Nay in their laſt refuges, Britain and Ireland, the Celts were a vanquiſhed and confined people. For the Belgæ, as Cæſar ſhews, had all the ſouth-eaſt of preſent England; and the Piks, a Germano-Scandinavian people, as Tacitus and Beda prove, had all the

[c] Gallia eſt omnis diviſa in partes tres. Quarum unam incolunt Belgæ; aliam Aquitani; tertiam qui ipſorum lingua Celtæ, noſtra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, inſtitutis, legibus, inter ſe differunt. *Bell. Gall.* lib. I. *init.*

[cc] The Iberian language ſurvives in the Cantabric and Baſque. The old Mauric is little known, and few ſpecimens have been publiſhed: there is a diſſertation on it at the end of Chamberlayne's *Oratio Dominica* (De lingua Shilhenſi); and ſome information may be found in Shaw's Travels. It is yet ſpoken by the *Kabyles*, or Mountaneer Clans (*Kabylcah*, Arab. *Clans*) in Mauritania; and is called the *Showiah*, or *Sbillah*, being quite different from the Arabic, the general ſpeech of the country. Theſe Kabyles have, to this day, the manners deſcribed by Salluſt. They are divided into clans, as the Fins, Laplanders, Celts, and other radical ſavages, who are incapable of progreſs in ſociety; for clans are peculiar to ſavage ſociety, and vaniſh at the firſt ray of induſtry and civilization.

north

north of Scotland down to the friths of Clyde and Forth. In Ireland, it is clear from Ptolemy, that the Belgæ held all the ſouth-eaſt parts, and that they had not proceeded from Britain, but from Belgic Gaul and Germany; for of the *Menapii* and *Chauci*, or *Cauci*, we find no trace in Britain[d], but have them in Ireland, and in Germany, and Belgic Gaul. But of this in the Enquiry into Scotiſh hiſtory, where it ſhall be ſhewn that the Belgæ were the ruling people in Ireland; and that the Iriſh, or old Scotiſh Royal ſtem is really Belgic, or Gothic. Theſe Belgæ are the *Fir Bolg* of the Iriſh Annals, with whom their real hiſtory begins; and ſuch was their ſuperiority that to this day *Bolg* in Iriſh implies *a noble man*, and alſo *a man of ſcience*.

Even in the regions retained by the Celts, which were minute, they were mingled with German Goths; and their ſpeech with German or Gothic words. The old Iriſh grammarians, as Mr. O'Conor[e] tells, call their Gallic, or Iriſh tongue, *Berla Tebide*, or a mixt language. The Welſh, as all know, is, even in it's moſt ancient remains, full of Daniſh and Engliſh words. The Gallic, Celtic, or Iriſh, of the Highlands of Scotland, is of all the Celtic dialects the moſt corrupt, and mixt with Gothic; owing to the neighbourhood of the Piks; and to the Norwegians holding the Hebudes and weſtern coaſt of Scotland, from the time of Harald Harfagre, or about 880, till 1266, when regained by the Scots; but the Norwegians remained as principal tenants, and the chief families in theſe parts are all Norwegian. So that in fact

[d] There was a ſmall *town* called Menapia in Wales, juſt oppoſite to the *people* Menapii in Ireland, and apparently founded by them. But we find no Menapii in Wales; the people, in whoſe territory Menapia ſtood, were the Dimeti, a tribe of the Silures, or Celts of Wales. See Ptolemy and Richard.

[e] In his publication of O'Flaherty's Vindication of Ogygia, Dublin, 1775, 8vo. præf. p. xxxii.

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the Celtic, far from being a pure ſpeech, is the moſt mixt and corrupt in the world. For the Celts were ſo inferior a people, being to the Scythæ as a negro to an European, that, as all hiſtory ſhews, to ſee them, was to conquer them; and as they had no arts, nor inventions, of their own, they of courſe received innumerable words from other tongues. But the nomenclature of a language is only it's dreſs, while it's grammar forms the ſoul and body; and the Celtic grammar is totally remote from that of all Gothic languages. So much ſo that, by a mode, perhaps unknown to any other ſpeech, they decline nouns beginning with labials, by altering the initials, as the Goths, Greeks, and Romans, altered the termination. Thus *Mac* is *a ſon*; *Mhic*, (pronounce *Wic*) *of a ſon*, &c. Nay the pronouns alter the beginning of nouns, thus *Pen*, *a head*; *i Ben*, *his head*; *i Phen*, *her head*; *y'm Mhen*, *my head*. A ſtrange and horrible abſurdity! as it cancels every rule of language; and muſt ſhew a confuſed and dark underſtanding in the people who uſe it, nay even to ſpeak it muſt *ex poſt facto* throw a miſt over the mind. Yet is it much to be wiſhed that profeſſorſhips of the Celtic tongue were eſtabliſhed in our univerſities, that ſuch remains as are of that ſpeech might be explained and placed in a juſt light. We naturally reverence what we do not know[f]; and this may be called the Celtic century, for all Europe has been inundated with nonſenſe about the Celts. When we come to the truth about them, and Time always draws truth out of the well, the Celtic miſt will vaniſh, or become a mere cloud.

To return. Cæſar, by ſhewing the Celts to be confined to ſuch ſmall bounds, palpably marks that other nations had gained ground on them, ſo as to confine them to ſuch a contracted ſpace. And in his fine deſcription of the Germans in book VI. and in other paſſages, he ſhews them to

[f] Ignotis reverentia major. *Tacit.*

have

have totally differed from the Celts. What people then were they? That they were not Sarmatæ, all know: and the only other people, whom the ancients know in the north-weſt of Europe, were the Scythæ, as juſt ſhewn. It follows then that they were Scythæ. The Greek authors had certainly acquired ſome knowlege of Germany two centuries at leaſt before Cæſar, for he ſays, book VI. *Germaniæ loca circum Hercyniam ſilvam, quam Eratoſthenі, et quibuſdam Græcis, fama notam eſſe video, quam illi Orciniam appellant, Volcæ Tectoſages occuparunt.* And we ſhall ſee inſtantly that Diodorus Siculus, one of the beſt informed, and moſt judicious of the Greek hiſtorians, and who wrote after Cæſar's diſcoveries, repeatedly calls all Germany, even to the furtheſt weſt and north, *Scythia.* It may be aſked, why does not Cæſar call the country Scythia? Why this new appellation of Germany? Be it anſwered, that another country was peculiarly called Scythia, namely, Little or Ancient Scythia on the Euxine. And that tho the Greeks called all that tract, to which the Scythians extended, Scythia, yet thoſe Scythian nations bore different names, as Thraces, Illyrians, &c. Of courſe Cæſar, finding the Germans ſo called by their countrymen of Belgic Gaul, gives them, moſt properly, their ſpecific, and not generic name. Nor does Cæſar write as a geographer, but as a warrior: he ſays not a word of their origin, &c. but only deſcribes their manners. Tacitus, *in Germ.* ſpecially informs, that the name of Germans was a late one[s].

6. Diodorus Siculus was cotemporary with Julius Cæſar, and profited by his diſcoveries. He

[s] It is worth remark, that there was a Perſian people called Γερμανοι, *Germani.* Herod. I. 125. There was alſo a Greek one called *Teutani*, in Peloponneſus, Pliny III. 8. Steph. Byz. The ſame Scythic ſpeech produced the ſame appellations.

tells

tells us, *lib.* V. *p.* 354. (edit. Weſſeling.) that the people "who inhabit the inner parts above Marſeilles, and at the Alps, and on this ſide the Pyrenees, are called Celts. But THOSE who inhabit BEYOND the Celtic region, and the parts toward the SOUTH, and ſituated on the ocean; and THOSE toward the Hercynian mountains, and all onward, even to Scythia (*και παντας τους εξης μεχρι της Σκυθιας*) are called Gauls." Weſſeling obſerves, that this is falſe, becauſe the Romans called the Celts alſo Gauls. But Diodorus no doubt knowing that the Celts were not thoſe Gauls celebrated in Roman hiſtory, but quite a diſtinct people, poſſeſſing the inner or further part of Gaul, he, with propriety, puts them as different nations. By the Celts Diodorus underſtands thoſe of Cæſar, extending from the north-weſt extremity of the Alps above Marſeilles, into the inner parts of Gaul. Thoſe beyond the Celts, to the ſouth on the ocean, are the Aquitani. Thoſe toward the Hercynian mountains, and onward to Scythia, are the Belgæ. His Scythia is palpably Germany: as it is in the following paſſages. "They (the Gauls) are very fierce on the north, and bordering on Scythia (*και των τη Σκυθια παροικιοχωρων*), ſo that they are ſaid to devour men, as thoſe Britons alſo do who inhabit Ireland." *lib.* V. *p.* 355. Again, ſpeaking of amber he ſays, it comes chiefly from an iland of Scythia, above Gaul, *της Σκυθιας της υπερ την Γαλατιαν*: *ibid.* meaning Baltia, or Gleſſaria, as the above quotations from Pliny ſhew.

7. In the time of Tiberius, about 20 years after Chriſt, lived Strabo. His valuable work is full of the Scythæ; and he tells us, *lib.* XI. *p.* 507. *ed. Caſaubon.* *Απουθας μεν δη τοις προσβορροις κοινως οι παλαιοι των Ελληνων συγγραφεις Σκυθας, και Κελτοσκυθας, εκαλουν.* 'All the nations toward the northern parts, the ancient writers call Scythians, and Celto-

Celto-Scythians.' [h] Now tho in ſpeaking of Aſia, XI. 492, he ſays, after Ephorus, that ſome Sarmatæ there were Scythæ, yet in deſcribing Europe he diſtinguiſhes between the Scythic and Sarmatic nations. Thus he ſays, " above the Getæ, are the Tyragetæ, and above theſe the Jazyges Sarmatæ;" and he tells us, *lib.* VII. that Homer, by his Hippomolgi and Galactophagi, *Il.* XIII. means the Scythæ and Sarmatæ. So that by the Scythians he means not the Sarmatæ. In book I. he ſays, the earth is divided into four parts, to the furtheſt eaſt the Indians dwell; to the furtheſt ſouth the Ethiops; to the furtheſt weſt the Celts; to the furtheſt north the Scythians. And Strabo knew that the Scythæ of Germany were the Getæ, for book VII. p. 294. he ſays 'The Suevi hold the ſouth ſide of Germany which is beyond the Elbe. After them lyes the region of the Getæ, narrow on the ſouth toward the Iſter, and toward the Hercynian foreſt, part of whoſe mountains it comprehends, but extended largely to the north, even to the Tyragetæ.' By the Getæ Strabo palpably means all the Germans eaſt of the Elbe, namely the *Vandali*, and *Herminones*, and *Baſternæ*, of Pliny, being three of his five grand diviſions of the Germans: the Baſternæ actually ſtretching eaſt to the river Tyras, on which the Tyragetæ dwelled. Strabo alſo, as ſhall be after ſhewn, places Baſternæ in Scandinavia. Hence it is clear that Strabo looked on theſe three grand diviſions of the Germans as Getæ, Scythians, or Goths; and of courſe would have regarded the others as ſuch, had he learned, as we do from Tacitus, that the whole Germans to the furtheſt extremity were all of one origin, language, and manners.

8. Mela wrote about the year 45. He diſtinguiſhes the Scythians and Sarmatæ, and gives a

[h] Strabo ſays, lib. I. that the names Celtiberi and Celtoſcythæ 'comprehended, thro ignorance, diſtinct and ſeparate nations under one term.'

ſeparate

ſeparate chapter on each. In b. III. chap. 5, he tells us that the northern Scythæ were called *Belcæ*, a name no where elſe to be found; and ch. 6. he tells us, *Thule Belcarum littori oppoſita eſt*, 'Thule is oppoſite to the ſhore of the Belcæ.' So that in his opinion the Scythians held Scandinavia, oppoſite to which Thule is placed by all the ancients.

9. Pliny, the natural hiſtorian, wrote in Veſpaſian's time, about 70 years after Chriſt. In his fourth book, ch. 12, he tells us, that the Scythian nations, including the Sarmatæ, ſtretched all along the north, and north-weſt of the Danube; and then adds the following memorable and deciſive ſentence. Before reading it, let us recollect that Pliny prefixes to his immortal work the contents of each book; and a liſt of the authors uſed in that book, from which it appears that his reading was, as his nephew informs us, infinite. No writer in all antiquity ever had ſuch exuberance of information; and the queſtion could not be ſubmitted to a more able arbiter. Hear his verdict. SCYTHARUM NOMEN USQUEQUAQUE TRANSIT IN SARMATAS, ATQUE GERMANOS. NEC ALIIS PRISCA ILLA DURAVIT APPELLATIO, QUAM QUI, EXTREMI GENTIUM HARUM, IGNOTI PROPE CETERIS MORTALIBUS DEGUNT. *The name of Scythians is every where changed to that of Sarmatæ, and Germans. Nor has that ancient appellation continued, ſave to the moſt diſtant of theſe two nations, who live almoſt unknown to other mortals.* The Sarmatæ, as above explained, were, by ſome leſs informed ancients, regarded as a nation of the Scythæ; for before Ptolemy's time, who wrote near a century after Pliny, little intelligence had been got about the Sarmatæ, a people who occupied a country as large as all the Scythian poſſeſſions put together. Their language was totally different, as the Slavonic is from the Gothic or Scythic of Ulphilas. But

ſome Greek writers knowing that the Scythæ extended all over the north-weſt of Europe, had conſidered the Sarmatæ alſo as a Scythic nation. The name of Scythians, given to the Sarmatæ, was but a vulgar inaccuracy, as we term the Americans Weſt-Indians. Diſtant objects become indiſtinct, and their appellations of courſe inaccurate. Yet, tho wrong in denominating the Sarmatæ Scythians, the ancients knew they were perfectly right in giving that name to the Germans, after they had diſcovered that the Sarmatæ were quite a different race from the Scythians; ſeeing that the German language and manners proved them the ſame people with the ancient Scythians on the Euxine. This is clear even from Strabo, who calls the Germans Getæ, as juſt ſhewn; and from all the Greek writers after Ptolemy, who name the Germans Scythæ. For the whole German nations were called Scythians or Goths in the fourth century; as the vaſt German diviſion of the *Vindili* (or *Vandali*, as ſome MSS.) of Pliny, the *Suevi*, *Angli*, *Langobardi*, of Tacitus, &c. &c. &c. are uniformly called Scythians or Goths after that time. For that the Greeks denominated all theſe nations Scythians, whom the Latins called Goths, has been amply demonſtrated in the beginning of this eſſay. The reader is requeſted to attend to this important circumſtance, for if he falls into the vulgar deluſion of the Goths being a paltry tribe of Germany, or of Scandinavia, he will err prodigiouſly. The Latin name *Goths*, and Greek term *Scythians*, belong to the whole barbaric nations from the Caſpian to the Adriatic, eaſt and ſouth, to the Britiſh channel weſt, and Scandinavia, and river Chronus or Niemen, north and north eaſt. The Sarmatæ are by all writers after Ptolemy placed on the north-eaſt of the Scythæ, in preſent Poland and Ruſſia; and marked as a ſeparate and peculiar, great people. It was from

from the vaſt plains of Getia, Gothia, or Ancient Scythia, and of Germany, that the ruder Goths ſpred over Europe, on the fall of the Roman empire; and not from the bleak and deſert mountains of Scandinavia, or from one little diſtrict in Germany, as childiſhly dreamed.

To produce all the other ancient authorities, that the Germans were Scythæ, would ſwell this tract to a folio volume; and what are given will, it is believed, fully ſuffice. Tacitus thinks the Germans indigenes, for a reaſon which has deſervedly excited laughter, namely, that all the ancient migrations were by ſea, not by land! As if the inhabitants of ſuch a region as Germany could be tranſported by ſea, like the little colonies of antiquity! He adds, that no nation would proceed from better climates to people ſuch a country; forgetting, as M. Brotier juſtly remarks, that neceſſity and ſecurity are the parents of barbaric population. The Norwegians have peopled Iceland, and planted Greenland. But the miracles of Veſpaſian, the tale of the phœnix, and ſuch remarks as theſe, only ſhew that man is compoſed of inconſiſtency, and that the ſtrongeſt on ſome occaſions, are the weakeſt on others: as the only ſublime hiſtorian who ever wrote could ſometimes ſink moſt profoundly from his elevation. It can even be ſhewn from Tacitus, that the Germans were Scythæ, for we have remains of the language of ſeveral nations he mentions in Germany, and theſe remains are Scythic or Gothic, as is the whole German language at this day. He himſelf, tho he diſtinguiſhes the German ſpeech and manners from thoſe of the Celts and Sarmatæ, in the moſt direct terms, yet no where diſtinguiſhes them from thoſe of the Daci, as he, with the Romans, calls theſe Getæ who bordered on Germany. It may be ſaid, the Getæ might be a German emigration, as well

as the contrary; but againſt this are ALL the ancients, as every page of this work witneſſes, for they all ſtate the Scythians to have proceeded from the eaſt to the weſt; and the whole tenor of that progreſs is marked and diſtinct, from Perſia to Britain.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

The Germans were Scythæ. THIRD GRAND ARGUMENT: From Similar Manners.

IT muſt be remarked, before proceeding to the third and laſt claſs of arguments, namely, thoſe ariſing from ſimilarity of manners, that it is, of all others, the moſt uncertain. For ſimilar ſtages of ſociety will produce like manners among all mankind. A ſpecies of men, capable of the utmoſt progreſs that ſociety affords, will, in it's original ſtate, be on a level with another ſpecies, incapable of any progreſs at all. Did we ſuppoſe parallel cuſtoms proofs of identic nations, the ſavages of North America are the ſame with the ancient Germans deſcribed by Tacitus. But as, on the other hand, diſſimilar manners might argue againſt the ſameneſs of nations, proofs ſhall here be produced of perfect ſimilarity in thoſe of the ſouthern Scythians, and thoſe to the furtheſt north of Germany and Scandinavia, after thus warning the reader not to rely too much on this point; which, were it fully proved, would prove nothing to a cool enquirer. But full and irrefragable arguments that the Germans were Scythæ or Goths, having already been ſubmitted, this article may be conſidered as only a diverſion after the taſk is done. Yet, as this is no work of amuſement, let us paſs this relaxed part with a few haſty hints.

THIRD GRAND ARGUMENT. The Germans were Scythæ from ſimilar Manners.

Herodotus, in his fourth book, ch. 59 to 82, gives us a long account of the manners of the Scythæ; and a peculiar happineſs ſeems to have attended this favoured nation, for Tacitus has deſcribed thoſe of their deſcendants the Germans; ſo that the cleareſt ſplendor is thrown on the ſubject. To run a parallel would ſwell this eſſay to a vaſt ſize, and they are ſo like that they need only be referred to. Wormius, Bartholin, and other northern antiquaries, have remarked, that the deſcription given of the Scythæ by Herodotus, applies perfectly to the Goths of their country, even down to a late age. The chief difference ariſes merely from a local circumſtance. It is that the ancient Scythæ on the Euxine, deſcribed by Herodotus, had found their fine breed of Perſian horſes thrive equally well in their fertile poſſeſſions, on the temperate ſhores of the Euxine; while, in Germany and Scandinavia, the cold was then too ſevere for that ſouthern race, and the indigenal breed was, as Tacitus ſtates, very ſmall. Hence the Ancient Scythæ were chiefly cavalry; while the Germans and Scandinavians had little or no cavalry. This difference was a neceſſary effect of climate; and infers no diſtinction in the people, any more than the different life led by the Britiſh in the Eaſt Indies, from what they uſe here, deſtroys the identity of the people. In Iceland the Norwegians differed prodigiouſly in manners from thoſe in Normandy, Calabria, or Sicily. But to inſtance a few particulars of ſimilar Manners in the Scythæ and Germans.

1. *Domeſtic*

1. *Domestic Life.* Both Scythæ and Germans lived by hunting, pasturage, and rapine[a]. Both had a few agricultural nations: but the tilled ground, as the pastoral, belonged to the community, or tribe; and they quitted it at the year's end to move to another. Herodotus observes that these Scythæ, who were agricultors, did not use the corn for bread, but parched it over the fire; that is, as Pelloutier well explains, in order to use it in broth, and for ale: so Tacitus of the Germans. They drank out of horns[b], so the Germans; or out of the sculls of enemies[c], so the Germans. Ale and meed were the drink of the Thracian Scythians[d], and those of Scandinavia. Both drank healths; and drank before entering on business[e]. Both nations burned their illustrious dead, and buried their ashes in urns, under hillocs or tumuli[f]. Both went almost naked, using only a skin of some wild beast to cover them in winter. The chiefs and rich of both nations used a close tunic, and breeches[g]. The Thracian Scythians pricked and stained their bodies[h]; so did nations in Germany[i], nay, the Belgæ of Britain[k], and the Piks of Norway and Scotland[l].

[a] See Herodotus, *lib.* iv. and Tacitus *in Germania*, passim.

[b] Xenophon, Exp. Cyri, lib. vi. et vii. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. Fragm. Diodori Siculi in Excerpt. Valesii, p. 258. Tacit. Germ. *Antiquarii Septent.* Wormius, Bartholin, &c. Theopompus observed that the kings of the Pæonians had of those horns which held three or four quarts. Athen. xi. p. 355. Pliny xi. 37. Athenæus, lib. iv. says, that κερεσαι, *pour out drink*, which properly signifies *horn the liquor*, came from the ancient Greeks their drinking in horns.

[c] This gratified both luxury and revenge. See a late example in Paul. Warnef.

[d] Μεδος. See Priscus in Excerpt. p. 55.

[e] Xenophon, Exp. Cyri vi. & vii. So the Persians, Herodot. lib. i.

[f] Herodot. Tacit. &c.

[g] Herodot. vii. 64. Tacit. in Germ. &c. The Tunic was the *caracalla*, which Dio says was close as a corselet.

[h] Herodot. v. Strabo, &c.

[i] The Arii, Tacit.

[k] Cæsar de Bell, Gall.

[l] Herodian. Claudian. &c.

2. *Religion.* Herodotus ſays, v. 7. "All the kings and people of Thrace worſhip Mercury chiefly. They ſwear by his name, and believe themſelves his progeny." The Greek and Roman writers applied the names of their own deities to thoſe of barbaric nations, as the ſmalleſt attribute of the idol led them. If a rude image held a ſcepter, it was Jupiter: if a purſe, Mercury; if a ſword, Mars. Hence great confuſion; for what denoted one attribute with the Greeks and Romans might, with the barbaric nations, mark quite another, as nothing admits of various interpretation more than ſymbol. Tacitus ſays of the Germans, *credunt Tuiſtonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditoreſque.* Herodotus gives the god a Greek name, becauſe, in ſome ſymbol, he reſembled Mercury. The Gothic hiſtorians draw all their kings from Odin. Paulus Warnefridus *Hiſt. Langob.* ſays *Wodan, quem adjecta litera Guodan dixerunt, ipſe eſt qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab univerſis Germaniæ populis ut deus adoratur.* But the Gothic mythology being only traditional, and no temples nor ſtatues being found among them, till a late period, Odin became the god of war, and a fabulous hero, who, as the Sagas agree, led the Goths from Scythia on the Danaſter, or Tyras, into Scandinavia. This fable ſhews the univerſal tradition of their origin; but Odin was merely the name of a deity, or rather an epithet, and they who ſpeak gravely of him as an hero are deceived. It was Odin, Mars, literally war, that opened their progreſs into the wilds of Scandinavia. The Gothic mythology has been weakly handled, but might, by a complete parallel, be ſhewn to be the ancient Grecian. The Greek gods were the progeny of Cælus and Terra, Mannus, or Man, was deſcended of the gods, for in the hymns aſcribed to Orpheus, the Greeks are called their progeny: and ſo the Greek poet quoted

quoted by Saint Paul, ſays men are the offſpring of Jove. The ancient Germans had alſo a Mars, and a Hercules, as Tacitus ſays. The former, it is likely, was Odin, and Warnefrid may be miſtaken: the later was Thor, famous in the Edda and Voluſpa for his ſtrength. But he was the Jupiter, or chief god, of northern mythology. In fact, even the Greek mythology is a maſs of confuſion, as all traditional matters muſt be, and the ſeveral mythologiſts differ radically in the moſt eſſential points: no wonder then that the Gothic is embarraſſed. The fables of Tireſias, of Proteus, and other ſmall Greek tales, may be traced in Gothic traditions[m]. The Goths conſulted the heart of victims; had oracles; had ſibyls; had a Venus in Freya; a Neptune in Nocken; Parcæ in the Valkyriar[n]. The Scythians worſhipped Mars, whoſe ſymbol, for they had no images, was a pile of ſwords. Herodotus IV. 59. ſays, they believed the Earth wife of Jupiter. Tacitus tells that the Suevi worſhipped Hertha, or the Earth.

3. *Government.* Herodotus was unhappily no politician, and is quite mute concerning the government of the Scythæ. Nor do i find in all antiquity, any deſcription of the Scythic conſtitu-

[m] Olaus Magn. lib. iii. Torf. Hiſt. Norv. lib. i.

[n] See Bartholin, Wormius, Mallet, &c. *Jofur* was a name for the Supreme Being, as *Jove*. Dryads, Satyrs, and the whole beings of Greek and Roman ſuperſtition, may be found in the Scandinavian creed. Superſtition is rooted and permanent. Fairies, and the other ſcenery of romance, were not brought into Europe by the Cruſades, as ſuperficially imagined; but belong to Icelandic ſagas, written before the Cruſades. Tournaments exiſted in all ages of the Goths. The *Ludus Trojanus* of the Romans was of them. Iſodor. Chron. Goth. mentions them as the favorite diverſions of the Goths. See Procop. iii. Ennod. paneg. &c. A fragment of Varro ſhews them known to the Germans and German Gauls. In the Edda daily tourneys *to outrance* are the amuſement of the gods. The Greeks had tournaments, and armed dances; as were the Salian Armiluſtria of Rome. Varro de Ling. Lat. v. 49.

tions, ſo that the full light we receive from Tacitus concerning thoſe of the Germans cannot be formally paralleled with thoſe of their Scythic anceſtors. The Greeks have been ſhewn to be Scythæ: let us therefore derive a few rays from them. Family government is always ariſtocratic, of father and mother, as Locke ſhews. But as a family differs widely from a community, and as the later is compoſed of many of the former, the ariſtocracy of family became inſtantly democracy, by the fathers of families directing public affairs by joint counſels. Thus it is demonſtrable that democracy is the moſt ancient form of government, for the very idea of a king is unknown to early ſociety. In war one leader was of neceſſity choſen; and he, in many inſtances, confirmed his power ſo as to become a king. Had there been no wars, there would have been no kings: and the mythology of all kings being deſcended of the god of war is plain truth. But it has not yet been remarked, that, in early ſociety, even monarchy is democratical. The king is but one of the people. In the Greek heroic ages there were kings, becauſe there had been wars, yet the people was free even to licence. Dr. Gillies has, in the ſecond chapter of his hiſtory of Greece, made a formal parallel between the Greek government of thoſe times, and that of the Germans, tho he ſuſpected not the real cauſe of that identity, namely, that they were all one people. He well obſerves that in freedom of debate in the public aſſemblies, and the privileges of liberty being preſerved to the meaneſt ſubject, and other points, there is a perfect reſemblance. The only difference he marks is, that beauty of the Greek character, prieſt and king being united in one perſon. Yet the earlieſt Greeks had ſeparate prieſts, and augurs, as the Germans; ſo that this can hardly be called a difference. And among the Scandinavians in Iceland, the prieſt was alſo the magiſtrate, and offered ſacrifice in

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the midſt of the judicial circle of ſtones before he ſat to judge.

The Feudal Syſtem has been treated of by many writers, but ſo uncommon a quality is penetration, that all of them to this day have confounded two grand diviſions in it's hiſtory, which are totally diſſimilar. Theſe diviſions are, 1. The Feudal Syſtem. 2. The Corrupted Feudal Syſtem. The former extends from the earlieſt account of time, thro the early hiſtory of Greece and Rome, till the progreſs of ſociety changed the manners of theſe nations: and thro the early hiſtory of the Goths and Germans who overturned the Roman empire, down to the eleventh century. At this period commences the Corrupted Feudal Syſtem, and laſts till the fifteenth century, when the Feudal Syſtem began after it's corruption to diſſolve quite away. The Corruption of the Feudal Syſtem took place ſoon after the petty kingdoms of the former ages were united into great monarchies, as the heptarchies in England became ſubject to our monarch; and ſo in other countries. This corruption is no more the feudal ſyſtem than any other corruption is the ſubſtance preceding corruption, that is quite the reverſe: and yet, ſuch is modern ſuperficiality, that it has been termed The Feudal Syſtem, κατ' ἐξοχην; and all writers eſtimate the Feudal Syſtem by it's corruption only, juſt as if we ſhould judge of a republic by it's condition when changed into an ariſtocracy! About the Eleventh century, by the change of ſmall kingdoms into one great monarchy, and by a concatenation of other cauſes, which it would require a volume to detail, the Feudal Syſtem corrupted, (and *corruptio optimi peſſima*) into a ſtate of ariſtocratic tyranny, and oppreſſion. Before that period no ſuch matter can be found. The greateſt cauſe was, that nobility and eſtates annexed were not hereditary till that time, ſo that the great were kept in perpetual awe;

awe; and that check was removed, before the cities had attained ſuch privileges and powers, as to balance the nobility. In Ancient Greece and Italy, confined ſpots, cities were from the firſt the grand receptacles of ſociety. To the want of cities the ſubjection of the people to their lords, and all the Corrupt Feudal Syſtem is owing. To cities the ruin of that Corrupted Feudal Syſtem (generally called the Feudal Syſtem), is ſolely to be aſcribed. Of the Corrupted Feudal Syſtem nothing ſhall be added here; as it commenced at a late period, and is foreign to my work; ſave one or two remarks on Chivalry, an inſtitution quite miſunderſtood. It was ſo heterogeneous to the Feudal Syſtem, that, had the later laſted pure, chivalry would never have appeared. But as it is often ſo decreed that, out of the corruption of a conſtitution, a remedy for that corruption ſprings, ſuch was the caſe with chivalry, an inſtitution which does honour to human nature. The knighthood was not hereditary, but an honour of perſonal worth. It's poſſeſſors were bound to help the oppreſſed, and curb the tyrannic ſpirit of the hereditary great, thoſe giants of power, and of romance. Had the ridicule of Cervantes appeared three centuries ſooner, we muſt have branded him as the greateſt enemy of ſociety that ever wrote. As it is, a ſenſible French writer [p] well obſerves, that it now begins to be queſtioned whether his book be not worthy of execration. All profeſſions have their foibles; but ridicule ought never to be exerted againſt the benefit of ſociety. Cervantes envied the ſucceſs of the romances; but ought not to have derided an inſtitution ſo beneficial, becauſe even fables concerning it had the fortune to delight his cotemporaries. But to give a remark

[p] M. Le Grand, in his curious and amuſing *Fabliaux ou Contes du xii. et du xiii. Siecle* (tranſlated into modern French) Paris 1781, 5 vols. 12*mo*.

or

or two on the genuine Feudal Syſtem which was purely democratic, as the corrupted was ariſtocratic.

M. D'Hancarville [p] rather fancifully dates the feudal ſyſtem from the firſt Scythic empire, for Juſtin ſays, *His igitur Aſia per mille quingentos annos* VECTIGALIS *fuit*; 'Aſia was *tributary* to them for one thouſand five hundred years:' and eſpecially *Aſiam perdomitam vectigalem fecere modico tributo, magis in titulum imperii quam in victoriæ præmium.* This laſt paſſage is a definition of homage: and the feudal ſyſtem was that of the Perſians, who were, and are, Scythæ or Goths, as ancient authors, and their own ſpeech, teſtify. Xenophon [q] tells us that, when the younger Cyrus came to Cilicia, he was met by Epyaxa, the beautiful wife of the ſatrap, who, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, preſented her acknowleged liegelord and ſuperior with gold, ſilver, and other precious gifts. Indeed the feudal ſyſtem, about which ſo much noiſe is made, is the natural fruit of conqueſt, and is as old in the world as conqueſt. A territory is acquired, and the ſtate, or the general, beſtows it on the leaders, and ſoldiers, on condition of military ſervice, and of tokens acknowleging gratitude to the donors. It was known in the Greek heroic ages. It was known to Lycurgus, for all the lands of Sparta were held on military tenure. It was known to Romulus, when he regulated Rome. It was known to Auguſtus, when he gave lands to his veterans, on condition that their ſons ſhould, at fifteen years of age, do military ſervice. The reaſon it did not preponderate and corrupt in Greece and Rome was, that it was ſtifled by the neceſſary effects of cities, as abovementioned. In Perſia, where there were no cities

[p] Recherches ſur les arts de la Grece, *Londres*, 1785, 2 tomes, 4*to*.

[q] De Exped. Cyri, lib. I.

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of any power or privilege, it preponderated and corrupted at an early period.

The feudal ſyſtem, whether in its original democracy, or corrupted into ariſtocracy, muſt limit the power of kings; for men who hold their poſſeſſions on military ſervice, muſt, of courſe, have arms in their hands: and even in abſolute governments the ſoldiers are free, witneſs the prætorian bands and armies of imperial Rome, and the Turkiſh janiſaries. By the feudal ſyſtem every man held arms, and freedom, in his hands. Monteſquieu has begun his account of the feudal ſyſtem with that of the ancient Germans, given by Tacitus; and prides himſelf in leaving off where others began. A writer more profound would leave off where Monteſquieu begins.

The ideas of moſt writers concerning the Engliſh conſtitution are extremely ſhallow. It was not found, as Monteſquieu ſtates, in the woods of Germany. It peculiarly belongs to a paſtoral ſtate of ſociety, as may be inferred from Monteſquieu himſelf[r]. The Scythic progreſs may almoſt be traced by ſimilar forms of government prevailing; and it might be argued from this, that it was the conſtitution even of the firſt Scythic empire. To England it muſt have come with the Belgæ; for from Tacitus we know that it was that of all the Germans, and the Belgæ were Germans. It is found wherever the Goths went. In the woods of Germany every man had a voice in the general council[s]. This was when every man had no trade, ſave that of ſoldier: but in a more advanced ſtate of ſociety other occupations aroſe, upon which men ſubſiſted, and could not neglect to attend to public buſineſs. They therefore looked on the chiefs, who had nothing elſe to do, as their

[r] Eſprit des Loix, liv. xxx.

[s] De minoribus rebus principes conſultant; de majoribus OMNES. Tacit. Germ.

natural

natural repreſentatives, and left public buſineſs to them. During this ſtage of ſociety, the chiefs, and *probi homines*, men of rank and character, were really regarded as repreſentatives of the community, as implied by the common form in old laws, *et tota communitas regni noſtri*, for how could the community's conſent be ſpecified, ſave by the peers and *probi homines*, who repreſented them? When the Goths overturned the Roman empire, they had a fixt averſion to towns, as they had long after; and the towns were left in poſſeſſion of the old inhabitants, who could hold no part in the conſtitution of the victors. It is therefore ridiculous to ſuppoſe repreſentatives of towns. In a third, and laſt ſtage, difference of occupations had, by degrees, introduced trade; and trade introduced towns endued with privileges to protect it, or in other words, burghs. Theſe, we are told, were firſt founded in Germany, in the tenth century. In other countries they are later. Under the Roman empire there were many privileged towns; but their privileges were annihilated by the conqueſt of the Goths, who had brought from their woods a contempt and averſion for towns, as receptacles of vice and effeminacy. When in advanced ſociety, the Gothic victors allowed privileged towns, or burghs, the nobles had great enmity to them, and conſtant conteſts with the citizens; becauſe, among other privileges, a ſlave who lived a year and day in a burgh, obtained his freedom, and the nobles thus loſt many ſlaves. Thus aroſe the firſt difference of intereſts between lords and commons; for before this the former had been regarded as natural repreſentatives of the latter. Other repreſentatives were of courſe neceſſary, and were conſtituted accordingly.

This ſecond ſtage, when the peers repreſented the commons, has miſled ſome, becauſe the privileges of the commons ſeem to them to have ſlept.

Mr.

Mr. Hume, who knew nothing about Goths, nor the Gothic conſtitution, and who is ſo ſhallow, that, far from reaching the bottom, he has not reached the bottom of the ſurface, but merely ſkimmed it's top, obſerves in his own Life, that it is ridiculous to look on the Engliſh conſtitution as a regular plan of liberty before the death of Charles I. A profound remark truly, and moſt ſagacious! Is it a regular plan now? Did regular plans of government ever exiſt, ſave in Utopias? Have not all governments, ſave deſpotiſm, been ever totally irregular? While a man has life, his pulſe muſt be liable to irregularities; when he is dead, it is regular enough! Error muſt attend free will; and irregularity free government: the more irregular, the more free, as in the Greek democracies. Strange that Mr. Hume ſhould forget his own juſt remark, "Where any power or prerogative is fully and undoubtedly eſtabliſhed, the exerciſe of it paſſes for a thing of courſe, and readily eſcapes the notice of hiſtory and annals." *Eſſays*, Vol. I. p. 499. This was the caſe with the privileges of the commons during this obſcurer ſtage. Mr. Hume's hiſtory ſtands ſolely upon a ſyſtem, and it is the only hiſtory i ever met with in which the evidences againſt are utterly concealed, and paſt over as nonexiſtent. A whig hiſtory would be as ridiculous as a tory one: the only point in hiſtory is to narrate facts, not to build ſyſtems, for human affairs are never ſyſtematic. Our old hiſtorians, who knew nothing of whig or tory ſyſtem-building, knew the privileges of the commons well. Let us give one inſtance, and that from the middle of that very period when the privileges of the commons are conſidered as aſleep. Roger Hoveden, who wrote about 1190, ſays, that on the death of Edwy, king of the Weſt Saxons, in 959, Edgar, king of Mercia, was elected by the Engliſh people king of all England,

land, AB OMNI ANGLORUM POPULO ELECTUS[t]. And he was the very firſt king of all England; ſo that his ſucceſſors muſt abide by his title, and any other claim is that of uſurpation.

But, to reſume a more immediate conſideration of my preſent ſubject, i hope to have ſhewn from Similarity of Manners; from Ancient Authorities; and, above all, from that infallible argument, Identity of Language; that the whole German nations, from Getia and Dacia, to the extremity of Scandinavia, were Scythæ or Goths. And every reader, who has attended to the proceſs, muſt either deny the validity of arguments, univerſally allowed in other caſes to be incontrovertible, or aſſent that

It is therefore Hiſtoric Truth, that the ancient Germans were all Scythians or Goths.

A queſtion remains, At what time the Scythic population may have reached the Rhine, and Northweſt extremity of Scandinavia, the furtheſt bounds of ancient Germany? Thrace, Aſia Minor, Illyricum, Greece, were certainly peopled with Scythæ at leaſt 1500 years before Chriſt; Italy at leaſt 1000. Nations that ſubſiſt by hunting and paſturage, as the barbaric Scythæ require a prodigious extent of territory to afford means of ſubſiſtence; and their ſpeedy progreſs and population we may judge of from thoſe of the Tartars. But the German Scythæ had their way to fight againſt the northern Celts, a hardy race of men; and a vaſt region to populate; ſo that we may allow a very

[t] Rex etiam Weſtſaxonum Edwius, quatuor annis regni ſui peractis, defunctus Wintoniæ, in novo monaſterio eſt ſepultus: cujus regnum ſuus germanus, rex Mercenſium Edgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus ſuſcepit, diviſaque regna in unum copulavit. *Howeden* an. 959. p. 244. apud *Scriptores poſt Bedam*, Londini, 1596, *fol.* Hoveden thought this event ſo important, as to mark it by many epochs.

conſiderable period for their progreſs. From Herodotus, and other ancients, it is certain that the Scythians poſſeſſed Germany, nay had driven the Celts to the furtheſt weſt of Gaul, at leaſt 500 years before our æra. And there are reaſons againſt placing this event at a much remoter period; ſo that this may ſafely be conſidered as being as near the æra as poſſible in a caſe of this nature.

Before cloſing this chapter, it is proper to add a few remarks on the migrations of Scythians from Germany, before the Chriſtian epoch. Cæſar informs us, that the Belgæ, the greateſt and moſt valiant part of the Gauls, were Germans; and Strabo confirms this account. The whole *Provincia Romanorum*, or *Gallia Braccata*, was alſo poſſeſſed by Germans, as the name *Braccata* ſhews, for breeches were the peculiar badge of the Scythæ. Cæſar indeed inſtructs us, that the Celts, or old Gauls, were bounded by the Seine on the north, and Garonne on the ſouth. The learned and judicious Schoepflin[a] has ſufficiently ſhewn that the name of Celts was reſtricted to the Gauls alone; but has unhappily forgotten that only one third part of the Gauls were Celts. Hence his account of the Celtic colonies, is radically erroneous; for all theſe colonies were of German Gauls. Indeed reaſon might convince us, that it was impoſſible for the Celts, who had been expelled and confined by the Belgæ, or Germans upon one ſide, and by the Aquitani, or Iberi on the other, to ſend out colonies among thoſe very enemies whoſe ſuperior courage had vanquiſhed them, and ſeized a great part of their territory. This could be put beyond doubt by a ſpecial examination of theſe colonies, which, tho i have ample materials for,

[a] In his *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, Argent. 1754, 4to. a pamphlet which may be regarded as a model for enquiries of the kind: the whole authorities are given in chronologic order; and yet the work is brief, as well as accurate, and complete.

yet

yet I am with reluctance obliged to ſuppreſs, as too large for the preſent deſign.

But to give a few hints. The reader muſt ever remember in this queſtion, that the name of *Celts* was not only given peculiarly and properly to the real Celts, who, in Cæſar's time, were confined to one third part of Gaul; but was alſo given, laxly and improperly, by many ancient writers to all the Gauls. For as the Celts had anciently poſſeſſed all Gaul, their name was continued by ſome, and by the diſtant Greek writers eſpecially, to all the Gauls: tho the Belgæ, and Aquitani, the Galli Braccati, and others, or the far greater part of the Gauls, were not Celts, but expellers of the Celts. The caſe is the ſame as that of the Engliſh, who are called Britons, not as being old Britons, but as expellers of thoſe Britons, and as living in Britain. So the Britiſh of America are called Americans, not as being American ſavages, but as poſſeſſors of that country. Thus the Germans who had ſeized on moſt of Gaul, and had come in place of the Celts, are called Gauls by the Romans; and Celts by many of the Greeks, and by ſome Romans. The queſtion always remains, which Gauls are meant by the former, and which Celts by the later.

The Celts who paſſed into *Spain* were certainly of Gallia Braccata, which bordered on Spain; and not real old Celts, who, ſo far from ſending colonies into Spain, were driven from their ſouthern territories by the Aquitani, a Spaniſh people. Theſe *Celtiberi* and *Celtici* of Spain are the only Gaulic colonies which obtain the appellation of Celts in Roman writers, who call the others Gauls. A ſingularity which proceeded from this, that the Romans received their firſt intelligence concerning Spain from the Greeks of Marſeilles, who called all the Gauls Celts: and thus retained the old name, by which they had found the people diſtinguiſhed by the Greeks, and perhaps by the Carthaginians.

The Belgæ of *Britain* and *Ireland* are out of all queſtion; for it is known to a certainty that the Belgæ were not Celts but Germans.

The Gauls of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, or of *Italy*, were infallibly German Gauls. The former region was called *Gallia Togata*, for it's poſſeſſors, from their neighbourhood with the civilized Etruſcans, and Greeks of Marſeilles, were the firſt who were civilized, and abandoned their rude dreſs for that of their polite neighbours: while their brethren further off retained the Gothic *braccæ*, and gave name to Gallia Braccata. The Celts were remote from Ciſalpine Gaul; while it was ſurrounded by Germans on the north, and by other Germans of Gallia Braccata on the weſt. And that the Ciſalpine Gauls were not old Celts who retained poſſeſſion of the country, is clear from Livy and Polybius, who relate their paſſage into Italy; and the former dates it in the time of Tarquinius Priſcus, about the period of the foundation of Marſeilles by the Greeks: that is, about 589 years before Chriſt by common accounts, but by Sir Iſaac Newton's rectified chronology of Rome about 500. It is well known that the Roman hiſtory, for the three or four firſt centuries, is very uncertain, becauſe there were neither writers, nor records of any kind: and Livy, in relating this very remote event, gives it as a ſtory of yeſterday, with all its circumſtances, which ſufficiently indicates that he uſed poetical and fabulous liberty here, as in all the ancient parts of his work. Hence we need only read this tale to deny faith to it's circumſtances; tho the groundwork be confirmed by the grave teſtimony of Polybius; and it is beyond doubt, from many concurring ancients, that the Ciſalpine Gauls had paſſed into Italy at a late period, and were not ancient inhabitants. But Livy in compoſing his tale concerning an event 500 years old, and of which he could have no circumſtantial evidence whatever, found that Polybius, a Greek writer, and perhaps other

other Greeks of Marſeilles, called the Ciſalpine Gauls, as they did all the Gauls, Celts. Hence, knowing alſo, as the paſſage ſhews, that the Celts of his time were but a third part of the Gauls, he underſtood the Celts, laxly ſo called by the Greeks, to be the Celts proper; and has of courſe formally derived the Ciſalpine Gauls from the Celts proper. Pelloutier draws the names given by Livy, *Ambigatus*, *Belloveſus*, *Sigoveſus*, from the Tudeſque or German Gothic. But, tho ſuch etymology is uncertain, yet the frequency of ſimilar names among the Germans deſerves notice. The *Ambi*-variti were a Belgic tribe: *Ambi*-orix was prince of the Eburones, a Belgic people (and the *rix* is an infallibly Gothic termination, common to this day, Theodoric, Frederic, &c. &c.) The *Bello*-vaſſi were a Belgic tribe, as were the *Bello*-caſſi. *Sege*-ſtes, *Segi*-merus, *Segi*-mundus, are German names in Tacitus. The manners of the Ciſalpine Gauls, deſcribed by Polybius, II. 4. are German. Diodorus Siculus diſtinguiſhes the Senones (who took Rome) from the Celts, and calls them Northern Gauls. They were of the *Semnones* of Germany.

The Gauls who long contended with the Germans in proweſs, and who ſettled a colony or two in the ſouth of *Germany*, were German Gauls. Cæſar tells us that the Belgæ were in continual war with the Germans, as indeed the German nations were among themſelves. The Helvetii, Boii, Tectoſages, were German Gauls, who had warred with their anceſtors, and ſettled among them. The Germans of Southern Gaul being far ſuperior in civilization to their progenitors, and refined by climate, neighbourhood, and commerce, were of courſe often ſuperior in war; a circumſtance which might have ſimply ariſen from better weapons. The Gallic colonies in *Illyricum* and *Thrace* are of the ſame deſcription. Livy (XL. 57.) tells, that the Scordiſci and Tauriſci were of one ſpeech with

the Baſternæ, and they were of courſe German Gauls.

That famous expedition, which founded the kingdom of Galatia in *Aſia Minor*, was alſo of German Gauls. The people were Trocmi, Tectoſages, and Toliſtoboii: the leaders Lomnorius, and Lutarius; the later being the German name Lutharius or Lothaire. Saint Jerome[v] puts the German extraction of the Galatians beyond doubt, by telling us, from perſonal knowlege, that their ſpeech was the ſame with that of Treveri or Triers in Germany, where he had ſtudied. So much for the German-Gallic colonies, which the bounds of my deſign forbid me to examine at due length[w].

The Scythians or Goths who ſlew Cyrus, whom Alexander ſhunned, and who were the terror of Pyrrhus[x], were in their German ſeats equally formidable. Not the Samnians, not the Carthaginians, not the mingled nations of Spain, and of Gaul, nor even the Parthians themſelves, were ſo dangerous to Roman power. Carbo, and Caſſius, Scaurus Aurelius, and Servilius Cepio, and Marcus Manlius, with their five conſular armies, were all taken priſoners or ſlain by the Teutones and Cimbri, who had fled from the northern Germans. Julius declined the conteſt with the Germans: Auguſtus weeped the fate of Varus and his legions. Hardly could Druſus, and

[v] In præf. Epiſt. 1. ad Galat.

[w] As in America the Europeans not only have vaſt diſtinct poſſeſſions, but alſo towns and ſettlements among the ſavages, ſuch we may judge was the caſe with the Scythians among the Celts. In Celtic Gaul eſpecially many Belgic tribes and towns may be found; and it may be inferred that the Celtic parts of Britain and Ireland were in the ſame predicament. Strabo, lib. IV. ſays that the Veneti on the extreme weſtern ſhore of Celtic Gaul were Belgæ. They were famous for naval power and reſiſtance to Cæſar, whom ſee.

[x] Modo autem Getæ illi, qui et nunc Gothi, quos Alexander evitandos pronunciavit, Pyrrhus exhorruit, &c. *Oroſ.* I. 16. Part of the above paragraph is tranſlated from Tacitus, *Germania*.

Nero,

Nero, and Germanicus, defend this frontier of the empire, for this was the whole ambition of Rome. In later times they were triumphed over, but not conquered. Under their ancient name of Scythæ or Goths, they were ſoon, by degrees, to ſeize on the whole weſtern empire; nay to pour over the fertile coaſts of Africa. The Vandali, whom Tacitus and Pliny found in the north of Germany, were to fight with Beliſarius, in the plains of Numidia. The Suevi were to poſſeſs the fragrant fields of Spain. The Langobardi were to enjoy the orange groves of Italy. The Angli, whom Tacitus puts in a liſt of names, were to give their name to a country eminent in arts and arms, in wiſdom and liberty.

CHAPTER V.

The progreſs of the Scythians into Scandinavia eſpecially conſidered.

SO much has been written, by many of the moſt learned men whom Europe has produced, upon the imaginary egreſſion of the Scythians or Goths from Scandinavia, that this part of my ſubject well deſerves a particular inveſtigation. The Scythic or Gothic language, mythology, and manners, have alſo been ſo much preſerved in the wilds of Iceland, which was colonized from Norway in the Ninth century, and have been ſo ably illuſtrated by the erudition of different Scandinavian antiquaries, that the progreſs of the Scythæ into Scandinavia becomes a ſubject extremely curious and intereſting. My particular view, which was to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the Piks, a people who proceeded from Norway to the north of Britain, about three centuries before Chriſt, likewiſe concurs to draw my beſt attention to this point, upon which i hope extenſive reading on the ſubject, and ſedulous and minute reſearch, will enable me to throw new lights.

The reader will pleaſe to recollect that, before our proofs that the Germans were Scythæ, the BASTERNÆ attracted attention, as a people ſituated between the Getæ and the Germans. But this vaſt race of men, called Baſternæ, not only reached down to the *Alpes Baſternicæ*, or Carpathian mountains, and the Danube, but alſo extended north to that part of the Baltic where preſent Pruſſia now lyes,

lyes, and which is neareſt to the Euxine, the early ſeat of the Scythæ; the diſtance beween the Baltic and Euxine ſeas, being only about 500 miles, little more than the breadth of the intermediate country of preſent Poland. Over this tract of ground, about 500 miles long, from the Danube to the Baltic, and about 150 miles broad from the weſtern boundary of the Viſtula, to the Chronus, and Boryſtenes on the eaſt, were ſtationed the great BASTERNIC nations. For the Sarmatæ were not in poſſeſſion of Poland, till the German nations began to move into the Roman empire; and the river Nieper or Boryſtenes, and Chronus now Niemen, were the proper bounds of ancient Sarmatia on the weſt. The weſt of Poland was a gradual acquiſition of the Sarmatæ, as the Scythæ moved into the Roman empire: and in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the German Scythæ were ſtill moving into richer countries, the Sarmatians, or *Slavi*[a], ſeized on Pomerania and Mecklenburg on the north; and Bohemia toward the ſouth; which are held by mixt Sarmatians and Germans to this day. The grand diſtinctions between the Sarmatians and Germans, as marked by the acute and tranſcendant mind of Tacitus, toward the cloſe of his *Germania*, were that the Sarmatians lived always on horſeback; their families in cars, or ſmall waggons; and wore flowing robes like the Parthians: while the Germans fought on foot,

[a] *Slava*, in the Slavonic, means *glorious*, *noble*; hence many Poliſh names as Ladiſlaus, &c. Procopius is, it is believed, the firſt who mentions the Sclaveni, Σκλαβηνοι, or Slavons, II. 15. III. 33. in which laſt paſſage they make a great figure, paſſing the Danube in crouds. It deſerves eſpecial remark that the *Venedi* or *Wends* have been, by tranſlators of Northern Sagas, and others, confounded with the *Vandali*, which laſt are, it is thought, unknown to Northern writers. The Vans, Wends, Venedi, lay in Odin's ſuppoſed way from the Euxine to the Baltic; the Vandals did not. This ſtrange error has got even into a royal title, *Gothorum et Vandalorum Rex* (for *Venedorum*), a title equal to that of *Rex Maris et Terræ!*

having few cavalry; and had fixt huts; and a close dress; but above all, quite a different language. He also ascribes nastiness to the Sarmatæ, tho of this the Germans had their share; as all uncivilized nations must have; and the Celts in particular were so filthy that even their cleanliness was the extreme of nastiness [b]. But the Sarmatians were a great and warlike nation; tho it appears, from the little mention of them in Greek and Roman history, that they yielded much to the Scythians in arms; and, from all ancient accounts, were also inferior in wisdom, and such rude arts, as early society affords, tho the peasantry of Poland and Russia be remarkably sensible and acute.

The BASTERNÆ, in this large extent of country, became so remarkable to the ancients, that Strabo, book VII. p. 305, classes them with the enormous names of SCYTHÆ and SARMATÆ, saying that the Scythæ, Basternæ, and Sarmatæ, beyond the Danube, gradually emigrated north. He also informs us that the Basternæ were divided into four great nations, ΑΤΜΟΝΟΙ, ΣΙΔΟΝΕΣ, ΠΕΥΚΙΝΟΙ, Ῥωξολανοι; the *Atmoni*, *Sitones*, *Peukini*, and *Roxolani*. Some of them, he observes, remained still in Thrace, and their first habitations; while others moved north. The Peukini, tho they sent out vast emigrations, form a remarkable instance of those who remained. Let us briefly consider the BASTERNÆ, of whom the Peukini were a part, in order that the reader may see the progressive evidence of the ancients who have mentioned them concerning both. The first mention we find of the *Basternæ* in history is on account of their assisting Perseus, king of Macedon, against the Romans, 166 years before Christ. Polybius, who was cotemporary, mentions that Perseus was assisted with 10,000 *Basternæ*

[b] Strabo, *lib.* III. p. 164, says, that the Celts washed their body, and cleansed their teeth, with urine; and that it was kept long in cisterns to give it more strength.

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and Gauls. Livy XL. 57. XLI. 19. misunderstanding Polybius puts the Basternæ as Gauls; but says that their speech was the same with that of the Scordisci, who were German Gauls. Upon which Pelloutier foolishly concludes them Celts, quite forgetting that the Celts were not Gauls, but only a people of Gaul, and the most distant of all; the whole German Gauls being the people generally called Gauls by the ancients, and being the nearest to the scene of action, and to Italy. Those French authors who finding the Celts peculiarly and originally in Gaul, and therefore sometimes called Gauls, as we call the Welch, Britons, because they anciently possessed the whole country; and who from thence gratify their dreams of universal dominion, by wishing to prove the whole of Europe Celtic, only shew an ignorance and folly beyond all excess. What should we say of him, who, finding the Welch peculiarly called Britons, and that North America was peopled from Britain, should in some future period, dream that all the British inhabitants of North America are Welch? This is exactly the very case.

To return to Perseus and the Basternæ. Diodorus Siculus says, Perseus employed *Gauls and Celts*, not Basternæ, if the excerpt be not erroneous. Appian *in Macedonicis*, p. 1223, calls these assistants of Perseus *Getæ*: and Dion Cassius, who is indeed a contemptible and foolish writer, yet, as he long commanded in Pannonia, was on the very confines of the southern Basternæ, if not among them, and therefore in this one instance may deserve some credit, says, *lib.* XXXVIII. that they were *Scythæ*, των Σκυθων των Βαστερνων; and *lib.* LI. Βαστερναι δε Σκυθαι. Dion also informs us, *lib.* LI. *p.* 461, 463. that they lived in cars; that is like their neighbours the Sarmatæ: but as all the ancients distinguish them from the Sarmatæ, and Strabo, lib. VII. inclines to think them Germans,

mans, which Pliny and Tacitus[f] afterward from complete information eſtabliſh beyond a doubt, from their ſpeech, &c. and Dio himſelf calls them Scythæ, and Appian Getæ, we muſt conclude that they were a vaſt German nation, who were moſt retentive of the ancient Scythic manners, as their neighbours the Getæ, people of Little Scythia, or Parental Scythians, were. The other Germans, being the moſt diſtant ſettlement of the Scythæ, and bordering on the Celts, who had by the Greeks of Marſeilles been taught many civil arts, had on the contrary advanced one ſtage further in ſociety than their Scythian anceſtors: as we obſerved before that the Greeks, another Scythian ſettlement, had, from ſtill greater advantages of ſituation, advanced even to the height of human perfection, while their anceſtors were in primitive barbariſm. We afterward in Juſtin XXXVIII. 3. find Mithridates ſolliciting their aſſiſtance againſt the Romans: and i ſhall proceed to my main object, their northern progreſs, after juſt mentioning that in Juſtin XXXII. 3. we find the Baſternæ defeating their brethren the Daci, probably from ſuperiority in cavalry: and that Dionyſius, who was of Corinth and wrote, as Dodwell ſhews, about the year of Chriſt 221, in in his Periegeſis, after mentioning the Danube pouring it's five mouths around Peuké,

Πενταπορος προχεησιν ἑλισσομενος περι Πευκην. v. 301.

puts the Baſternæ between the Getæ and Daci.

——————— Γεται θ' αμα, Βαστερναιτε,
Δακων τ' ασπετος. ———————

Tacitus, Ann. ii, mentions *Baſternas, Scythaſque*[g]. Strabo

[f] Pliny IV. 13. Tacitus in Germ. Leibnitz well obſerves on the later, 'Sed cum ipſe Tacitus ſubjiciat Peucinos ſermone referre Germanos, quæſtio ab ipſomet deciſa eſt. Unde enim illis ſermo Germanicus niſi ab origine Germanica?' Apud Tac. Germ. a Dithmar, *p.* 296.

[g] The Baſternæ lived in cars, that is their wives and children did always, while the men roved about on foot, or on horſeback,

Strabo ſays, that in his time, the Peukini, proper or parental, were that part of the Baſternæ who lived in the large ile of Peuké in the Euxine ſea, at the mouth of the Danube: and Ptolemy remarks the ſame in his time; and it is likely their deſcendants ſtill retain their poſſeſſions in *Piczina*, the modern name of Peuke. Mela II. 7. calls Peuké an iland *omnium notiſſima et maxima*, the moſt famous and largeſt in thoſe parts. The author of the *Periplus Ponti Euxini* ſays it equals Rhodes in ſize. Some think it named from πευκη, *picea*, *a pine tree*, becauſe it was perhaps full of ſuch; but it ſeems as probably to have taken it's name from the Piki a people beyond Colchis, and ſubject to the Colchian kingdom[c]; for the antients agree that a colony from Colchis ſettled on the Iſter, in the time of the Argonauts, and it is moſt likely that it was at its mouth. For tho Apollonius Rhodius book IV, and Juſtin xxxii. 3. make the Iſtri on the Adriatic that colony, which by their own accounts of the Colchians ſailing up the Danube to the Adriatic, is

horſeback, and returned to their cars, or little waggons, at night. Herodotus ſays the ſame of the Scythæ, IV. 121. and Juſtin. II. *Baſterna* was Francic or Tudeſque for a chariot, perhaps covered like a waggon, as we find the chariot of honour on medals of Fauſtina and others. See Gregor. Turon. III. 26. the word alſo occurs in Lampridius *in Heliogab.* Symmachus, and the *Capitularia Reg. Franc.* and Amm. Marcell. lib. XIV. Vopiſcus in Probo, tells that Probus ſettled no leſs than 100,000 Baſternæ in Thrace. In 303 the Baſternæ are laſt ſpoken of as a ſeparate people. *Zozim. Oroſius, Victor, Eumen. Pan. Conſt.* The *Gepidæ* of later ages ſeem the *Geloni* of the former; and from their ſituation muſt have been Baſternæ.

[b] Pliny VI. 7. where he treats of the Palus Mæotis, and nations around it, puts the *Piki* between the Mæotis and Ceraunian Mountains; or in preſent Circaſſia. Some editions read *Phycari*: but Harduin gives us *Pici*, from four excellent MSS. 1. *Reg.* 2. *Col.* 3, 4. *Chiffl.*—Mela, I. 21, calls them *Phicores, Phycari, Phicores, Pici*, are but different modifications of the ſame name, as *Pihti, Phichtiaid, Pihtar, Peohtar*, are Cumraig and Saxon names of the *Piki*. Plautus, *in Aulularia* calls them *Picæ*.

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a complete impoſſibility, yet Ovid, who lived at Tomi cloſe by the ſpot, is an undoubted witneſs in our favour.

> Solus ad egreſſus miſſus ſeptemplicis Iſtri,
> Parrhaſiæ gelido virginis axe premor.
> Jazyges, et Colchi, Metereaque turba, Getæque,
> Danubii mediis vix prohibentur aquis.
> *Triſt.* lib. II. el. 1.

The *Jazyges Eneocadlæ*, as above ſhewn, were a ſmall Sarmatic nation, who lived in peace and union among the Getæ, on the north of the Tyras, acting it is likely as cavalry in their armies; and it is probable it was of them that Ovid learned Sarmatic. The other nations were alſo north of the Danube, to the ſouth of which Tomi, the place of Ovid's baniſhment, ſtood: and the Colchians here mentioned were, in all probability, the Peukini. For tho the Piki were properly one of the many Scythian tribes between Colchis and the Ceraunian mountains; yet being ſubject to the great Colchian kingdom they were probably called Colchians, as foreigners call all the natives of Britain and Ireland, Engliſh. But leaving this conjecture (for it is little better) to carry it's own weight with the reader, i ſhall proceed to examine the progreſs of the Baſternæ.

The *Peukini*, or that Baſternic nation which emigrated from Peuké, ſeem to have in proceſs of time tranſcended all the other Baſternic diviſions in number. Inſomuch that Pliny and Tacitus put the Baſternæ and Peukini as names of the ſame nation; tho Strabo, Ptolemy, and others, writing geography and of courſe more accurately in theſe points, put the Peukini as only one of the diviſions of Baſternæ. The *Roxolani* Strabo put by miſtake among the Baſternæ, for it is known to a certainty from Tacitus, *Hiſt. lib.* 1. (*Roxolani Sarmatica gens*, &c.) and many others, that they were Sarmatæ. Strabo's miſtake aroſe from the Roxolani being the next Sarmatic nation to the Baſternæ.

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The Roxolani were Ruſſians; and that part of Poland on the weſt, and far from Ruſſia, called Red or Black Ruſſia, took it's name from part of the Roxolani, that pierced to that corner, and ſettled. Of the other diviſions named by Strabo, the *Atmoni*, if i miſtake not, ſpreading weſt along the Danube, became the ſouthern Baſternæ, or thoſe properly and abſolutely ſo called by the ancients: while the *Sitones*[d] proceeded northward with the Peukini till they arrived at the Baltic ſea and Scandinavia. A progreſs which we are enabled to trace, as clearly as can be expected, after a remark or two on a few ſouthern colonies of the Peukini.

Ancient geographers ſpeak of different remains of the Peukini in Thrace. Such were the *Peukeſti*, a people north of the Scordiſci. Pliny III. 25, tells us, that Callimachus placed a people called *Peuketi* in Liburnia of Illyricum. In Italy directly on the oppoſite ſhore were the *Pikeni*: and further ſouth, lay the large country of *Peuketia*, now Apulia, of which much may be found in Strabo. Pliny, III. 16. ſays it was ſo called from Peuketius brother of Œnotrus; and Dionyſ. Hal. book 1. p. 10, 11, *ed. Hudſon*, ſays Oenotrus and Peuketius were the two firſt leaders of colonies from Greece into Italy. It was the cuſtom of the Greeks always to derive names of nations from ancient kings and chiefs. This was eaſy etymology, and coſt nothing, yet coſt as much as etymology of names is worth. Thus the Lydians were from Lydus, the Myſians from Myſus, the Scythians from Scythes, the Celts from Celtes, &c. &c. &c. and the Aborigines of the ſouth weſt ſhore of Italy Oenotrians, from Oenotrus, who led them from Arcadia, and thoſe of the eaſt, Peuketii, from Peuketius his brother. The fact ſeems that theſe

[d] A part of the Sithones remained beneath the ile of Peuke, on the weſt of the Euxine. 'Ponticum litus Sithonia gens obtinet, quæ nato ibi Orpheo vate decus addidit nomini.' Solin. c. 16. Virgil has *Sithonias nives*; Ovid *Sithonium aquilonem*.

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aborigines were Oenotri from the Peloponneſus, who advanced from the ſouth weſt of Italy, upward along the weſt ſhore; while the Peuketii ſeized on the eaſt ſide from the oppoſite ſhores of Illyricum, where we learn from Callimachus that a part remained. The *Pikentii* on the weſt, as they bordered on old Peuketia, were as is likely of the ſame origin. But theſe ideas are given as mere conjectures; and I now proceed to examine the northern progreſs of the PEUKINI and SITONES, which ſtands upon quite other grounds.

It is allowed that the Peukini received their name, and proceeded, from the iland of Peuké (Πευκη) in the Euxine ſea, at the mouth of the Danube, now Piczina, or Pics ile. This celebrated iland is finely deſcribed by Apollonius Rhodius in his exquiſite poem, The Argonautics, written about 250 years before Chriſt. Thus the Peukini certainly came from the very heart of Getia, Dacia, and Mæſia; and, if not originally a colony of Colchian Scythæ, certainly were a Scythic people, iſſuing from the very heart of a country, which was in poſſeſſion of the Scythæ about 2000 years before Chriſt. Jornandes, ſpeaking of Galerius Maximinus Cæſar, 'Is ergo habens Gothos et Peucenos ab inſula Peuce, quæ oſtio Danubii Ponto mergenti adjacet[e].' Zozimus calls the Peukini, *Peukai*, Πευκαι. Ammianus Marcellinus names them *Pikenſes*, lib. XVII, as his *Amicenſes* ſeem the *Atmoni* of Strabo, both above Mæſia. He alſo calls them *Peuki*, lib. XXII. where he is ſpeaking of Peuké. The ancient author of the Argonautics aſcribed to Orpheus, calls the Peukini *Pacti*, when he deſcribes the Argonauts in their return ſailing up ſome river, from the Palus Mæotis, to the Cronian ſea, as he dreams; and ranges the Pacti with the Lelians, Scythians, Hyperboreans, Ripheans.

[e] Marſigli, in his magnificent account of the Danube, does not go ſo far eaſt as Peuke, which is in the Turkiſh, not the German, territory.

Let

Let us now briefly conſider the Northern Progreſs of the Sitones and Peukini, two grand Baſternic diviſions. Strabo, who wrote about 20 years after our æra, is certainly well informed concerning the north of Germany, as the Greeks actually traded to Pruſſia for amber. In particular the Eſtii of preſent Pruſſia, from whoſe coaſts the amber came, and where it is yet found in ſuch quantities as to yield a large revenue, were in the confines of the Peukini and Sitones, or Baſternic nations on the Baltic, ſo that the intelligence concerning countries ſo near that to which the Greeks traded, may be regarded as ſatisfactory. Now he tells us, book VII. p. 294, that "moſt think the Baſternæ live beyond the Germans to the Northward, others that there is only ocean." That the later opinion was falſe need not be told: but that the former was true, namely that the Baſternæ poſſeſſed Scandinavia, is certain; for Tacitus, who was procurator of Gallia Belgica and had of courſe all information relating to Germany, and it's neighbourhood, as his admirable *Germania* ſhews, places the SITONES whom Strabo had mentioned as one of the three Baſternic nations in preſent Sweden, and finds part of the PEUKINI on the oppoſite ſhore, while a part no doubt had paſſed into Scandinavia with the Sitones their brethren. And it is evident that the Sitones, whom Ptolemy puts on the ſouth of the Baltic between the Viader and Viſtula, were a part of the Sitones who remained, while the reſt paſſed into Scandinavia: for migrations of nations were ſeldom, if ever, complete, a circumſtance which enables us to trace their ſteps.

The PEUKINI in particular, being the largeſt and moſt eminent part of the Baſternæ, as we may judge from their name being often extended to the whole of this vaſt people, leave ſuch traces behind them from Thrace to the Baltic, that we can follow them ſtep by ſtep. This we are enabled to do from

from the geography of Ptolemy, who wrote about 150 years after Chriſt. As one or two Sarmatic tribes extended beyond the Chronus and Boryſtenes, he improperly puts the Viſtula as the boundary between the Germans, and Sarmatæ; tho Tacitus, who wrote about fifty years before, had ſpecially mentioned German nations beyond the Viſtula, and the vaſt people of Peukini OR Baſternæ in particular, whom Pliny puts as one FIFTH part of the Germans. But Ptolemy living at the great diſtance of Alexandria in Egypt, and probably not even underſtanding Latin, ſeems never to have redd either Pliny or Tacitus; but puts his places according to the maps and Itineraries of the generals, and to the Greek geographers. From the later in particular, who drew from the merchants of amber good intelligence as to the preſent rout, the information ſeems derived which is to be found in his chapter of Sarmatia Europæa. In his time a part of the Peukini ſtill poſſeſſed their original ſettlement in Peuké; while we find another part far north of the Tyras, and above the Getæ: and the Πευκινα ορη, or *Peukinian Mountains* of Ptolemy are, as Cluverius juſtly obſerves, on the ſouth weſt of preſent Pruſſia, near the head of the river Bog; that is within about ſixty miles of the Baltic ſea. Ptolemy places the Peukini on the north of the Baſternæ: ſo that of all the Baſternæ they were neareſt to the Baltic. And that the Peukini actually reached to the Baltic, we know from Tacitus, who in the end of his Germania ranges them with the Venedi and Fenni, whom Ptolemy places near the Viſtula upon the Baltic. Tacitus alſo puts the *Venedi* between the PEUKINI and *Fenni*, ſo that the Peukini muſt have been on the ſhore of the Baltic, on the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the Viſtula, or in preſent Pruſſia: from which they extended ſouth to their Baſternic brethren in the weſtern part of preſent Hungary: a tract about 400 miles long, and from 100 to 150 broad. With ſo large poſſeſſions it is no

wonder that Pliny ſhould put the Peukini as a fifth part of the Germans; and that their name ſhould be uſed as ſynonymous with the Baſternæ.

Having thus ſhewn that the two Baſternic nations of PEUKINI and SITONES extended to the Baltic; and that, as Tacitus and others ſhew, and all modern geographers agree, a part of the Sitones remained in the neighbourhood of the Peukini, on the ſouth ſide of the Baltic, while the reſt of the Sitones were in Scandinavia; and that Strabo mentions it as the moſt general opinion in his time that the Baſternæ were beyond the Germans, or in Scandinavia; i believe it will be granted at once that it is moſt likely that a part of the Peukini went to Scandinavia with their brethren the Sitones. But, before inſiſting on this, i ſhall give the reader ſome idea of what the Romans and Greeks knew of Scandinavia and the north of Germany.

About 250 years before Chriſt, Pytheas and others, as we learn from Pliny, ſpoke of an iland called *Baltia* in the *Cronium mare*, or Northern ocean, whence amber was brought. Herodotus had indeed mentioned this 450 years before Chriſt. The name of the iland was palpably from the Baltic ſea very anciently ſo called; from the Gothic, or old German *Belt*, a gulf. Amber was never found in Scandinavia, but in *Gleſſaria*, a peninſula on the Pruſſian coaſt, which afterward received it's name from the appellation which Tacitus tells the Germans gave amber, namely *Gles* or *Glaſs*, which it reſembled. Baltia is therefore not Scandinavia but Gleſſaria. Pomponius Mela, who wrote about 45 years after Chriſt, mentions the *Codanus ſinus*, and *Codanovia*, which is in all probability preſent Zeeland, an ile of the Suiones, in which the capital of Denmark ſtands; and from whence *Dania* is by ſome judged to be contracted. Pliny himſelf, who wrote about 70 years after Chriſt, is the firſt who mentions *Scandinavia*, tho he tells us, IV. 16. that the iles of *Scandia*, *Dumna*, *Bergi*, and *Nerigon*,

had been noticed by others[f]. Dumna is by Ptolemy ranged among the Orkneys; Scandia may be Funen; and Bergi the country of Bergen in Norway, interfected from Sweden on the ſouth by the *Schager Rack*, or weſterly diviſion of the Baltic, ſo as to have to thoſe who knew only the ſouthern coaſt, the appearance of an ile. Pliny adds IV. 16. that Nerigon was the largeſt of theſe iles: and as he ſays he derives his information from various preceding authors *ſunt qui et alia prodeunt, Scandiam*, &c. it is well inferred by the northern antiquaries that Nerigon had from later and better information been put for Bergi; but Pliny finding the ſame country called by two names, thought them different iles: for Nerigon is ſurely Norway by it's moſt ancient, and yet indigenous name *Norigé*, or the Northern kingdom. But ch. 27, he tells us from himſelf that Scandinavia is an ile in the *Sinus Codanus* of undiſcovered ſize, and that the known parts are poſſeſſed by the *Hilleviones* in five hundred *pagi*, or diſtricts. They are well thought to be of *Halland* in the ſouth-weſt corner of Scandinavia.

Being now come to Tacitus, whoſe *Germania* is ſo important to modern hiſtory, it will be proper to dwell a little upon the geography of that work, which is in many points groſſly miſunderſtood; and eſpecially that part which concerns our ſubject, his deſcription of the northern nations. Cluverius, who wrote near two centuries ago, is univerſally and blindly followed, while his faults are enormous. He was a man of laudable induſtry; but of contracted and indiſtinct judgment If errors be admitted into any branch of ſcience, they commonly

[f] He alſo names *Eningia*, which ſome would raſhly alter to *Finingia*, but was in all likelihood the ſouth part of Finland, and taken by the ancients for another ile in the Great Northern Ocean. Pliny ſays, Scandinavia and Eningia were thought other *worlds* by the inhabitants: but he uſes the ſame extravagant hyperbole in ſpeaking of Taprobane, or *Ceylon*! VI. 24.

remain

remain for centuries, owing to the indolence of mankind, who are ever ready to reſign their minds to any guide, and would rather ſleep and go wrong, than examine and go right; while in fact they have only to truſt themſelves more, and others leſs. Let us lay Tacitus before us, with a map of modern Germany; and put aſide Cluverius, Cellarius, and the able D'Anville, who has ſo often corrected their eaſtern geography, but has truſted them with Germany, their own country, and thus left Europe in darkneſs to enlighten Aſia. Tacitus, after employing two thirds of his work in deſcribing the manners of the Germans, paſſes to a deſcription of the nations; and firſt mentions two colonies which had returned from Gaul into Germany, the *Helvetii* and *Boii*. He then puts the *Vangiones*, &c. on the weſt ſide of the Rhine; and the *Batavi* in the ile formed by its outlets. Beyond the people between the head of the Danube, and the Rhine, he places the *Catti*, a large nation; and further up on the the Rhine the *Uſipii*, &c.; next the *Bructeri*; behind them, the *Dulgibini*; in front, the *Friſii*, who ſpred along the north bank of the Rhine and the ocean: and among whom was the Zuyder Zee, *ambiuntque immenſos inſuper lacus, et Romanis claſſibus navigatos*. Tacitus adds, *Hactenus in Occidentem Germaniam novimus. In Septentrionem ingenti flexu redit*. 'Thus far we know of the weſt of Germany. It now returns to the north with a great bend;' meaning that it's ſhore, formerly weſt, now fronts north, as it does at preſent Friezland and Groningen. Next is the very large nation of the *Chauci*: then the *Cheruſci*, and *Foſi*, the laſt of whom are fooliſhly taken for the Saxons by Cluverius, who forgot that the Saxons were an alliance of many nations which like the Franks and Allmans had taken one name. Here in a ſpot which anſwers to the mouth of the Elbe, *proximi Oceano*, dwelled the ſmall and only remains of the Cimbri: *parva nunc civitas*. This *parva civitas* geographers ſpread over all the large peninſula of Jutland, which after Ptolemy,

(who only puts a few Cimbri in it, and no leſs than Six German nations) they call the Cimbric Cherſoneſus. It was doubtleſs once inhabited by the Cimbri, but they were reduced to a *parva civitas* at its ſouthweſt corner, long before Roman geography commences.

Tacitus next proceeds to the *Suevi*, who, he tells us, were not one nation, but many under one title, who held the greateſt part of Germany, to wit, all from the Danube to the ocean ſouth and north, and from the Elbe to the Viſtula eaſt and weſt. The firſt are the *Semnones*, a people of a hundred diſtricts, who are rightly placed in *Brandenburg*. Proceeding to the north, as is clear from his expreſſion when he paſſes to the Hermunduri *(ut quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, ſic nunc Danubium ſequar*, for the Rhine runs north, the Danube eaſt) next to the Semnones are the *Langobardi*, about preſent Lunenburg. Then follow no leſs than ſeven nations, all of which Cluverius has heaped upon one another in preſent Mecklenburg! The poor man forgot that the whole vaſt peninſula of Jutland was juſt in the road of Tacitus, as his text bears that he proceeds north; and that he adds *hæc quidem pars Suevorum in* SECRETIORA *Germaniæ* PORRIGITUR, a deſcription which can only apply to this vaſt and rich peninſula; and that the Cimbri with whom he fills that large Cherſoneſe were, as Tacitus ſays, only a ſmall ſtate on the ocean near the Cheruſci and Foſi, or at the mouth of the Elbe! Seven nations are piled upon one another in a ſmall province; and a *parva civitas* is ſpred over a territory 220 miles long, and from 63 to 95 broad! If this be not abſurdity, i know not what abſurdity is. But ſuch is human ſcience! Let us place theſe nations as Tacitus meaned, and all is well. The *Reudigni* firſt, and *Aviones* above them, in preſent Holſtein; the *Angli* in Sleſwick, where the fertile province of Anglen ſpreads around Lunden it's ancient capital: the *Varini* above the Angli, for the river Warne is

nothing;

nothing; the *Eudoſes* next; then the *Suardones* and *Nuithones* in preſent North Jutland, the later reaching to it's utmoſt point where the promontory of Scagen braves the northern ocean. As to the Angli we are certain. The Suardones were perhaps the *Swathedi*, whom the Engliſh hiſtorians Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, Matthew of Weſtminſter, commemorate among the Daniſh invaders of England in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Nuithones are, as is likely, the *Huithoni* of Pontanus in his *Deſcriptio Daniæ*, that is, the inhabitants of the furtheſt point of Jutland, the Witland of Bleau's Atlas. The Eudoſes are the *Yeuton*, or people of Yeutland, as the Danes pronounce Jutland, who ſeem to have been the largeſt nation holding the middle of the Cherſoneſe, and who now give a general name to the whole peninſula of Northern and Southern Jutland. Let me add, that it is impoſſible that the whole of this peninſula, as nearer the Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, ſhould not have been far better known to the Romans, than the ſouthern ſhores of the Baltic.

Accordingly we find Ptolemy, fifty years after Tacitus, places no leſs than ſix nations in it, the *Sigulones*, *Sabelingii*, *Cobandi*, *Chali*, *Phunduſii*, *Charudes*, beſides the Saxons at it's ſouth part: and the Cimbri, whom Ptolemy ignorantly places at it's northern extremity. Ignorantly, for no man can prefer Ptolemy's teſtimony, who lived at Alexandria, to that of Tacitus, who lived in Belgic Gaul, and who expreſſly puts the Cimbri on the ſeaſide of the Foſi, at the mouth of the Elbe. The reader need not be told that the text of Ptolemy is rightly deemed the moſt corrupt of all antiquity; as indeed a conſtant ſeries of unknown names, and numbers, muſt have been lyable to great vitiations of copiers. His account of the names of the German nations often differs from Tacitus; yet Strabo confirms Tacitus, tho he wrote before him, for Strabo's work was not ſo lyable to vitiation,

being narrative, while Ptolemy's only contains geographic tables. The Phunduſii ſeem the Eudoſes; the Charudes, the Suardones: the others are yet more corrupt, for thoſe given by Tacitus can be traced in the ſpot, and in hiſtory, but of thoſe aſſigned by Ptolemy, not one. Yet Ptolemy places none of the nations above mentioned elſewhere, ſave the Angili Suevi, and it is doubtful if theſe were the Angli[g]. Tacitus obſerves of theſe nations that they are divided by rivers and woods; a deſcription moſt applicable to Jutland, now ſo well wooded, and interſected by fine ſtreams. Perhaps it may be ſaid that Tacitus would have mentioned this great Cherſoneſe expreſſly, had he meant it; but it is doubtful if it was called a Cherſoneſe, ſave by Ptolemy only; and it's ſize is ſo great, that we ſhould as well think of calling Ptolemy's Caledonia, bending to the eaſt, a Cherſoneſe of Britain. Nor does Tacitus name Scandinavia, tho he deſcribes nations in it, as ſhall preſently be ſeen.

Having thus proceeded to the utmoſt north of the weſt parts of Germany, or thoſe commencing from the Rhine as a boundary, Tacitus paſſes to follow the Danube, as he ſays, or an eaſt courſe, and places the nations regularly one after another as Cluverius well puts them in this tract. After mentioning the utmoſt nations this way, Tacitus returns northward, telling that a large chain of mountains divides Suevia, that is a chain running north and ſouth: beyond which are the *Lygii* conſiſting of many nations, the chief being the *Arii*, *Helveconæ*, *Manimi*, *Elyſii*, *Naharvali*. The Lygii are rightly put by Cluverius, in preſent Sileſia. Above the Lygii were the *Gotthones* rightly put in Pomerellia, at the mouth of the Viſtula or Weiſſel. *Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii*, 'next from thence on the ocean the *Rugii*,' rightly put in Rugen; 'and Lemovii,' whom

[g] Theſe *Anglii* of Ptolemy are corrupted from *Angrii*, or *Angrivarii*, placed by others juſt where Ptolemy puts the *Anglii*.

Cluverius

Cluverius makes the ſame with the Heruli, and puts in Pomerania. But the account of Tacitus bears that the Lemovii were weſt of the Rugii, for he is coming *deinde* from the Gotthones and Lygii; and Ptolemy expreſſly ſhews that three other nations dwelled in preſent Pomerania, namely the Ruticlii, Sideni, and Pharudini. So that the Lemovii were doubtleſs weſt of the Rugii or Rugen, as the text of Tacitus bears, who ſeems to include the three other nations mentioned by Ptolemy in the general name of Gotthones, and thus to extend them over Pomerania as well as Pomerellia. The *Lemovii* were of courſe in preſent Lubec and Wagerland.

After this Tacitus proceeds to the Suiones; *Suionum hinc civitates ipſo in oceano*, &c. Modern geographers, following Cluverius, who is by no means accurate, have made the Suiones the preſent Swedes; and the northern antiquaries ſeem to allow this, tho to me nothing is more doubtful[1]. For the Sitones, whom Tacitus puts beyond the Suiones, *Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur*; and, after deſcribing them, ſays, *hic Sueviæ finis*; and paſſes to the Peukini, Venedi, and Fenni, ſeem to me infallibly the preſent Swedes: and the name bears more reſemblance to *Suitiod*, the old name of Sweden. Whereas Suiones reſembles more *Zee-woners*, or *dwellers in the ſea*, whence the noble and fertile iland, which forms the beſt part of the Daniſh dominions, is now called *Zeeland*; the *Su* appearing to be merely a Roman way of expreſſing the German ſound of Z. In Knytlinga Saga, and other Icelandic books, Zeeland is called Sio-land, a name preſerving affinity with Suiones; as Suitiod, the old name of Swedes and Sweden, in theſe works, does with Sitones. Perhaps *Sitones* ſprung from *Sictuna*, the old name of the chief *civitas* in Sweden, near Birca, as Adam

[1] The learned Huet, *Commerce des Anc.* rightly ſaw that the *Suiones* muſt be on the *weſt*, from the account of Tacitus; but he errs in placing them in Norway.

of Bremen and others teſtify. Add to this, that only the moſt ſouthern part of Scandinavia was ever known to the ancients; and the vaſt *Wener* Lake, in preſent Weſtroguland, or as the Swedes affect to call it Weſtrogothia, ſeems the utmoſt bound of their real knowlege; they thinking that beyond was the *Cronium Mare*, or Frozen Ocean; the ſea beyond the Suiones, mentioned by Tacitus, which was looked on as the end of the world. I have peruſed, and re-peruſed, with indefatigable and minute attention, all that the ancients have ſaid of Scandinavia, and am convinced that the narrower bounds we confine their knowlege of it to, we ſhall be the nearer to the truth. The Suiones, after the moſt mature conſideration, appear to me infallibly the people of preſent Zeeland, and the iles around it, *civitates in oceano*, and part of the Daniſh territory on the oppoſite ſhore of the ſound, now Schonen, Halland, and Weſtrogothia. For, can any man believe that Tacitus ſhould paſs to Scandinavia, and take no notice of the noble and rich iland of Zeeland, and the large and fertile iles around it? ſhould fly at once, as is dreamed, to preſent Norway and Sweden, of which he knew as much as he did of Greenland, as every one, the leaſt verſt in ancient geography, muſt know? ſhould join all Scandinavia, a country, when really known, as large as Germany itſelf, to a few ſmall ſtates? Was Tacitus utterly abſurd, or are his commentators ſo?

After the Suiones, Tacitus paſſes to the *Æſtii*, who are raſhly enough, from ſimilarity of names, placed in preſent Eſtonia, tho Gleſſaria, the iland of the Æſtii, is confeſſed to be in preſent Pruſſia, two hundred miles ſouth-weſt of Eſtonia; and it is on the coaſt of Pruſſia alone, that ſuch quantities of amber are found to this day. Eſtonia confeſſedly means merely *eaſt country*; and may be a late name, nothing being ſo common as names of countries from the points in which they lye; as

Aeſtſexia,

Aeſtſexia, or Eſſex in England, &c. &c. &c. [k]. The Æſtii were certainly in the peninſula beyond preſent Dantzic, that is, as Tacitus deſcribes, on the *right hand* as you ſailed up the *Suevicum mare*, or ſouth part of the Baltic, that was on the north of the Suevi. And he mentions the Æſtii before he paſſes to the Sitones, or Swedes, of the oppoſite ſhore, and the Peukini, Venedi, and Fenni; beyond whom he had faintly heard of a people who were covered with ſkins of beaſts, and thence went for beaſts with a human face. The Fenni were infallibly, from the account of Tacitus, that they were divided from the Peukini, only by woods and hills, inhabited by Venedi, not the people of Finland, as dreamed, but the FINS, a great aboriginal people, of whom ſee Mr. Tooke's Ruſſia. The language of Lithuania, or the north of Poland, Samogitia, Courland, Eſtonia, Livonia, is at this day Finniſh, not Slavonic. The Fenni of Tacitus were in Livonia and Eſtonia. Ptolemy, book III. places Fenni at the Viſtula.

From the Æſtii Tacitus paſſes to the *Sitones*, or Swedes of Smaland, on the oppoſite ſhore: and as the Suiones were unqueſtionably the people of preſent Zeeland and ſurrounding iles, with a ſmall part of ſouthern Scandinavia, along the weſt ſhore up to the Wener lake, ſo the Sitones were only a very ſmall part of the Swedes, or Suitiod, namely, thoſe of preſent Smaland and Eaſter Gothia. Tacitus, tho he appears to have redd Pliny, from his copying that writer's account of the origin of amber, takes no notice of Scandinavia, but palpably implies it to be partly inhabited by the Suiones and Sitones, and is univerſally ſo under-

[k] In the *Periplus Wulfſtani* of king Alfred, publiſhed in the book of Arius *De Iſlandia*, edit. Buſſæi, *Haunia*, 1733, 4to. and elſewhere, we are told, 'the Viſtula is a very large river, and near it ly Witland, and Vandalia. Witland belongs to the Eſti.' It is hence clear that the Eſti of Alfred's time were thoſe of Tacitus, on the mouth of the Viſtula, and far remote from Eſtonia.

ſtood.

ſtood. The Hilleviones, and iles, mentioned by Pliny, as he had procured no intelligence of, he paſſes in ſilence. If the reader will with theſe views read the work of Tacitus, he will find all clear. As commonly underſtood, nothing but a confuſion, unknown to the luminous mind of Tacitus, ariſes. For he is ſuppoſed to paſs from the Lemovii about Lubec, up to Sweden, with: *Suionum hinc civitates* (whereas Zeeland is juſt oppoſite *hinc* to the Lemovii as above placed); then flies back to the Eſtii of Pruſſia; then flies back *toto cœlo* to Norway, of whoſe exiſtence he knew nothing; then cloſes a deſcription of Norway with *hic Suevice finis* (his Suevi being but a diviſion of Germans); then flies back again to the Peukini and Venedi and Fenni, nations as remote from Norway as the ſouth-eaſt is from the north-weſt. Take his text as here ſtated; and all is clear, and accurate. He paſſes from the Lemovii about Lubec to Zeeland; thence to the Æſti poſſeſſors of Gleſſaria an oppoſite peninſula: then croſſes the Baltic to the oppoſite Swedes of Smaland; thence in a right line to the Peukini, Venedi, and Fenni. Add to this, that the remains of the Sitones in Ptolemy, &c. are exactly on the coaſt oppoſite to Smaland; and it is certainly more likely that they ſhould move to the oppoſite ſhore, than into Norway, a country near 300 miles off, without leaving a trace behind. Theſe cogent reaſons may, it is believed, for ever fix the Suiones in Zeeland, and circling iles, with Schonen, Halland, and Weſtrogothia, their real *civitates in oceano*: and the Sitones, a part of the Suitiod, or Swedes, in the ſouth-eaſt corner of Sweden, now Smaland and Eaſtergothia.

Ptolemy, who wrote about 150 years after Chriſt, is the laſt ancient worthy to be adduced concerning Scandinavia, for the ſickly dreams of Jornandes and Procopius, the laſt of whom was ſo ignorant as to take Scandinavia for Thule, tho Pliny and Ptolemy 400 years before might have told

told him quite the contrary, ſhall be left to their deluded followers.

Nec pueri credunt, niſi qui nondum ære lavantur. *Juv.*

Ptolemy mentions four Scandias; three ſmall, perhaps Funen, Zeeland, and Laland: and one large, or Scandinavia, which he deſcribes, and Agathadæmon lays down in the map, as juſt of a ſize to reach to the Wener lake, as Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes aſcertain[l]. It is above mentioned that, beyond this, the ancients imagined there was only ocean, with a few iles in it, as Eningia a part of Finland, Bergi, Nerigon, all however quite unknown to Ptolemy. In the weſt of Ptolemy's Scandinavia are the *Chædini*; in the eaſt the *Phavonæ*, and *Phiræſi*; on the ſouth the *Gutæ*, and *Dauciones*; in the middle the *Levoni*. Theſe names muſt all have belonged to tribes ſouth of the lake Wener. The Gutæ were ſurely the Gutones of Pliny, the Gothones of Tacitus, who had paſſed from the oppoſite ſhore; and their country is now Eaſtergothia, which Swediſh viſionaries imagine the Oſtrogothia of the ancients, and Weſtergothia the Viſogothia, tho Jornandes, the god of their idolatry, tells, *cap.* XIV. that thoſe names originated from the poſition of the Goths on the Pontus Euxinus, or Euxine ſea[m].

After

[l] The ſouthern part of Scandinavia is called *Skani* in the old Icelandic MSS. and it is ſtill *Scania*. Hence in all appearance the Roman *Scandia*.

[m] Ablavius enim hiſtoricus refert quia ibi ſuper limbum Ponti, ubi eos diximus in Scythia commanere, pars eorum qui orientalem plagam tenebant . . . . . dicti ſunt Oſtrogothæ; reſidui vero Veſigothæ in parte occidua. Jorn. de reb. geſt. Get. c. 14.

Tho Grotius ſeems to quote Baron Herberſtein among the earlieſt writers, for the name Gothland in Sweden, yet that name is mentioned by Adam of Bremen about 1080: and it is highly probable, that the *Gutæ* of Ptolemy were thoſe very people by moderns latinized Gothi. The real indigenal name is *Gyllen*, *Oeſtergyllen*, *Weſtergyllen*. But writers of the middle ages were fond of approximating old names to modern ones: thus they called the Danes, *Daci*; Norway, *Noricum*; the Swedes

After this we find little or nothing concerning Scandinavia, till the ſixth century, when Jornandes was to tell his fables about it, knowing that it's diſtance prevented detection. For tho he quotes Ablavius, who is thought by Grotius to be one living under Conſtantius II. about the year 340, as mentioned by Ammianus, yet it is only AFTER he deſcribes the Goths as ſettled in Little Scythia; and we do not even know that Ablavius was not his cotemporary, and as ignorant as himſelf. Jornandes, and Procopius, who wrote at the ſame time, mention the *Danes*; and *Scritfinni*, or *ſwift Finns*, which ſhews that the ſouth of Finland was now known. As to the other nations placed in Scandinavia, by Jornandes and Procopius, allowing their exiſtence, they only belonged to the ſouth parts. Eginhart, who wrote in the Ninth century, is the firſt i find, after the *Sitones* of Tacitus, who mentions the Swedes: and the Normans alſo began to be well known in this century, when Harold Harfagre riſing firſt ſole king of Norway, expelled many petty princes, who with their little armies took refuge in the Orkneys, and Iceland: and one of them Ganga Hrolf, or Rollo the Walker, was after ſome abode in the Hebudes, to found the dukedom of Normandy.

Could reaſon account for the ideas of folly, it were a matter of curioſity to enquire how Jornandes came to dream of all the nations in Europe proceeding from a diſtant and unpopulous country; and to paſs Germany and Getia, or Little Scythia,

Swedes *Sueui*: and ſome Scandinavian writers of laſt century, as Lyſcander and Wormius, call Scanen, Scythia. But the antiquity of the very names Oſtrogothia, Weſtrogothia, if you will, is out of all queſtion. Certain it is, that the Oſtrogothi and Viſogothi of Roman hiſtory came not from that little corner of Sweden, any more than the Franks, Lombards, Heruli, Saxons, went from Scandinavia, as Scandinavian writers dream. *Tantus amor patriæ!* But falſe hiſtory, inſtead of honouring, diſgraces a country; and it is ever ſeen that the moſt inſignificant countries are the moſt full of falſe honours. The Northern kingdoms need not ſuch fame.

countries

countries overflowing with population? It can only be ſaid that the Goths coming gradually from the north into the empire, it might naturally be imagined that the extreme north, or Scandinavia, was their point of progreſſion: tho indeed it may be ſuſpected that a love of the marvellous and falſe, ſo natural to man, might be the ſole ſpring of a fiction, ſo oppoſite to common ſenſe, and to all ancient authority.

Having thus ſhewn what the ancients knew of Scandinavia, let us conſider the progreſs of the Scythians or Goths into it. We have already traced two Baſternic nations, the SITONES and PEUKINI, up to the ſhores of the Baltic. On theſe ſhores, cloſe by them, we find the *Gotthones*, *Guttones*, or *Gythones*, as called by Tacitus, Pliny, Ptolemy. How this nation came to hold a name ſo near that of all the Goths, were difficult to ſay, were not the name of *Gut* or *Good* given to ground, people, &c. ſuppoſed the origin of the Scandinavian Gudſke latinized Gothlandia: and our Gotthones probably took their name from the ſame fountain, if not from *Gote*, a horſeman, for they bordered on the Baſternæ, who like the Sarmatæ were moſtly cavalry, and it is likely the Gothones were alſo cavalry, and ſo called by the other Germans who had little or none. We alſo find the Gothini a Gallic nation in the ſouth of Germany; and, as Tacitus ſays their ſpeech was Gallic, they were probably an original Celtic tribe inhabiting a mountainous country, as the map of Cluverius ſhews, and allowed to dwell on condition of working the mines, and paying heavy tribute, as Tacitus ſays they did. Their name Gothini, being probably ironical, *good people*. Herodotus, book IV. places moſt of his Scythians in Germany. The Iſter or Danube he calls the largeſt river of Scythia. The Maris or Marus ran into the Iſter from the country of the Agathyrſi, ch. 37. His Hyperborei are in Germany, for he makes their preſents to Delos come

come down to the Adriatic ſea, and thence to Dodona. In ch. 21. he tells us, that beyond the Tanais are the Sarmatæ; and his Scythian nations are chiefly in Germany and Poland: ch. 23. he places far to the north ſome Scythæ who revolted and left the reſt. However this be, it is certain from Pliny, that the ancient Greeks extended Scythia even to the Baltic, where amber was alone found: and we learn from Strabo, that it was the general opinion that the Baſternæ (a Scythic diviſion) held the parts beyond the Germans, or Scandinavia. The Gythones, or Gothones, Ptolemy places on the Baltic ſhore, between the Sideni, or Sidones, and Peukini, two Baſternic nations; and it is moſt likely that the Gythones were alſo Baſternæ. The Sidones, or Sitones, we find in the ſouth of Sweden on the oppoſite coaſt; and the Gythones, or Guttones, are ſurely the Gutæ, of the ſouth of Scandinavia, as put by Ptolemy, who had paſſed over to the ground formerly held by the Sitones on their moving north-eaſt: for *on*, as Grotius obſerves, is merely the old German plural, which is ſometimes given, ſometimes omitted; thus Gutæ, Gutones; Burgundi, Burgundiones; Lugii, Lugiones, &c. &c. &c.

It is believed, that no one, the leaſt verſed in the ſubject, will object that the voyage from preſent Pruſſia to Scandinavia, was too far, for a people in the rudeſt ſtate of ſociety. Some modern writers deny early population by ſea; as Tacitus and other ancients reject progreſs by land. As the later forgot that men have feet, ſo the former forget that they have hands. Sea, far from checking intercourſe, makes it eaſier even to barbarians. Wherever men are found, canoes are found; even when huts, nay cloths are wanting. The Greenlanders and Finns navigate hundreds of miles: and no nation, however ſavage, has been diſcovered in any maritime corner of the globe,

globe, that was a ſtranger to navigation. In the South Seas Captain Cook found ſmall iles 400, 500, 600 miles from each other, peopled by the ſame race of men, ſpeaking the ſame tongue.

We do not find any traces in Ptolemy, or elſewhere, of any nations paſſing from the weſt of Germany into Scandinavia, except perhaps the *Levoni* of Ptolemy's Scandinavia be the *Lemovii* of Tacitus in Lubec and Wagerland, where the paſſage to Scandinavia is very eaſy. But from the eaſt, to which the Scythic progreſs was nearer and ſpeedier, we find the Gutæ and Sitones had paſſed: and Strabo expreſſes it the general opinion that the Baſternæ held Scandinavia. Theſe circumſtances ſeem to evince, as clearly as the caſe will bear, that Scandinavia was peopled by the Baſternic nations on the eaſt of Germany: and as their progreſs was as near from Little Scythia, the *punctum ſaliens*, to the extremity of Scandinavia, as was that of their brethren to the extremity of Germany, ſo there is every reaſon to conclude that Scandinavia was peopled with Scythians as ſoon as Germany. The Northern Fins, including Lapſanders, ſeem to have been infallibly aborigines of their country; for they are ſo weak, ſo peaceable, and their ſoil ſo wretched, that they could have vanquiſhed no nation, and no nation could envy them their poſſeſſions *in climes beyond the ſolar road.*

As we thus find that the Baſternæ, or thoſe Germans who lived eaſt of the Viſtula, were the Scythic diviſion that peopled Scandinavia, it can hardly be ſuppoſed that the Peukini, whoſe name is put by Tacitus as ſynonymous with Baſternæ, and whom we have traced up to the very ſhore oppoſite to Scandinavia, ſhould have ſent no colonies into it. On the contrary we have every reaſon to believe that they were the firſt Scythians who paſſed into it; and moving on in conſtant progreſs, left room for their brethren the Sitones to follow; for we find the ſteps of the Peukini in Ptolemy from Peuké to the Tyras, from thence to the Peukinian Mountains

Mountains in Pruſſia[n], in a direct line; while the Sitones moved round by the weſtward, for in Ptolemy we find remains of them above the Quadi in the ſouth-eaſt of Germany; and others, ſtill further north-weſt, on the Baltic ſhore. The Peukini, on the contrary, never croſſed the Viſtula, but proceeded ſtrait on to the Baltic ſhore. There they vaniſh, while the Sitones are found in Scandinavia, on the oppoſite coaſt, which, it is ſurely reaſonable to infer, aroſe from the progreſs of the Peukini leaving that poſſeſſion open to the nation whoſe population followed them. For as Strabo obſerves the general opinion that the Baſternæ poſſeſſed Scandinavia, and the Peukini were the largeſt and nobleſt name of the Baſternæ, it ſeems likely that Strabo ſhould eſpecially refer to them; ſeeing that we can trace them to the oppoſite coaſt in ſuch full population, as to leave their name to a chain of mountains: and that we know the Sitones another Baſternic diviſion, whoſe progreſs was infinitely ſlower, as more circulative, held a great part of ſouthern Scandinavia. Theſe reaſons appear to me ſo clear and cogent, as fully to confirm the opinion of the ancients, as related by Strabo, that the Baſternic Germans peopled Scandinavia; and alſo to infer, from every ground of cool probability, that the *Peukini* were the very firſt Baſternæ who paſſed over, and proceeded north-weſt till they emerged under the name of *Picti*, the *Pehtar*, or *Peohtar*, or *Pihtar*, of the Saxon Chronicle, *Pehti* of Witichind, and *Pehts* of ancient Scotiſh poets, and modern natives of Scotland, and the north of England.

It is therefore Hiſtoric Truth, that thoſe German Scythians, who peopled Scandinavia, were the Peukini and Sitones, two diviſions of the Baſternæ.

[n] Paulus Diaconus I, 11, 12. mentions that when the Lombards came to *Mauringa*, they encountered the *Aſſi Pitti* or Noble Pitti, for ſo *As* implies in Gothic.

Before adding a hint or two on the Piks, who are reſerved for my *Enquiry into Scotiſh hiſtory prior to* 1056, i muſt remark that i do not build on the above progreſs of the Peukini, as it is ſufficient for me to ſhew from Tacitus and Beda that the Piks were German Scythians from Scandinavia, and to trace them from Norway to Scotland. Facts, and authorities which are facts in hiſtory, are the ſole grounds upon which a rational hiſtorian can proceed. If he contradicts facts and authorities, he writes romance, not hiſtory. In my laborious reſearch into early Scotiſh hiſtory, i was ſhocked to find that, inſtead of a foundation, i had not even good ground for a foundation, owing to the careleſſneſs with which the origin of nations has been treated. The toil it has coſt me to drain my ground of much watry falſehood, has been equal to that of building my fabric, as the reader may judge. I can ſafely ſay the truth has been my ſole object; for my labour has been too great to waſte any part of it in a bauble of an hypotheſis, which falls at the firſt breath, while truth remains for ever. To proceed to a hint on the Piks, it was not to be ſuppoſed that the Northern hiſtorians could be ignorant of a nation once ſo celebrated, and who proceeded from Norway. Accordingly we find the vaſt hiſtory of Norway by Torfæus, compiled from Icelandic Sagas, &c. quite full of them; but under a variation in the initial letter, the cauſe of which muſt be explained.

Grammarians obſerve certain letters which are called *labial* becauſe pronounced by the lips: they are *b*, *f*, *m*, *p*, *v*; of theſe the *b*, *f*, *p*, *v*, put at the beginning of words, are pronounced almoſt with the ſame motion of the lips, and are thus often interchanged. In Roman inſcriptions we find *Bita* for *Vita*; in Greek authors *Biturius* for *Viturius*, &c. &c. &c. In Spaniſh V is pronounced B. The F, or Greek digamma, was pronounced V, as all know. But the inter-

change of *P*, and *V*, which alone concerns my preſent inveſtigation, ſeems peculiar to the Germans, and Northern nations of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, for I cannot trace it in Italian, Spaniſh, or French. Thus the Germans ſay *Kater* for the Latin *Pater*; *Picker* is Icelandic for a ſhipbuilder, from *Vig*, *a ſhip*; &c. &c. The Saxons found the ſound of P and V ſo ſimilar, that they actually adopted the Roman letter P to expreſs V, and W, a modification of V. Thus on coins of William I. and II. of England PILEM is WILEM; and the ſame occurs in the earlieſt Saxon coins and MSS, and in the printed Saxon at this day, as all know. Torfæus obſerves, in his *Series Regum Daniæ*, that the *Vitta* of the Saxon genealogiſts is the *Pitta* of the Icelandic. I need not produce more inſtances, but refer the reader, if he wiſhes for more, to the *Gloſſarium Germanicum* of Wachter; the *Gloſſarium Suio-Gothicum* (ſhould be *Suito-Gothicum*) of Ihre; and the *Lexicon Iſlandicum* of Andreas. The phyſical reaſon of the Northern nations uſing V for P, or pronouncing P as V, may be, that the cold contracts their organs, for V is only a leſs open pronounciation of P.

But in the preſent inſtance there is no occaſion to inſiſt on labial changes, but barely to mention that in the Icelandic, or Old Scandinavian language, there is in fact no ſuch letter as P; and in words of foreign extract the P is always pronounced V, and is from that cauſe generally ſo written. Thus *papa*, a prieſt, is often written *pava*. In preſent Icelandic P is always ſounded V.

Of the ancient kingdom of VIKA°, Torfæus is full;

° Perhaps it may be thought that the kingdom *Vik* was ſo called from *Vik*, *a haven*. But Torfæus and Olaus call it *Vicha* as often as Vik; and the former does not imply a haven. Nor could all the ſouth of Norway receive ſo vague a name as *The Haven*. It is a proper name, as diſtinct from *Vik* a haven, as *Scot* is from *ſcot and lot*. (Skot, *vectigal*. Iſl.) Verelius

full; and it is the *Vichia regnum* of Olaus Magnus which he puts in the liſt of the moſt important kingdoms of Scandinavia. Its inhabitants were called VIKVERAR, *men of Vik*, the *Pihtar* of the Saxons. It was one of the kingdoms which was reduced by Harold Harfagre, in the ninth century, when he became firſt king of all Norway. It extended, as Torfæus informs us, from the Iceſandic writers, all over the ſouth of Norway, around Opſloa, an ancient city near the new town Chriſtiania, and oppoſite the point of the Cimbric Cherſoneſe. It was afterward the large province of *Dalvika*; and its eaſt ſide is ſtill known in every map by the name of *Vikſiden*, or the ſide of Vika, extending down to the north-weſt outlet of the lake Wener. But of this more elſewhere. It ſhall only be obſerved in paſſing, that this muſt have been the very progreſs of the Peukini, if they preceded the Sitones, a part of whoſe tribes lay continuous with the Suiones, near the Wener lake: tho, had i formed an hypotheſis, i ſhould have aſſented to Cluverius, and all the modern geographers, who place the Sitones in Norway; as in that caſe to ſuppoſe the Peukini, their Baſternic brethren, in the ſouth of the ſame country, would have been more plauſible. But as facts are the ſole ſubject of my reſearch, i ſhall leave hypotheſis to thoſe who do not grudge to labour in vain; for an hypotheſis only ſtands till another cancels it, while facts and authorities can never be overcome.

It may be proper, before concluding, briefly to conſider the received opinions concerning the Scandinavian origins. Saxo Grammaticus has founded the Daniſh monarchy in the perſon of a king Dan, more than a thouſand years before Chriſt. Torfæus, from Icelandic Sagas, has ſhewn, that Saxo's

Verelius in his *Index Ling. Scytho-Scand.* ſays *Piækkur* is *circumcurſitator*, 'a wanderer.' The *Peukini* Baſternæ were ſuch compared to the Germans; and this may be the origin of the name.

ſyſtem, drawn from old ſongs, is falſe; and that Skiold, ſon of Odin, was the firſt king of Denmark, a little before our æra. Mallet has, in his hiſtory of Denmark, followed the plan of Torfæus; and as it is much more rational than Saxo's, it promiſes to ſtand as to ſucceſſion of kings; Torfæus founding on the ſole authorities which remain; and it is not to be ſuppoſed that any future hiſtorian ſhould be ſo frantic as to contend againſt his authorities, or that the public ſhould approve ſuch deluſion. In Sweden, the tales of Joannes Magnus, the forger, have, for a century, been in utter contempt; and the hiſtory reſts upon an author of wonderful merit and judgment for his age, Snorro Sturleſon, who wrote in the thirteenth century, and whoſe hiſtory extends to two folio volumes, and alſo relates to Denmark and Norway. It is in the Icelandic tongue; but a Latin tranſlation is given by Peringſkiold. He makes Odin cotemporary with Pompey, from whom he flies into the north; and ſubduing Scandinavia, keeps Sweden for himſelf, and commences the line of kings. The Norwegian hiſtory reſts on the diligence of Torfæus, who from Icelandic chronicles, genealogies, &c. concludes Odin to have come to Scandinavia in the time of Darius Hyſtaſpis, or about 520 years before Chriſt. Some Northern antiquaries alſo finding in the Edda that Odin was put as the ſupreme deity, and that a total uncertainty about his age prevailed in the old accounts, have imagined to themſelves another Odin, who lived about 1000 years before our æra; a mere arbitrary date, and which the formers of this ſyſtem had better have put 500 years before Chriſt, as Torfæus the moſt diligent of Northern antiquaries has done. Mallet, who has taken matters as he found them, ſuppoſes two Odins; and looks on the laſt, who flouriſhed in Pompey's time, as an Aſiatic Magician; nay he tells us ſome believe three Odins! Torfæus, we have ſeen, in his

his Norwegian hiſtory, infers him to have lived 500 years before Chriſt, whom in his *Series Regum Daniæ* he had thought lived only 50!

O cæcas hominum mentes! O pectora cæca!

Here is the ſecret: ODIN NEVER EXISTED. The whole affair is an allegory. Torfæus, ſo profoundly verſed in the Icelandic monuments, tells us they abound in allegory, inſomuch that it is often impoſſible to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood in them. Strange that he did not ſee that they all begin with allegory! Not one of theſe Icelandic pieces, nor any monument whatever of Scandinavian hiſtory, is older than the Eleventh century. What dependence then as to events happening before Chriſt? Their chronology down to Harold Harfagre, or the end of the ninth century, is alſo quite confuſed, inſomuch that you will find one man cotemporary to three or four centuries.

The Later Edda, which was alſo compiled by Snorro in the thirteenth century, fully confirms the idea that Odin was never in life, but was merely the God of War. In this Edda Thor is the ſon of Odin. Mallet well obſerves that, thro this whole Edda, Odin the hero, who led the Goths from Aſia, is confounded with Odin the God of War, or ſupreme god of the Norwegians. True: yet is there no confuſion. There was but one Odin, the god. The hero is a non-exiſtence. The whole progreſs of the Goths from Aſia under Odin is ſo palpable and direct an allegory, that he muſt have little penetration indeed who cannot pierce it. It was the God of War who conducted the Goths; literally, they fought their way againſt the Celts and Fins. But it may be ſaid, how then came Snorro (for on him the whole reſts) to make Odin cotemporary with Pompey? Be it obſerved on this, that Snorro lived at a late period, the end of the Thirteenth century, and that not an iota about Pompey could occur, till Chriſtianity introduced

Latin Learning in the 11th age. The fact is merely this. Snorro found even from his ſtrange genealogy, that the earlieſt kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, of whom tradition preſerved the names, could not be dated further back than about 50 years before Chriſt. Theſe kings, as uſual with even Greek and Roman genealogiſts, when the name of their fathers was unknown to tradition, were called ſons of ſome God; and in the preſent caſe Odin the *Alfader*, and the Mars, was the common fire. Snorro, who, as appears from his work, was conſiderably tinctured with Latin learning, never reflected that Odin could be only an allegorical father; but ſimply believes him a real human father; and finding his epoch according to his fooliſh genealogy of Kings correſpond, in this view, with that of Pompey, thinks it a proper place to diſplay his Latin, by connecting his hiſtory with the Roman. His work is divided into various Sagas, or hiſtoric romances; and as the Icelanders had Sagas on Alexander the Great, on Arthur, on Troy, &c. it is likely they had one on Pompey; in which, as all chronology was confounded in theſe romances, Odin was brought in as fighting with him. Snorro probably had this ſaga before him, and ſo gives the tale. But to ſhew how very little Snorro can be relied on, we have only to reflect that, in the preface to the Edda, he makes Thor the founder of Troy, and Odin his deſcendant in the 17th generation; that is, allowing 30 years as uſual for a generation, Odin lived 510 years after *Thor*, whom he makes *Tros*, from mere ſimilarity of names. Now Tros lived, as chronologers mark, 1360 years before Chriſt; of courſe Odin lived 850 years before Chriſt, and yet was cotemporary to Pompey! No wonder that three Odins were neceſſary! In truth chronology, as might be expected, is utterly confounded in thoſe romances called Sagas, inſomuch that Torfæus once placed

King

King Hrolf Krak 500 years before Chriſt, and was afterward forced to put him 500 years after Chriſt. The ſtory of Odin flying from Pompey is a mere dream of ſome ſilly Saga; and he who builds on it muſt be weaker than a child. Such an event, as the migration of a whole nation from the Euxine to the Baltic, could never eſcape the Greeks, who had numerous colonies on the Euxine, and who traded to the Baltic for amber. It is however remarkable that all Scandinavian Sagas mention Odin with his Scythians coming to Scandinavia, but not one hints that a ſingle colony went from it to Scythia; which is another argument againſt the Goths proceeding from Scandinavia.

If the Northern antiquaries will therefore open their eyes, and ſee at laſt that all concerning Odin is a mere mythologic allegory, they will do well. There was but one Odin, the God of War, who was cotemporary in all ages. The kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, nay the whole Anglo-Saxon kings, owned him as firſt father. That is, they were entitled ſolely to martial proweſs for their thrones. As for the genealogy of Odin himſelf, in which we find him deſcended from a line of anceſtors, as *Geta* or the father of the Getæ, and *Pitta* or the father of the Piks, &c. it is alſo allegorical, as much as the Theogonia of Heſiod, and the genealogies of Greek gods and heroes. Mere poetry all; and not hiſtory. Odin's progreſs, as marked from the Northern hiſtories, by Mallet, in his fourth chapter of the Introduction, was round by Germany, the Cimbric Cherſoneſe, and Denmark, into Sweden. How could Mallet be ſo much aſleep, as to dream that this event which, according to him, happened in Cæſar's time, could be unknown to Cæſar? That Odin ſhould pierce thro all the hundred martial nations of Germany, and not leave a trace behind? Should vanquiſh the Suevi, to whom, as their neighbours

ſaid, the Gods were not equal? One is ſick of ſuch folly; and to confute it is to debaſe the human mind. The whole is unchronologic allegory. The Goths by war ſubdued and peopled Scandinavia, an event that happened at leaſt 500 years before Chriſt; and was accompliſhed by different nations, under different leaders, but all under the guidance of Odin the god of war. Varro marks three diviſions of antiquity, the *dark*, the *mythologic*, the *hiſtoric*. The Northern antiquaries to this day; when ſuch great writers as Schoening, Suhm the illuſtrious patron of Daniſh literature, Lagerbring the moſt acute Swediſh hiſtorian, rank among them; ſtill confound the *mythologic* with the *hiſtoric* period. Odin is wholly a mythologic perſonage; and has nothing to do with hiſtory, which only faintly dawns at the reigns of his reputed ſons, as the Roman does with Romulus ſon of Mars. The tales about him, and his Aſæ, are all poetical allegories; and have no more to do with hiſtory than Greek mythology. If he ever exiſted, it was in the firſt Scythian empire, 3000 years before Chriſt. Romulus was the ſon of Mars, as the Northern kings of Odin; but no writer has been ſo fooliſh as to infer that Mars was the human father of Romulus, and reigned in Latium juſt before him. The great good ſenſe of the Scandinavian antiquaries has already led them to laugh at Jornandes: but one or two ſtill dream of a migration of Goths to Scandinavia under one Odin, about 1000 years before Chriſt; a ſecond from it to Getia, about 300 years before Chriſt; and a return under another Odin 70 years before Chriſt. So hard it is to eradicate prejudice!

A philoſophic diſſertation on Scandinavian Chronology is wanted; but philoſophy has not yet reached Scandinavia; and it's beſt writers are full of their domeſtic tales, but ſtrangers to Greek and Roman learning, and to the general hiſtory of ancient Europe. Their hiſtories bear only 24 kings,

(one

(one more or leſs,) from 70 years before Chriſt to Ragnar Lodbrog, who flouriſhed, as appears from Old Engliſh writers and other certain accounts, in 830. But in the ſeries of Iriſh, Pikiſh, and Heptarchic kings of England, the kings reign but eleven years each at a medium; and Sir Iſaac Newton has ſhewn that even in civilized kingdoms they reign but eighteen. Scandinavia was certainly more ferocious than moſt other countries, and it's kings muſt have reigned a ſhorter, and not a longer, time than the kings in England, Scotland, and Ireland: accordingly moſt of the early Swediſh and Daniſh kings die violent deaths. Not more than eleven years can be allowed to each reign: and 264 years reckoned back from 830 give the year of Chriſt 566, for the commencement of the ſeries; and period of the mock Odin. The generations can never be computed by reigns of kings. All hiſtory refuſes this. Who can believe that the ſons regularly ſucceeded their fathers, and formed generations by reigns? Snorro, &c. are in this reſpect more fabulous than Saxo. The generations are falſe; tho the names may be genuine. But even fable ought to bear veriſimilitude; and from the year 500 to 900 ſhould be placed the Fabulous part of Daniſh, Swediſh, Norwegian hiſtory. All before is dark, and loſt even to fable. The total ſilence of their writers concerning the progreſs of the Jutes and Angles to England confirms this date, as well as the moſt certain rules of chronology.

Epochs

Epochs of the First Gothic Progress over Europe.

ANCIENT Chronology has been ruined by attempting to force it to Scripture, which is surely no canon of chronology; for the Septuagint, tranſlated from MSS, far more ancient than any we have, differs from the preſent Hebrew no leſs than 576 years before Noah, and 880 from Noah to Abraham. The Greek Church, certainly as well inſtructed as the Roman, dates the creation 5508 years before Chriſt. Epiphanius, Auguſtin, and other fathers, follow the Hebrew of their time, which agrees with the Septuagint. But Ancient Chronology ought only to be eſtimated from ancient authors; and kept quite apart from ſcriptural chronology. The date of the creation, &c. can never be decided, either from ſcripture or otherwiſe; and ſuch ſpeculations are futile. In other points the authority of the learned Uſher, now univerſally allowed the beſt chronologer, is followed.

In adjuſting ancient chronology, it muſt ever be remembered that in tradition, as in common memory, GREAT EVENTS, tho very remote, are, from the deep impreſſion they make, apt to be blended with ſmall recent incidents. Thus the firſt Scythic Empire, the victories of Seſoſtris, &c. were great events preſerved in the memory of many generations; but in the hiſtoric page theſe great ancient events appear crouded, and immediately precede leſſer incidents, which happened but eight centuries, or ſo, before our æra. So in old age any affecting incident of childhood appears but of yeſterday; while all the intermediate paſſages of youth, and maturity, have periſhed. Tradition, like memory, preſerves Great matters, and Late matters, in the ſame vivid manner; the former becauſe they have made deep impreſſion; the later becauſe the impreſſion is recent.

The firſt dawn of hiſtory breaks with the Egyptian. Menes the firſt king, after the gods and heroes, reigned about, Before Chriſt 4000

The

The Scythians, whom the dawn of hiſtory diſcovers in preſent Perſia, (*Epiphan. Euſeb. Chron. Paſchal.*) under their king Tanaus attack Vexores king of Egypt and conquer Aſia, (*Juſtin.*) 1500 years before Ninus, or about - - 3660

(The Chineſe hiſtory begins; and is continued in conſtant and clear narration, as now allowed by the beſt orientaliſts - - - 2500)

Ninus, firſt monarch of the Aſſyrian Empire, for Belus was a god, (*Baal, Bel,*) his reputed father, as Mars of Romulus, and Odin of northern kings, eſtabliſhes that empire on the ruins of the Scythian. The Scythæ Nomades of the north of Perſia croſs the Araxes and Caucaſus, and ſettle around the Euxine (*Herodot. Diod. Sic.* &c.) about - - - 2160

The Scythians begin ſettlements in Thrace, Illyricum, Greece, and Aſia Minor, about 1800.

The Scythians have completely peopled Thrace, Illyricum, Greece, and a great part of Aſia Minor, about - - 1500.

Seſoſtris king of Egypt attacks the Scythians of Colchis with a land army, and leaves a colony of Egyptians, afterward the famous Colchians. He alſo paſſes thro Aſia Minor, and attacks Thrace (*Herodot. Diod.* &c.) about - 1480

The Scythians peopled Italy *, about - 1000

The Parental Scythians on the Euxine again hold the ſupreme empire of Aſia by vanquiſhing the Medes; but only for 28 years (*Herodot.* &c.) 740

The Scythians have peopled Germany and Scandinavia; and a Great part of Gaul, and Spain, about - - - 500

The Belgæ paſs into the ſouth of Britain and of Ireland, about - - 300

The Piks paſs into the north of Britain, about - - - 300

* The later and extended Romans were a mixture of various Gothic nations, Gauls, Illyrians, Germans, &c. uſing the Latin tongue, and ſerving in the Roman armies, or having the privilege of Roman citizens, which Auguſtus extended over the empire.

Epochs of the Second Gothic Progreſs from Getia and from Germany over Europe *.

The Rhine and the Danube had been appointed the boundaries of the Roman empire by Auguſtus; but Trajan was to extend them to their furtheſt degree, by his conqueſts in Aſia, which were reſigned by Hadrian. Yet an acquiſition of Trajan beyond the Danube was more permanent, for

103 years After Chriſt, he ſubdued Dacia, and erected it into a Roman province; bounded on the north by the Tyras or Neiſter, on the weſt by the Tibiſcus or Teyſs, on the ſouth by the Danube, and on the eaſt by the Euxine; and peopled it wholly with Roman ſubjects; being a ſpace about 1300 miles in circumference: but which ſeems to have been diminiſhed by incurſions of the Daci and Sarmatæ, even ſo early as the time of Hadrian. The pillar of Trajan at Rome repreſents this conqueſt.

173. Marcus Antoninus repells the Quadi and Marcomanni †.

Theſe tranſactions are the chief we find in Roman hiſtory relating to the Goths or Germans, till the grand æra following.

250. The Getæ or Parental Goths paſs the Tyras or Neiſter into the province of Dacia, and ravaging it march on ſouth over the Danube into Thrace. Theſe Goths did not come originally from Scandinavia, as moſt fooliſhly inferred from Jornandes, who ſays no ſuch thing, but that the ancient Scythians or Goths came from Scandinavia, and afterward conquered Aſia and Vexores king of Egypt, events that happened about 3660 years before Chriſt. This ridiculous and abſurd tale of Jornandes, tho narrated with ſuch palpable hues of fable as cannot impoſe on a child, and tho utterly contradicted by the conſent of all the ancients, as

* Mr. Gibbon is here often followed; ſometimes corrected by collation with his authorities.

† The Pillar of Antoninus is that of Pius; and only has an engraved baſe of an apotheoſis and trophies. Vignolii Columna Antonini Pii, *Romæ* 1705, 4to.

ſhewn

ſhewn above in the ſecond chapter of this eſſay, has yet miſled all the greateſt authors of Europe to this hour! The fact is, that theſe Goths who now poured into Dacia were the Getæ, a people whom Darius found in the very country whence they now iſſued 570 years before Chriſt, as Herodotus ſhews. They were, as above fully explained, the ſame with the Scythæ, as Jornandes alſo knew: and that the Scythæ came from the ſouthern parts of Aſia, the reader has ſeen by the conſent of all antiquity. Soon after we find the Getæ, or Goths, laterly ſo called, divided into *Oſtrogoths*, or *Eaſtern-Getæ*, and *Veſigoths*, or *Weſtern-Getæ*. The royalty of the Oſtrogoths was, as Jornandes ſhews, ch. 5. in the family of the *Amali*; and the neighbouring Scythic nations of the *Alani*, &c. &c. were generally ſubject to the Oſtrogoths. Weſt of the Boriſtenes were the *Veſigoths*, anciently the Tyragetæ ſtretching weſtward even to the Baſternæ, another tract of vaſt extent. The royalty of the Veſigoths was in the family of the *Balthi* or *Baldi*: Jorn. ch. 5. The progreſs of theſe two vaſt nations of Oſtrogoths and Veſigoths will be ſhewn in the ſequel. Theſe Goths, who poured into Dacia A. D. 250, were palpably the Veſigoths or Weſtern-Getæ; for the Oſtrogoths were remote from the Roman empire.

251. Decius is defeated and ſlain in Mæſia by the Veſigoths or Weſtern Getæ.

252. Gallus purchaſes peace of the Goths by an annual tribute. They return to their own country.

About 260. The *Chauci*, *Cheruſci* and *Catti* (including the ſmaller nations *Bructeri*, *Uſipii*, *Tencteri*, *Salii*, *Anſivarii*, *Chamavi*, *Dulgibini*, *Chaſſuarii*, *Angrivarii*) great nations of Germany, form a grand alliance under the name of FRANCI or Free-men; and burſting thro Gaul, ravage Spain: and a part even paſſes into Africa. All the above nations are eſpecially named by various ancients as members of the Franci: ſee Cluver. Germ. Ant. lib. III. where the authorities are produced.

About the ſame time the *Alamanni* invade Italy and return laden with ſpoil. This people conſiſted of ſeveral tribes of the vaſt German nation of the Suevi whocoaleſcing took the name of *All-men* or men of all tribes, as authors relate. Tho it ſeems likely the name rather implied their ſupreme courage, as *whole men*, full of virility.

About

About the ſame time the Goths ſeize on the ſmall kingdom of the Boſphorus Cimmerius, which had long ſubſiſted under Roman protection. As this petty kingdom was on the ſouth point of the dominions of the Oſtrogoths, while the Veſigoths were at a great diſtance, there is every reaſon to believe that the former are meant. After this they in one naval expedition take Trebiſond, and ravage the Euxine ſhores; in a ſecond moving weſtward plunder Bithynia; and in a third ravage Greece.

269. The Goths, with another naval armament, land in Macedonia. Claudius the emperor, advancing, a great battle was fought at Naiſſus in Dardania, and Claudius conquering obtained the ſurname of *Gothicus*.

About 272, Aurelian is forced to yield to the Goths the province of Dacia. The Veſigoths who extended all over the north and weſt of Dacia are implied.

About the ſame time the Alamanni invading Italy are defeated by Aurelian.

276. The Alani invading Pontus are defeated by Tacitus.

278. Probus builds a wall from the Rhine to the Danube, about 200 miles, to protect the empire from the German nations.

322. The Weſtern Goths, no longer content with Dacia, pour into Illyricum. Conſtantine I. repells them.

331. The Vandals who, finding Germany open by the frequent tranſitions of the Franks and Alamanni ſouth-weſt, had gradually ſpred a part of their nation ſouth-eaſt, till it bordered on the Veſigoths, have many conflicts with the latter people. Conſtantine I. again repells the Goths; and conquers a few Sarmatians.

355. The Franks and Alamanni paſs the Rhine, and ravage Gaul. Julian conquers, and repells them.

365. The Alamanni again invade Gaul; and are defeated.

367. Ulphilas, biſhop of thoſe Goths who had formerly been allowed by Conſtantine II. (*Philoſtorg.* lib. II.) to ſettle in Mæſia, tranſlates the ſcriptures into Gothic, a part of which tranſlation yet remains. Before the year 400 moſt of the Gothic nations in the Roman empire, and on its frontiers, became Chriſtians.

370. The Burgundians, a Vandalic race, who appeared under this name on the ſouthweſt of Germany, about preſent Alſace, invade Gaul.

About the ſame time the Saxons, alſo of Vandalic origin, and whom Ptolemy firſt mentions on the mouth of the Elbe, ravage the ſea-coaſts of Gaul and Britain.

About this time alſo the Piks, a German-Gothic people of Scandinavia, who had ſettled in preſent Scotland about three centuries before Chriſt, ravage the north of Britain; as indeed Eumenius the panegyriſt ſays they had been accuſtomed to do before the time of Julius Cæſar. Theodoſius, the general of Valentinian, found the Piks, and their confederates the Scots, advanced even to London; whence he repelled them: and driving the Piks to their ancient poſſeſſions beyond the Clyde and Forth, gained the province which he called Valentia.

About the ſame time the great Hermanric, king of the Oſtrogoths or Eaſtern Getæ, and chief of the race of the Amali, extended his conqueſts ſo far and wide, that Jornandes compares him to Alexander. The Veſigothic kings were reduced to take the titles of Judges. The Heruli and the Venedi of Poland, and the Æſtii of Pruſſia, with many other nations, were all ſubdued by him.

About 375 the HUNS burſt at once from Tartary upon the dominions of the Alani and Oſtrogoths. As the appearance of this new people forms the greateſt phænomenon in the hiſtory of Europe, it will be proper to dwell a little on it. M. de Guignes has, from his knowlege of the Chineſe tongue, obliged the world with a complete hiſtory of the Huns, in four large volumes: tho unhappily full of errors, becauſe M. de G. was not ſkilled in Greek and Roman hiſtory and geography. The Huns are the Hiong-nou of the Chineſe, and their own Tartars: and originated from the north of China. Their wars with the Chineſe can be traced back to 200 years before our æra. About 87 years before Chriſt, the Chineſe obtained a prodigious victory over them. The vaſt Hunnic nations after this fell into civil wars. In proceſs of time the numerous hordes that were vanquiſhed moved weſt in two diviſions, one diviſion ſettled on the confines of Perſia, the other paſſed north weſt over the vaſt river Volga, and poured into Europe in amazing numbers, which no valour could withſtand. They firſt encountered the Alani, whom they overpowered, but admitted as allies. They,

and

and the other Gothic nations, who even to the Caledonian woods of the Piks were of large limbs, elegant and blooming features, and light hair, were aſtoniſhed at the very forms of theſe new invaders, diſtinguiſhed by ſquat limbs, flat noſes, broad faces, and ſmall black eyes, dark hair, with little or no beard, as are indeed the preſent Tartars. The Oſtrogoths yielded to the Hunnic ſwarms, and were admitted allies on condition of fighting in their armies.

376. The Huns now commanded by Balamir (as they were afterward by three others before the famous Attila) next entered the Veſigothic territory. The Veſigoths ſeeing all reſiſtance would be vain, againſt ſuch myriads, were forced to implore the protection of the emperor Valens, who, with more generoſity than policy, allowed them ſettlements ſouth of the Danube. Upon which near a million of the Veſigoths, including wives and children, paſſed into the Roman territory of Mæſia. A remnant of the Oſtrogoths alſo followed. The Goths being denied proviſions revolt.

377. The Goths penetrate into Thrace.

378. On the 9th of Auguſt was fought the famous battle of Hadrianople, in which Valens was defeated and ſlain by the Goths. Ammianus ſays it was another Cannæ. But the Goths, falling into inteſtine diviſions, were in the courſe of a dozen years repelled to Pannonia, and a colony of the Veſigoths was ſettled in Thrace, while a few Oſtrogoths were placed in Lydia and Phrygia. An army of 40,000 Goths was retained for defence of the empire, and are remarkable in the Byzantine writers by the name of φαιδερατοι *fœderati*.

During the reſt of the reign of Balamir, and thoſe of his three ſucceſſors Octar, Roas, and Bleda, the Huns reſted ſatisfied with the territory they had gained, which extended to preſent Hungary: and Attila did not reign till 430, or about 50 years after this. Vaſt numbers of the Goths ſeem to have ravaged and ſeized on the provinces, from the ſouth weſt of Germany and Illyricum to Macedon.

395. The Goths unanimouſly riſe under the command of the great Alaric.

396. Alaric ravages Greece.

398. He is choſen king of the Veſigoths. The Oſtrogoths remained in the Hunnic territory as allies.

400—403.

400—403. Alaric invades Italy, and is defeated by Stilicho who was himſelf a Vandalic Goth.

406. Radagaiſus at the head of a large army of German nations, (Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians), and Gothic auxiliaries, invades Italy. He is likewiſe defeated by Stilicho. The remains of his army ravage Gaul.

408. Alaric invades Italy. Rome is thrice beſieged, and at length pillaged by him in 410. The moderation of the Goths is highly praiſed by ſeveral cotemporary writers. The monuments of art ſuffered not from them; but from time, and barbarous pontifs. In 410 Alaric dies.

412. Ataulphus, brother in law of Alaric, and his elected ſucceſſor, makes peace with the Romans; and marches into the ſouth of Gaul, which the Veſigoths poſſeſs for a long time.

415. The Suevi, Vandals, and Alani, having in 409 penetrated from the ſouthweſt of Germany into Gaul, which they ravaged, were afterward by Conſtantine, brother in law of Honorius, forced to abandon Gaul, and paſs into Spain. Ataulphus, king of the Veſigoths, now led his forces againſt them. The Veſigoths in three years conquer the invaders; and reſtore Spain to the Romans. The Suevi and Vandals however ſtill retained Gallicia. The Veſigoths hold Aquitain.

420. The Franks, Burgundians, and Veſigoths, obtain a permanent ſeat and dominion in Gaul. The firſt in Belgic Gaul on the north; the ſecond in the Provincia Lugdunenſis, and preſent Burgundy, in the middle; the laſt in Narbonne, and Aquitain, on the ſouth.

429. The Vandals of Spain paſs into Africa under Genſeric their king: and eſtabliſh the Vandalic kingdom of Africa, which under Genſeric, Ungeric, Gundabund, Thraſamund, Hilderic, and Gilimer, laſted till 535, when Gilimer was vanquiſhed by Beliſarius; and the Vandalic empire ceaſed in Africa, after 96 years of duration.

430. The great Attila, king of the Huns, begins to reign about this time. His chief fame ſprung from the terror he ſpred into the Roman empire; his conqueſts have been ridiculouſly magnified. On the authority of a vague expreſſion of Jornandes, *ſolus Scythica et Germanica*

manica regna poſſedit *, ſome hints of Priſcus, and the exaggerations of eaſtern writers, repeated by M. de Guignes, it is ſaid that his power extended over all Germany, even into Scandinavia. But no German, or Scandinavian, author, or antiquary, ſhews a ſingle trace of this, and we know it to be falſe from the names of the nations who followed Attila's ſtandard. On the eaſt the Oſtrogoths obeyed him; and the Gepidæ, whoſe king Ardaric was his faithfull counſellor; and the Heruli. On the weſt, the Rugii and Thuringi are the only nations we find under his banner at Chalons, where his whole force was aſſembled; and they had both moved ſouth long before, and bordered on Bohemia and Hungary. Attila's domains were vaſt; but he turned with ſcorn from the barren north, while the ſouth afforded every temptation; and we read of none of his conqueſts to the north. The cool hiſtorian will therefore reject the hyperboles of fancy and fear; and contract Attila's power in Germany to very narrow bounds. The palace and royal village of Attila, deſcribed by Priſcus and Jornandes, ſtood between the Danube and the Teyſs, in the plains of upper Hungary; and he choſe that ſpot that he might over-run the Romans, and command the ſouth weſt provinces of the empire.

At this time Theodoric reigned over the Veſigoths in Gaul; and Clodion, the firſt king in real hiſtory, over the Franks: of Pharamond no authentic trace can be found.

449. The Vitæ or Jutes arrive in Britain. Mr. Gibbon is certainly right that they were not invited, as dreamed, but were northern rovers, allowed to ſettle in Kent, on condition of lending aſſiſtance againſt the Piks and Scots. The weak manner in which the ancient hiſtory of England has been treated, while by the labours of many learned men that of France and Germany is clear as day, has left confuſion every where. The acquiſitions of the Jutes, Saxons, Angli, are all huddled together by our ſuperficial dablers! The *Jutes* ſeized a corner of Kent in 449: they encreaſed, and founded the kingdom of Kent about 460. In 477 the firſt *Saxons* arrrived, and founded the kingdom of South

* In like manner Euſebius, in Chron. ſays that Conſtantine I. conquered *all Scythia*! And Jornand. c. 23, of Hermanric 'omnia uſque Scythiæ, et Germaniæ, nationibus, ac ſi propriis laboribus, imperavit!' It is from detail, and not from vague expreſſions, we muſt judge of hiſtory.

Saxons.

Saxons. In 495 the Weſt Saxons arrived. The Eaſt Saxons in 527. Hitherto there were no Angli in Britain. The firſt *Angli* who arrived, came under Ida to Bernicia in 547. The Eaſt Angles do not appear till 575. Mercia, which Beda ſays was an Anglic kingdom, but ſeems to me a Friſian, as we know that the Friſi were of the nations who ſeized Britain tho omitted by Beda, who was an Anglus, and gives that name moſt improperly; Mercia was founded in 585. Let me alſo obſerve on this great event, that the ideas received into Engliſh hiſtory concerning it are, in ſome other reſpects, miſtaken. The Belgic Britons, as Germans, infallibly uſed the ſame tongue with their new allies. The Welſh were, even in the time of Julius, confined to Wales and the north: they are his *indigenes*. The Welſh uſurp all the Belgic kings, with whom they have no more to do than with the Engliſh. From Cunobelinus to Vortiger not a prince can be given to the Welch. The Belgic Britons no doubt amounted to three or four millions; all of whom were incorporated with their allies, who by all accounts were not numerous, tho warlike. The Belgæ were the Villani and ſlaves of the conquerors; and exceeding them in number, their ſpeech muſt have prevailed as happened in Spain, Italy, and Gaul, where the *lingua ruſtica Romana* obtained. Our old language ſhould be called Anglo-Belgic, not Anglo-Saxon. They who look on the Welch as the only ſpeech of the ancient Britons are widely miſtaken: they were called Britons, as being the *indigenes*; while the Belgic name was loſt in the heptarchic ſtates. The Welch and Iriſh tongues preſerve that ſoul of language the grammar: but are ſo mixt with Gothic, or German and Latin, that Ihre, not knowing the vaſt difference of the grammar, pronounces what we call Celtic a dialect of the Gothic. In Gothic we have a monument of the fourth century, the goſpels of Ulphila, a book in which the meaning of every word is ſacred and marked. In Celtic we have no remain older than the eleventh century; and the interpretation is dubious. The Belgæ commanded both in Britain, and Ireland; and, being a later and far ſuperior people, imparted innumerable words to the Celtic. They therefore who derive any Engliſh words from Celtic only ſhew a riſible ignorance: for the truth is, that the Celtic are derived from the Engliſh.

451. Attila invades Gaul, and beſieges Orleans. The grand battle of Chalons, the *campi Catalaunici*, is fought. This conflict, the moſt prodigious and important ever joined in Europe, in any age, was between Attila, with his innumerable army of Huns, Gepidæ, Oſtrogoths, Rugii, Thuringi; and on the other ſide Ætius with Romans, Theodoric with Veſigoths, the Alani, Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, Armoricans, &c. Attila is totally defeated and forced to retreat, leaving 150,000 of his army on the field, at the ſmalleſt computation. Had he conquered, all Europe would now have been Hunniſh, or Turkiſh; inſtead of Scythic, or Gothic: and from the polygamy, &c. of the Huns; inimical to the Chriſtian faith, it is likely (divine cauſes apart) we had all been Mahometans. So much may depend on one hour.

452. Attila returns upon Italy, but ſpares Rome. He is again defeated by Toriſmond, king of the Veſigoths: Jornandes, ch. 42. He dies next year: and his vaſt empire being divided among his diſcordant ſons falls at once, like a meteor that paſſes over half the globe, then in an inſtant vaniſhes for ever.

453. Ardaric, king of the Oſtrogoths, aſſiſted by the Gepidæ, defeats the Huns, whom he had abandoned in Pannonia. The Gepidæ under Arcadic, ſeize the palace of Attila, and all Dacia. All Illyricum falls to the Oſtrogoths. The remainder of the European Huns was but very ſmall, (ſee Jorn. ch. 53.) and afterward nearly extinguiſhed by the Igours of Siberia. In Hungary there is not one Hun, tho the name *Hunnivar* (Jorn. c. 52.) aroſe from the Huns. The Hungaric language is Finniſh; and the Hungarians proper are Igours, a Finniſh people who ſettled there in the Ninth century. See De Guignes, Peyſſonnel, &c.

455. Genſeric king of the African Vandals takes Rome.

456. Theodoric king of the Veſigoths defeats the Suevi in Spain.

462—472. Euric, ſucceſſor of Theodoric, makes conqueſts in the northweſt of Gaul. He ſubdues all Spain, ſave Gallicia which the Suevi held; and thus begins the Gothic empire in Spain, which laſted till 713, when the Moors conquered the Goths, and maintained part of their Spaniſh domain, till the end of the Fifteenth century. The preſent Spaniards are deſcended of the Veſigoths, Romans, and Iberians. The Suevi were

were united to the Gothic empire by Leovigild, about 550.

475. Odoacer at the head of the Turcilingi, Scyrri, Heruli, and other mixt Sarmatic and Gothic tribes, terminates the Roman empire in the weſt: and reigns at Rome fourteen years.

490. Theodoric, the great king of the Oſtrogoths in Pannonia, vanquiſhes Odoacer, and rules Italy, which was now overwhelmed with Oſtrogoths, of whom, Lombards, and the old inhabitants, the preſent Italians ſpring.

490—508. The Franks under Clovis ſubdue the Veſigoths in Gaul, and the Burgundians: an event with which properly commences the French kingdom.

The Lombards alſo deſerve mention. Paulus Diaconus follows Jornandes, the idol of the middle ages, and brings them from Scandinavia. But we prefer Tacitus who finds them in the heart of Germany. Thence they moved ſouthweſt, till they ſettled in Pannonia, about 400 years after Chriſt, or as i rather ſuſpect after Attila's death, or about 453, when the Gepidæ*, of whom ancient authors call the Longobardi a part, (Grotii Proleg.) ſeized Dacia. In Pannonia the Lombards remained till about 570, when under Alboin they ſeized on the north of Italy; and after held almoſt the whole, ſave Rome and Ravenna, till 773, when Deſiderius, the laſt king, was vanquiſhed by Charlemagne.

* The Gepidæ are ſingular in hiſtory; and ſpecial diſſertations on them, and other Baſternic nations, would be intereſting. The Geloni are as often mentioned by Claudian, along with the Getæ, as are the Gepidæ by Jornandes and Procopius: and the geographic ſituation allotted to them by thoſe writers leaves no room to doubt that they were the ſame people; and a part of the Baſternæ.

Appendix.

Pliny's Deſcription of the Northern parts of Europe; with a tranſlation, and remarks.

Hiſt. Nat. lib. IV. c. 13.

EXEUNDUM deinde eſt, ut extera Europæ dicantur; tranſgreſſiſque RIPHÆOS montes, litus oceani ſeptentrionalis, in læva donec perveniatur Gades, *legendum*. Inſulæ complures ſine nominibus eo ſitu traduntur. Ex quibus, ante SCYTHIAM quæ appellatur RAUNONIA *, unam abeſſe diei curſu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum ejiciatur, Timæus prodidit. Reliqua litora incerta ſignata fama. SEPTENTRIONALIS OCEANUS; AMALCHIUM eum Hecatæus appellat a Paropamiſo amne qua Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua ſignificat Congelatum. Philemon MORIMARUSAM a Cimbris vocari, hoc eſt Mortuum Mare, uſque ad promontorium RUBEAS, ultra deinde CRONIUM. Xenophon Lampſacenus a litore Scytharum, tridui navigatione, inſulam eſſe immenſæ magnitudinis BALTIAM tradit. Eamdem Pytheas BASILIAM nominat. Feruntur et OONÆ in quibus ovis avium, et avenis, incolæ vivant. Aliæ in quibus equinis pedibus homines naſcantur, HIPPOPODES appellati. FANESIORUM aliæ, in quibus nuda alioquin corpora prægrandes ipſorum aures tota contegant.

Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente INGÆVONUM, quæ eſt prima inde GERMANIÆ. SEVO mons ibi immenſus, nec Riphæis jugis minor, immanem ad CIMBRORUM uſque PROMONTORIUM efficit ſinum, qui CODANUS vocatur, refertus inſulis. Quarum clariſſima SCANDINAVIA eſt, incompertæ magnitudinis; portionem tantum ejus quod ſit notum HILLEVIONUM gente

* *Aliæ ed. pro* Raunonia unam *legunt* Bannomanna.

Swin-

quingentis incolente pagis; quæ alterum orbem terrarum eam appellat. Nec eſt minor opinione ENINGIA. Quidam hæc habitari ad Viſtulam uſque fluvium a SARMATIS, VENEDIS, SCIRIS, HIRRIS tradunt. Sinum CYLIPENUM vocari; et in oſtio ejus inſulam LATRIN. Mox alterum ſinum LAGNUM conterminum Cimbris, Promontorium Cimbrorum, excurrens in maria longe, peninſulam efficit quæ CARTRIS appellatur. Tres et viginti inde INSULÆ Romanorum armis cognitæ. Earum nobiliſſimæ BURCHANA, Fabaria noſtris dicta a frugis ſimilitudine ſponte provenientis. Item GLESSARIA a ſuccino militiæ appellata; a barbaris AUSTRANIA; præterque ACTANIA.

Toto autem hoc mari, ad Scaldim uſque fluvium, Germanicæ accolunt gentes, haud explicabili menſura, tam immodica prodentium diſcordia eſt. Græci et quidam noſtri, XXV. M. paſſuum oram Germaniæ tradiderunt. Agrippa cum Rhætia et Norico, longitudinem DCXCVI. millia paſſuum, latitudinem CXLVIII. millium: Rhætiæ prope unius majore latitudine, ſane circa exceſſum ejus ſubactæ. Nam Germania multis poſtea annis, nec tota percognita eſt. Si conjectare permittitur, haud multum oræ deerit Græcorum opinione, et longitudini ab Agrippa proditæ.

Germanorum genera quinque. VANDILI quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Alterum genus INGÆVONES, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno ISTÆVONES, quorum pars Cimbri Mediterranei. HERMIONES, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cheruſci. Quinta pars PEUCINI BASTERNÆ, ſupradictis contermina Dacis. Amnes clari in oceanum defluunt Guttalus, Viſtillus ſive Viſtula, Albis, Viſurgis, Amiſius, Rhenus, Moſa. Introrſus vero, nullo inferius nobilitate, Hercynium jugum prætenditur.

TRANSLATION.

After deſcribing the Helleſpont, Mæotis, Dacia, Sarmatia, Antient Scythia, and the iſles in Pontus Euxinus, proceeding eaſt from Spain; he paſſes north to the Scythic Ocean, and returns weſt toward Spain.

We muſt now depart thence to ſpeak of the extreme parts of Europe; and, paſſing the Riphæan mountains,

purſue the ſhore of the Northern Ocean to the left, till we come to Gades. Many ilands without names are ſaid to be in that tract. Of which one oppoſite to Scythia called Raunonia, is diſtant a day's courſe, on which, in ſpring, amber is caſt up by the waves, as Timæus tells. The other ſhores are marked by uncertain fame. The Northern ocean Hecatæus calls Amalchium, from the river Paropamiſus, where it waſhes Scythia: which name in the language of that people implies Congealed or Frozen. Philemon ſays it is called Morimaruſa, by the Cimbri, ſignifying the Dead Sea, till it reaches the promontory Rubeas, and beyond that it is called Cronium. Xenophon of Lampſacus relates that, three days ſail from the coaſt of the Scythians, there is an iland of immenſe ſize, called Baltia. Pytheas terms the ſame iland Baſilia. The Oonæ are alſo ſpoken of, in which the natives live on eggs of birds, and on oats. Others in which are men born with horſes feet, and thence named Hippopodes. Others of the Faneſii, whoſe otherwiſe naked bodies are covered with their vaſt ears.

Thence clearer accounts begin with the nation of Ingævones, the firſt on that ſide of Germany. There Sevo, an immenſe range of mountains, nor leſs than the Riphæan, forms a great bay even to the Cimbric Promontory, which bay is termed Codanus and is full of ilands. Of which the moſt famous is Scandinavia of undiſcovered greatneſs; the Hilleviones in five hundred diſtricts inhabiting the only part known, who call it another world. Nor is Eningia leſs in opinion. Some relate that thoſe tracts even to the river Viſtula are inhabited by the Sarmatæ, Venedi, Sciri, and Hirri: and that the bay is called Cylipenum, and an ile in it's mouth Latris. Then another bay, called Lagnus, adjacent to the Cimbri. The Cimbric Promontory running far into the ſea, forms a peninſula, called Cartris. Thence are Twenty-three iles, known to the Roman arms. The nobleſt of them are Burchana, called Fabaria by our people, from a ſpontaneous fruit in the ſhape of a bean. Alſo Gleſſaria, ſo called by our ſoldiers, from it's amber, but by the barbarians Auſtrania; and likewiſe Actania.

Along this whole ſea, even to the river Scaldis the German nations dwell, in a ſpace not explicable, the diſcordance of accounts being ſo immoderate. The Greeks,

Greeks, and ſome of us, have related the borders of Germany to be of Twenty-five Hundred miles. Agrippa, including Rhætia and Noricum, puts it's length at 696 miles, it's breadth at 248, the breadth of Rhætia almoſt alone, (ſubdued about the time of Agrippa's death) being greater than that of Germany [*on the South*]. For Germany was not known many years after, nor is yet thoroughly ſo. If conjecture may be allowed, there will not be much wanting of its circumference in the opinion of the Greeks, and of it's length as given by Agrippa.

There are Five diviſions of Germans. The Vandili, of whom a part are the Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Another Diviſion is the Ingævones, of whom are the Cimbri, Teutoni, and nations of Chauci. Neareſt the Rhine are the Iſtævones, of whom the inland Cimbri form a part. The Hermiones of whom are the Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cheruſci. The Fifth Part is formed by the Peukini Baſternæ, bordering on the Daci abovementioned. Famous rivers flowing into the ocean are the Guttalus, the Viſtillus or Viſtula, the Albis, Viſurgis, Amiſius, Rhenus, Moſa. In the inner parts the Hercynian mountains extend, inferior to none in fame.

[*Pliny then deſcribes Batavia, Britain, Gaul,* &c.]

Lib. VI. *c.* 14.

Nunc, omnibus quæ ſunt interiora Aſiæ dictis, RIPHÆOS montes tranſcendat animus, dextraque litori OCEANI incedat. Tribus hic e partibus cæli alluens Aſiam, SCYTHICUS a Septentrione, ab oriente EOUS, a meridie INDICUS vocatur; varieque, per ſinus et accolas, in complura nomina dividitur. Verum Aſiæ quoque magna portio appoſita ſeptentrioni, injuria ſideris rigentis, vaſtas ſolitudines habet. Ab extremo aquilone ad initium orientis æſtivi SCYTHÆ ſunt. Extra eos, ultraque aquilonis initia, HYPERBOREOS aliqui poſuere; pluribus in Europa dictis. Primum inde noſcitur promontorium Celticæ LYTARMIS, fluvius CARAMBUCIS, ubi laſſata cum ſiderum vi RIPHÆORUM montium deficiunt juga. Ibique ARIMPHÆOS quoſdam accepimus, haud diſſimilem Hyperboreis gentem. . . . . Ultra eos plane jam SCYTHÆ, CIMMERII, CISSIANTHI, GEORGI, et AMAZONUM gens. Hæc uſque ad Caſpium et Hyrcanium mare. Nam et erumpit e Scythico oceano in averſa Aſiæ . . . . Irrumpit autem arctis faucibus in longitudinem ſpatioſis.

TRANSLA-

Translation.

In deſcribing Aſia, after Cappadocia, Armenia, Albania, Iberia, and iles in Pontus, he proceeds to the Nations on the Scythic Ocean.

Now, having deſcribed the inner parts of Aſia, my mind paſſes the Riphæan mountains, and traces the ſhore of the Ocean on the right hand. Which waſhing Aſia on three points of heaven, is called Scythic on the north; Eoan on the eaſt; Indian on the ſouth; and is variouſly divided into many leſſer names from it's bays, and the inhabitants of it's ſhores. But a great portion of Aſia expoſed to the north, by the injury of a rigid ſtar, has vaſt ſolitudes. From the extreme north toward the north-eaſt are Scythæ. Without them, and beyond the beginnings of the north, ſome place the Hyperborei, whom more aſcribe to Europe. Thence firſt is known the promontory of Celtica Lytarmis, and the river Carambucis, where, burdened with the force of the ſtars, the chain of Riphæan mountains fails. There we have reports of Arimphæi, a nation not diſſimilar to the Hyperborei . . . . Beyond them *(on the right, or eaſt)* are the Scythæ, Cimmerii, Ciſſianthi, Georgi, and Amazons. Theſe reach to the Caſpian and Hyrcanian ſea. For it burſts out of the Scythic ocean into the back parts of Aſia . . . It burſts in by narrow mouths but of great length.

[*He then deſcribes the Caſpian, Media, Hyrcania, and nations on Eoan Ocean, Seres,* &c.]

Remarks.

Pliny's geography of the north is here given, as the moſt full and curious of all antiquity. It is ſurpriſing that Pliny's whole geography has not been printed ſeparate, as far ſuperior to that of Mela and others. Indeed an edition of Pliny by a ſociety of literati is much wanted; for Harduin, the lateſt editor, was of all men the moſt unfit for the taſk, being raſh and wrong-headed to a monſtrous degree.

The bounds of ancient knowlege on the Weſt and South are fixt and clear. On the Eaſt D' Anville has

fully ſettled it, as in the map attending this work. But the Northern, the moſt important of all to the hiſtory of Europe, D' Anville leaves as Cluverius ignorantly puts it; and has thus left a prodigious taſk to ſucceeding geographers.

The Riphæan mountains of Pliny (as of Ptolemy) palpably run from Eaſt to Weſt *, as he paſſes them to go to the Scythic Ocean. It is clear from Ptolemy, that they ran along the head of Tanais; and are often named with Tanais by the ancients, for by all ancient accounts the Tanais roſe in them. No ſuch mountains exiſt in Poland, or Ruſſia. But this is nothing to the matter. The queſtion is what the ancients thought. And it is clear that they often confounded a Foreſt with a chain of Mountains, as Pliny here does the Hercynian Foreſt. No wonder then that in civilized times no ſuch Mountains, otherwiſe Foreſts, are to be found. The Riphæan Foreſt, i am convinced, was that now called Volkonſki, ſtill 150 miles long from the weſt, to Moſcow on the eaſt. It is alſo a range of ſmall hills. See Coxe's Travels.

Timæus, as we learn from other paſſages of Pliny, called this ile oppoſite Raunonia by the name Baltia. It is therefore a ſlip of Pliny when he puts this among the nameleſs iles.

What river the ancients called Paropamiſus is doubtful. There was a mountain and region Paropamiſus, at the head of the Indus. The Amalchian was evidently the eaſtern part of the Scythic Ocean. Preſent *Saraſu*, or ſome other river running north on the eaſt of the Caſpian, may be Paropamiſus.

The Cimbri, all know, were on the weſt of the Baltic, a part of the ſuppoſed Scythic Ocean of the ancients. The promontory Rubeas ſeems to me that on the weſt of the mouth of the river Rubo, or Dwina, being the northern point of preſent Courland. Cluverius, who puts it in the north of Lapland, ſhews ſtrange ignorance. The ancients knew no more of Lapland than of America: and were never further north than Shetland (the real ancient Thule, as D' Anville ſhews) and the ſouth parts of Scandinavia. The Cronian

* So Juſtin "Scythia, in orientem porrecta, clauditur ab uno latere Ponto, et ab altero Montibus Riphæis; a tergo Aſia, et Tanai flumine." *lib.* II. Thus the Riphæan Mountains ran parallel to the Euxine.

ſeems

ſeems here the north-eaſt part of the Baltic: but other ancients ſuppoſed the Cronian to extend over all the north parts of their Scandinavia †.

As Pliny tells us repeatedly in other places that Baltia, or Baſilia, was the ile where only amber was found, it is clearly Gleſſaria of Pruſſia, not Scandinavia. The iles Oonæ, &c. all grant to be thoſe of Oeſel, &c. at the mouth of the Finniſh gulf. The fables aroſe from ſome ſtrange peculiarity of dreſs.

Pliny then comes weſt to Germany, and tells us that the Ingævones are the firſt German people on that ſide. A ſtrong proof of his own aſſertion, that Germany was then little known. For Tacitus found the Baſternæ on that ſide, as did Ptolemy. The Ingævones, according to Pliny's own account, were the Chauci, &c. who were all on the weſt, not the eaſt, ſo that he errs *toto cælo*. Indeed Pliny may be excuſed if, as Tacitus ſays, the Ingævones were all thoſe on the ocean, ſo as to include the Northern or Scythic Ocean.

Cluverius is ſo utterly fooliſh as to put the *Sevo Mons* of Pliny in Norway; in which childiſh blunder he is blindly followed, as uſual, by Cellarius, and by D'Anville, which laſt has not examined one tittle of the ancient geography of Germany, tho the moſt important of all to the hiſtory of Europe. Pliny's Sevo Mons is actually that chain between Pruſſia and Sileſia, called *Aſciburgius Mons* by Ptolemy, and now *Zottenberg*. This is clear from Pliny's words. He mentions the Scythic Ocean, then comes weſt to the Baltic, and ile Baltia or Gleſſaria, a peninſula of preſent Pruſſia; then ſpeaks of the *Hippopodum inſulæ*, by all granted to be Oeſel and Dego at the mouth of the Dwina. 'Thence a clearer account begins to be opened from the nation of Ingævones, the firſt of Germany on that ſide. There the immenſe mountains of Sevo, not leſs than the Riphæan, form a vaſt bay even to the promontory of the Cimbri, which bay is called Codanus and is full of iles. Of which iles Scandinavia is of unknown ſize,' &c. Nothing can be more clear than this, and the ſtupidity of Cluverius is amazing. Had the Sevo Mons been in Norway, as he lays it down, it would have formed a

† The *Oceanus Deucaledonius* is, by Ptolemy, accounted an extenſion of the Baltic, or *Sarmaticus*, Δευκαλυδονιω τε και Σαρματικω. vii. 5. and he ſays expreſsly, i. 3. that it was on the *North* (αρκτικης) of Britain.

ſtreit

ſtrait with the *Promontorium Cimbrorum*, or north point of Jutland; and not a *bay*, as Pliny ſtates. And how a range of mountains in Scandinavia could form that bay in which Scandinavia ſtood, is left to thoſe verſant in ſolecifms to decide. We muſt ever eſtimate ancient geography by ancient opinions. Pliny *thought* that the Sevo Mons reached up from the mountains north of preſent Bohemia to that great promontory north of Dantzick (called *Reſthout* and *Heel*, if i miſtake not,) and formed the *Sinus Codanus* extending thence to the north point of Jutland; and which is at preſent a great bay; being the whole ſouth part of the Baltic; which, from Dantzick, runs north, and not weſt as before. In the map of modern Germany by Cluverius, this chain of mountains is fully marked, from the eaſt of Bohemia and Sileſia up to the Reſehout. Tacitus mentions this Sevo Mons, tho he gives not the name, as dividing the Suevi from north to ſouth. Solinus gives the Sevo Mons as Pliny, and puts it among the Ingævones, to whom he alſo aſſigns the Viſtula, ſo that the caſe is clear. Tacitus, who was far better informed than Pliny, ſhews that Pliny's ſtatement of the Ingævones is right here, tho erroneous afterward, for that name included all the nations on the Baltic; and the Vandili of Pliny were Ingævones. Moſt ancients regarded the Viſtula as the eaſtern bound of Germany, and the Baſternæ as a German nation out of Germany; ſo that the Sevo Mons, as running along the Viſſtula, was on the eaſtern extremity of Germany, as Pliny ſtates.

The Scandinavia of Pliny is the larger Scandia of Ptolemy, not reaching beyond the Wener Lake, as before explained. The Hilleviones were in Haland (Hyl *or* Hal *Mons*, Iſl.) The 'other world', here applied to Scandinavia, is alſo by Pliny uſed in ſpeaking of Taprobana, or Ceylon, ſo that it's weight can be eſtimated. Eningia may be the ſouth part of Finland, perhaps by the ancients believed another ile in the Scythic Ocean. The Venedi were Sarmatæ beyond the Viſtula: beyond them Tacitus found the Fins: and the Scirri and Hirri ſeem Finniſh nations, noted in later Roman hiſtory, for the ſouthern Fins were not unwarlike. Lithuania is held by them, and they ſeized on part of Hungary. The Scirri and Hirri were on the Finniſh gulf; and known in the Ninth century, as appears from the Periplus

plus of Ohter and Wulfſtan. The Hirri gave name to *Irland*, or *Virland* in Icelandic accounts, now Reval. *Sciringſheal*, or the *rock* or *town* of the *Scirri*, ſeems to have been preſent Kronſtadt, oppoſite Peterburg *.

The gulf Cylipenus is apparently that of Finland; Lagnus another name for the ſouth of the Baltic or Codanus. Pliny having various authors before him was confounded with various names for the ſame ſubject. Cartris is *Wend-ſyſſel* on the north of Jutland, a peninſula ſo called from *Wend* (our *Kent* or *Cant)* a point or head-land. Burchana is Funen, or Zeeland, iles of the Suiones.

Pliny's Diviſions of Germans are not unexceptionable. The Vandili were by his own account Ingævones, as above ſhewn. Of them the Varini were quite on the Weſt, next the Angli, as perfectly known from Tacitus, and the *Leges Warinorum et Anglorum* ſtill extant, and publiſhed by Leibnitz. The other three were all together, quite on the eaſt. So that Pliny's accuracy is not great. The Cimbri, Teutoni, Chauci, were all on the weſtern ocean; yet Pliny had placed the Ingævones on the eaſt! The Iſtævones were really next the Rhine; but Tacitus found no Cimbri Mediterranei there. The other two diviſions are right. But Tacitus is the author to be depended on, as to Germany: Pliny's deſcription is however valuable.

The Second Extract from lib. VI. c. 14. rather concerns the north of Europe than of Aſia. The Tanais or Don was the ancient, as the modern, boundary of Aſia and Europe. But on the north moderns have extended it to the Uralian Mountains, along the river Oby; while the ancients brought it much farther weſt, following the Tanais, which runs ſouth-eaſt. The eaſt end of the Gulf of Finland was of courſe the ancient boundary between Aſia and Europe. Here then Pliny begins and goes to the eaſt, along the ſhores of a non-exiſtent ocean, the Scythic, till he comes to the river Volga; which, with many of the ancients, he thought

* Mr. Forſter, in Barrington's Oroſius, followed alſo by Mr. B. in his Miſcellanies, errs ſo groſsly as to take Ohter's Irland for Scotland! Irland was on Ohter's right hand, not on leaving Norway, but as he approached Sciringſheal. There are no iles on the ſouth of Scotland; the iles between Irland and 'this land' are thoſe of Oeſel, &c. The ſea ſouth of Sciringſheal is the Finniſh gulf, to which Gotland is oppoſite, as Ohter ſays. But compare the paſſage; and ſee *Virland* in the maps to Snorro, *Havniæ*, 1777, &c.

was

was an inlet between the Scythic Ocean and Caſpian ſea. Thus all the nations and places here mentioned are to be ſought for in the ſouth-weſt of preſent Ruſſia. The Scythæ are about Smolenzko: the Hyperborei he retracts, as by other ancients they are placed in preſent Pruſſia. Lytarmis which, like his Tabis beyond the Seres in Aſia, is a non-exiſtent promontory *, of mere fable, he puts about preſent Moſcow: as were the Arimphæi. Carambucis ſeems the river Sura. The other nations lay on the Volga down to the Caſpian. The Georgi and Amazons, as well known, were between the Tanais and Volga, above the Alani. The opinion of a Scythic ocean ſeems to have prevailed in the Eleventh century, for Adam of Bremen ſays people could ſail from the Baltic down to Greece. It ſeems alſo the *Ocean of Darkneſs* in Eaſtern writings. I know not if it's exiſtence was not believed in Europe till the Sixteenth century.

* The Greek ακρα, however, and Latin *promontorium*, alſo ſignify merely the ſummit, or the termination, of a chain of mountains.

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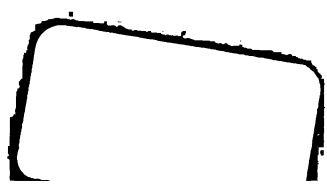
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